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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF

GRADUATES

OF

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

IN CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY

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HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

VOLUME I.

1642-1658.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN ABSTRACT OF THE STEWARD'S ACCOUNTS, AND NOTICES OF
NON-GRADUATES, FROM 1649-50 TO 1659.



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P R E F A C E .

THE collecting of the materials for these Biographical Sketches was begun in 1842, just two hundred years after the first class at Harvard College took their degree of Bachelor of Arts. Many errors having accumulated in the Catalogue of Graduates, which, with probably a single exception, had been issued triennially for about a century and a half, the President and Fellows resolved to have a responsible editor; and after repeated applications I was reluctantly prevailed on to accept the appointment.

Previously to that time, the preparation of the copy for the printer, in which I had occasionally rendered some assistance, had usually been made in a few hours. It was only to add the new names and degrees, to prefix stars to the names of the deceased, and to italicize those of ordained ministers; the information being derived chiefly from the Commencement programmes and annual catalogues, and the memoranda of a few gleaners to whom interleaved copies had been sent.

The usual course was pursued in preparing the edition of 1842; but particular attention was given to the filling out of the middle names, to the affixing of dates to all the honorary degrees and those out of course, whether conferred by Harvard or other colleges, and to making such corrections and additions as were discovered on a careful examination of the Records of the University. The manuscript memoranda were transferred to an interleaved copy of the Catalogue of 1839, and, with the accompanying letters, constituted the nucleus of the collection of materials for these Sketches.

To the small original collection important accessions were made

in 1845, from the researches required for the obituary dates, then first introduced. This undertaking was greatly facilitated by the labors of others, and particularly by the minutes of four graduates of the last century in interleaved Triennials, three of which have since been given to the College Library.

1. The Gilman Triennial, containing manuscript notes by the Reverend Nicholas Gilman, of Durham, N. H., H. U. 1724. This is a broadside, of the edition of 1733, cut into columns, and pasted on the left-hand side of consecutive pages of foolscap paper folded so as to make a small octavo. There are thirty-one of these pages, each a little more than six inches long and a little less than four inches wide; affording about as much room for manuscript notes as the printed columns themselves occupy. At the end are three pages covered with additional notes. Of course, the memoranda extend no further than to the class of 1733. They are very brief, and not always correct; but of some graduates they furnish the only information which has been found.

2. The Belknap Triennial, containing manuscript notes by the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, D. D., H. U. 1762, the historian of New Hampshire, on quarto leaves of writing-paper inserted between the printed leaves of the edition of 1791. The writer seems to have had in view something more than notices of graduates; for at the beginning are extracts in relation to the College, from New England's First-Fruits, Winthrop's History of New England, Mather's Magnalia, and Hutchinson's Massachusetts. To Belknap's memoranda are additions by another hand. This volume was first brought to my notice after the publication of the Triennial of 1845.

3. The Winthrop Triennial, containing the memoranda of William Winthrop, of Cambridge, H. U. 1770, is a copy of the edition of 1794, with continuations to 1812, cut into single columns and pasted on the extreme left of consecutive pages of blank paper, the memoranda being made in single lines on the right of the names and extending across the page.

4. The twenty Pierce Triennials, bequeathed to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society by the Reverend John Pierce, D. D., of Brookline, H. U. 1793, begin with the Catalogue of 1791, when he was an undergraduate, and end with that of 1848, the last published before his death, which occurred in 1849. That on which he bestowed most labor was the interleaved one of 1806. The facts there recorded are often repeated, in somewhat different terms, in the later issues; sometimes, as in the case of the death of a graduate, with additional details; but in the Catalogue of that year he was in the habit of making memoranda respecting all embraced in it concerning whom he obtained any information.¹

With the exception of Cotton Mather, the only other person who had done much in the way of collecting materials or writing lives of the graduates was the genealogist and historian, John Farmer, of Concord, N. H. He published in the *American Quarterly Register*, x. 39, the years of decease, with the ages, of eight hundred and forty ministers, and in volumes viii.—x. elaborate *Memoirs of Ministers graduated at Harvard College before 1658*. To these, besides other contributions to the same work, and memoranda printed elsewhere, are to be added his *Genealogical Register*, communications to the *Historical Societies of New Hampshire and Massachusetts*, and his annotations on *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, all of them giving prominence to what pertains to Harvard graduates.

These and all other means of information which could be turned to account within ten weeks, while the Triennial of 1845

¹ A more particular account of the foregoing and other Triennials, and of the means taken to collect and preserve information respecting graduates, may be found in *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, by Sidney Willard, ii. 315–319, and in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1864*, pp. 9–75, several extra copies of the latter being published separately with the title, “*Notices of the Triennial and Annual Catalogues of Harvard University, with a Reprint of the Catalogues of 1674, 1682, and 1700.*” Boston, 1865, 8vo, pp. 67.

was in press, were used for determining the deaths. The object was so far accomplished, that the Catalogue, with an Advertisement stating the facts, and asking for corrections and additions, was issued, with the obituary dates of more than three thousand individuals, or about three fourths of the whole number deceased.

This novel feature of obituary dates, since adopted generally by other institutions, excited unexpected interest in a publication which had commonly been considered of little value except as a list of persons educated and honored by the University. Being thus rendered more suggestive as well as instructive, curiosity was awakened to discover the dates still wanting.

The laborious examination of biographies, genealogies, histories, funeral sermons, newspapers, and other authorities, which, from the necessity of having the Catalogue ready for delivery on Commencement morning, had either been omitted or left unfinished, was at once resumed with vigor. The time was opportune. Aged graduates were living, who could give information extending back to the middle of the eighteenth century, and young men whose tastes lay in that direction were ready to cooperate. Researches were made in State, county, town, church, and family records, on gravestones, in Bibles, and among old letters and family papers. Several persons, not satisfied with giving dates, communicated details respecting deceased relatives or friends. Authorities for deaths frequently served as guides to obituaries or biographical sketches. The results, so far as they were wanted for the Triennial, appeared in the edition of 1848.

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1844, Joseph Palmer, M. D., of Boston, H. U. 1820, had collated the index and text of the Triennial, and corrected some two hundred errors, relating chiefly to years of graduation. An hereditary taste for such pursuits now ripened into enthusiasm. With the view of correcting and adding to the obituary dates, he devoted nearly eighteen months to the examination of newspapers, numbering during this period no less than seven hundred volumes. Current deaths also engaged his

attention. He told me in 1855 that in the course of the preceding eleven years he had daily visited the Merchants' Reading-Room, where about a hundred newspapers from different parts of the United States were received, and made minutes of all the notices of deaths and other information he could there find concerning Harvard graduates.¹

The object of the investigations thus far had been to supplement the obituary dates and improve the Triennial generally. Nothing more was contemplated, though a great amount of unappropriated information remained. The idea of working up the accumulated materials into Biographical Sketches did not occur to me, until it was suggested and urged by Danforth Phipps Wight, M. D., of Dedham, H. U. 1815, in a letter dated 15 October, 1848; and then the magnitude of the work proposed, viewed in connection with official and other duties, and the consideration of advancing years, made it appear too formidable an undertaking to be seriously thought of.

¹ How much longer Doctor Palmer continued this practice I do not know, but probably until a short time before his death, which occurred in Boston 3 March, 1871. While attached to the editorial corps of the Boston Daily Advertiser, he collected for a time the obituaries contained in the newspapers coming to that office. He corresponded extensively respecting Harvardians, at first giving away the letters he received, after copying the items he wanted, but subsequently preserving them. At the College anniversaries in 1850, he and myself, by special request, furnished at short notice the names and such information as could be obtained of graduates who had died since the preceding Commencement. The results, announced at the dinner-table, elicited remarks indicative of a desire for the continuance of the plan, which Doctor Palmer undertook. From that time I gave him all the available information I collected, which, incorporated with much more procured by his untiring vigilance and extensive correspondence, was for many years published on Commencement morning in the Boston Daily Advertiser. In 1864, these articles were republished in an octavo volume of 536 pages, entitled "Necrology of Alumni of Harvard College, 1851-52 to 1862-63." His interleaved Triennials passed to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, but his newspaper cuttings have disappeared; his letters, I am informed, he spent several days before his death in reading and burning.

I did not, however, relax my efforts to collect and preserve materials for improving the Triennial. Plans devised for this purpose were carried forward, and others were inaugurated.

During the third of a century, in which I have edited the Triennial eleven times, on the occasion of each new issue several interleaved copies have been regularly distributed to persons interested in the subject, to be returned for use three years afterward; the information thus gained being preserved as at the outset in 1842. The copies in which this information has been brought together commonly contain the authorities for the changes and additions, with the exception of those derived from the College Records, from catalogues of other institutions, and from the newspapers.

Early in 1849 I commenced the practice of seeking interviews with all the members of the successive Senior classes before they left college, and taking notes of the prominent incidents in their lives. Since the spring of 1856, when I was obliged to give up this practice, I have placed in the hands of each class secretary, immediately after his election, a series of questions as a basis for autobiographies of the members. These questions, commonly printed from year to year with additions and modifications, and circulated in the class, have contributed much to the interest and completeness of the class-books, which, upon the decease of the last surviving members, are to be placed in the College Library.

To my notes of the graduating classes were occasionally added such as could be obtained from or concerning other Harvardians, copies of letters, extracts from records, diaries, scarce newspapers, and books to which I might not again have access. These, denominated "Manuscript Collections respecting Harvard College Graduates, consisting of Verbal Communications," etc., fill more than seven hundred large, closely ruled pages of uniform size, ready to be bound.

The numerous letters received by me, together with the loose memoranda accumulated during my editorship of the Triennial, have been chronologically arranged with a view to their being

bound. A large collection of newspaper cuttings, containing biographical sketches, obituaries, and notices of appointments to office and other honors, has been made, with the intention of pasting them in blank books in the order in which the graduates to whom they relate appear in the Triennial.

In April, 1849, having prepared a copy of the Triennial of 1848 by cutting and pasting it on the margins of the leaves of a large volume ruled and bound for the purpose, and admitting of continuations, I began to transcribe into it, in tabular form, for facility of reference, several of the most important dates and events in the lives of the graduates, including the dates and places of birth found in the College Records. These entries having been continued to the present time, though far from being so complete as they might be made even with the materials I have accumulated, the volume probably contains in a compact form more information than any other collection on the subject.

To make my collections available, the whole have been carefully indexed in a copy of the Triennial of 1851 containing six blank leaves for each printed leaf, to which I have added references to the allusions to graduates found by inspecting numerous periodicals and files of newspapers and probably more than two hundred thousand volumes and pamphlets in public and private libraries in New England and New York. This index to the results of nearly a quarter of a century's researches, while it leaves a broad field for further exploration, brings an incalculable amount of information within easy reach. It has probably cost me more time and labor than all the rest of the work. The entries, continued to the present day, though not always plainly written, many of them having been penned with crippled fingers and under other disadvantages, if heartily welcomed and gratefully acknowledged by future compilers of the Biographical Sketches, will not remain as testimonials of their incompetency or want of interest in the subject.

While these labors were in progress, I was becoming, of course, better acquainted with the history and character of the graduates.

Several instances of strange experience in childhood, of brave struggles to obtain an education, of virtue and heroism under temptations of wealth and worldly honors, awakened hearty sympathy and admiration. Notwithstanding short-comings, and cases of iniquity which may have escaped punishment, I was convinced that the worth and influence of the graduates as a body had not been properly appreciated. More than two centuries had passed since the College was established, yet I found but one graduate who had been executed as a malefactor, and he was a victim of the witchcraft delusion; and but one who had been sent to a State penitentiary, and this was for passing counterfeit money.

Going back to the early classes, I observed that several of the members went abroad and took an important part in public affairs in Europe. Of those who remained in this country, nearly all, from the great respect entertained for scholars and clergymen, exerted a commanding influence; and most of the offices of honor and trust were filled by them. They originated or urged forward the ideas and principles on which our government now rests, and which in their expansion are to-day agitating the world and ameliorating the condition of mankind. Their lives and the history of the country were so interwoven that the knowledge of both is necessary to the proper understanding of either. There is probably no instance in history where the same number of young men, taken indiscriminately from various classes of society, and trained under the same auspices, have afterward, in their various spheres, exerted greater influence on the politics, morals, religion, thought, and destiny of the world than the early graduates of Harvard University.

The institution itself was always in advance of public sentiment. Though generously belabored by radicals for its conservatism, it nevertheless maintained among conservatives a standing reputation for heresy, the heresy of one period ripening into orthodoxy in another. Graduates opposed to religious intolerance and exclusiveness and to political oppression were constantly conspicuous as champions of progress in religious and legislative bodies

and in popular assemblies. In the violent discussions which preceded the rupture with Great Britain they contended fearlessly for the rights of the people; and yet, at the peril of popularity and even life, defended their opponents, when exposed to unjust censure and illegal condemnation. The subjects assigned for discussion on Commencement days contributed to these results. The leading men of the Revolution, the Otises, the Adamses, the Trumbulls, the Warrens, Hancock, Quincy, and others, caught the spirit of liberty and patriotism in the recitation-room, the library, and among their associates at the College. If the events of our own times had occurred in those days, sons of Harvard would have been seen among the boldest and most influential leaders in the movement for the Abolition of Slavery; and the late Rebellion would have borne testimony to their zeal, ability, and wisdom, in the field, in the councils of the nation, and at foreign courts.

Where was the record of this intellectual and moral power, which, during more than two centuries, had been going out from the walls of Harvard? Incidental notices had been interwoven with the general history, and individual memoirs had occasionally appeared here and there, but no literary monument had been raised in express honor of Harvardians collectively.

The information naturally looked for in the Records of the Corporation, of the Overseers, and of the College Faculty was amazingly meagre and unsatisfactory, particularly in regard to the earlier classes. President Wadsworth was the first person who took much interest in the subject. He was inaugurated 7 July, 1725, and on the 30th of the following October it was "Agreed by the President and Tut^{rs} That the Orders and agreemts of Presid^t & Tut^{rs} be from Time to Time recorded in a book and that the said book be present at the meetings of Presid^t and Tut^{rs} about College affaires." The earliest entry, dated 24 September, 1725, is in Wadsworth's handwriting. The oldest manuscript list of students is his record of the names of those who entered college in 1725, and there is no general register of

graduates earlier than his transcript of the printed Triennial of 1733 into the Corporation Records. The earliest memoranda of ages and places of nativity were made by him in 1728 against the names of those entering that year, the dates of births beginning with the class which graduated in 1741. These particulars, with the exception of such as pertain to the class admitted in 1820, are not found in the Faculty Records after 1817.¹

In consideration of the meagreness of the existing information on the subject, and the limited efforts hitherto made to assign to their proper position in history a class of men the extinction of whose influence, were it conceivable, would leave a woful blank in place of some of the most interesting and beautiful views of human progress and society, my reluctance to attempt an *Athenæ Harvardianæ* gradually gave way, resulting in a determination to make a beginning, which might prompt somebody afterward to avail himself of the materials which had been accumulated to bring out an elaborate work. Accordingly, on Monday, 21 February, 1859, to try my hand, I wrote very brief sketches of the first four graduates of 1701. After this, *nulla dies sine linea* soon indicated progress.

To facilitate the project, an "Appeal to Graduates and others"

¹ In the year 1823, a separate book was provided, in which the students, on being admitted, wrote their names, and "respectively engaged and promised to observe and conform to the laws and regulations made for the government of Harvard College." No memoranda were made but of the "Names of Parent or Guardian" till 1826, when the "Residence" was added. In 1830, President Quincy revived the old custom of recording the age and date of birth; to which, in 1831, was added, "By whom offered." This form continued without essen-

tial modifications till 1860. In that year, at the request of President Felton, I planned a blank-book where the statistics have since been recorded in tabular form, embracing the name in full, with the year, month, and day of birth, and of admission to college, together with the age on the day of admission; the place of birth, as well as the present residence; the class to which the student is admitted; the name of the person offering him for examination; the names of his father and mother, and that of his guardian, if he have one.

was put forth in the Triennial Catalogue of 1860, and the subsequent issues, soliciting answers to the following questions respecting ancestors or relatives whose names were on the Catalogue, or any graduate who had ever lived in the place of residence of the persons addressed: —

1. Name of the graduate.
2. His father's name and occupation, with his mother's and her parents' names.
3. Place, year, month, and day of the graduate's birth.
4. Residences, occupations, journeys, and incidents before entering college, with their respective dates.
5. What first led him to think of going to college.
6. Places of study and teachers before entering college, with dates.
7. When admitted to college.
8. Struggles in getting an education.
9. Tastes, habits, and incidents in college, with college prizes, honors, class appointments, &c.
10. Occupations and residences from the time of graduating, with the dates.
11. If he studied a profession, what, where, when, and with whom; if a clergyman, of what denomination, when and where settled; if a lawyer, when and where admitted to the bar.
12. All offices, honors, and titles, with the dates; all societies of which he was a member.
13. If married, when, to whom, the names of the wife's parents in full, and the place, time, &c., of her death, if deceased. If married more than once, the same information in regard to succeeding marriages.
14. Disease of which he died, with the circumstances, place, and day of his death.
15. Travels, incidents, hereditary tendencies, peculiarities, tastes, and particularly anecdotes illustrative of his habits and course of life, or which would give interest to a biographical sketch.

16. A full and exact title of every book or pamphlet written or edited, with notices of manuscripts left by him.
17. Genealogical details of his ancestors and descendants.
18. Obituaries, eulogies, or funeral sermons respecting him.

The Appeal also added: "It is very important in *all* cases to have the Christian and middle names written in full, and to have as many dates as possible. The dates, in addition to the year, should always contain the month, and the day of the month, whenever they can be ascertained.

"The value of the communications will depend on their accuracy. The sources from which much of the desired information may be derived are town, church, probate, and family records, deeds, newspapers, interleaved almanacs, manuscript diaries, and inscriptions on gravestones and monuments."

This Appeal was the result of careful thought, and was intended to be so comprehensive, and at the same time so minute, as to cover everything which could be said respecting any graduate.

The Biographical Sketches of graduates of 1701, begun in 1859, with such materials as were then collected, were continued through the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, the stock of information in the mean time constantly receiving new accessions. These were followed by sketches of all who had graduated previously. The connection having been completed 8 February, 1867, a revision of the earliest classes was then begun with a view to publication; May 27, 1870, a Prospectus was issued; September 27, a proof of the first pages was received, the probability being that the work would be speedily published. I soon found, however, that much biographical information had been brought to light since the sketches of the early graduates were penned, and that without it they would be very defective. Moreover, an experience of many years had considerably developed the capacity for investigation, and suggested unexplored fields for research. Consequently, the entire volume has been carefully rewritten, chiefly by night, while it has been in press; and although, as the result, it contains less than half the proposed number of

names, the information respecting these is more than double what was anticipated when the Prospectus was issued.

The general plan of these Sketches may be inferred from the Appeal. Besides the narrative and other details, it embraces the names of the graduates' sons who took degrees at Harvard, and of the daughters who married Harvard graduates, as well as of the graduates' parents and wives, and of the predecessors, colleagues, and successors of those who were ordained clergymen.

Special efforts have been made to secure the titles of all printed works of graduates. So far as practicable, these have been taken from the title-pages, perpendicular strokes being used to designate the termination of the lines. The arrangement of the titles, though not always rigidly adhered to, is alphabetical under the year when the first or an early edition was published; the prepositions and articles not being taken into account. The word "anonymous," used in a broader sense than is common, means that the author's name is not printed on the title-page. In the numbering of the pages, the title and its reverse are not commonly counted, and the pages without folios are indicated by figures in parentheses. Occasionally the library where a work may be found has been designated by letters, as *A*, *B*, *H*, *M*, *P*, *T*, *W*, meaning respectively the library of the Boston Athenæum, George Brinley, Harvard University, Massachusetts Historical Society, Thomas Prince in the Public Library of Boston, J. Wingate Thornton, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

The Authorities appended to the Sketches have been multiplied for the purpose of facilitating investigation by persons to whom large libraries are not easily accessible.

In quotations the originals are carefully followed, even to the spelling and punctuation, and not unfrequently also to the typographical errors, any additions made to them being enclosed in brackets.

The co-operation received during the progress of the work has

been very gratifying. The insertion of a name among the Authorities subjoined to a Biographical Sketch often conveys a very inadequate idea of the value of the communication, and affords no hint of the inconvenience at which it was sometimes furnished. Very important aid has been received from J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, and Franklin Bowditch Dexter, of Yale College. To George Brinley, of Hartford, I am under special obligations for communications, as well as for the benefit of his library, of which, from circumstances beyond my control, I was unfortunately prevented availing myself to the full extent during the printing of a considerable portion of the Sketches, particularly the part relating to Increase Mather's Works, in which it is pre-eminently rich.

I now write the last paragraph with the hope of resuming my labors. But in the uncertainty as to myself it would be pleasant, could I rest assured, when these labors cease, that others, prompted and encouraged by this beginning, would take up and carry forward the work.

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

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Cambridge, 30 May, 1873.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE General Court of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, 28 October, 1636, "agreed to give 400^l towards a schoale or colledge, whearof 200^l to bee paid the next yeare, & 200^l when the worke is finished, & the next Court to appoint wheare & w^t building." By the Court, 15 November, 1637, "The Colledg is ordered to bee at Newetowne." November 20, 1637, five days afterward, "the Governo^r M^r Winthrope, the Deputy M^r Dudley, the Treasurer M^r Bellingham, M^r Humfrey, M^r Herlakenden, M^r Staughton, M^r Cotton, M^r Wilson, M^r Dampont, M^r Wells, M^r Sheopard, & M^r Peters, these, or the greater part of them, whereof M^r Winthrope, M^r Dudley, or M^r Bellingham, to bee alway one, to take order for a colledge at Newetowne."¹

¹ Governor John Winthrop, the ancestor of the Winthrop family in America, born at Edwardstone, adjoining Groton, England, 12 January, 1587-8, died in Boston, 26 March, 1649. Governor Thomas Dudley, father of Governor Joseph Dudley, died at Roxbury, 31 July, 1653. Richard Bellingham, Governor, died 7 December, 1672. John Humfrey, of Lynn, an Assistant, and the first Major-General of the Colony, "went home" to England, 26 October, 1641. Roger Harlakenden, of Cambridge, born at Earle's Colne, in Essex, England, 1 October, 1611, came to

New England in 1635, was an Assistant, and died of small-pox, 17 November, 1638. Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, father of Governor William Stoughton, was an Assistant for eight years, and returned to England.

The other six members of the "Co^mmittee as to y^e colledg at New Toune" were clergymen or elders. John Cotton and John Wilson were of Boston, Thomas Welde of Roxbury, and Thomas Shepard of Cambridge. John Davenport, educated at Oxford, preached at London, in 1633 was complained of for non-

May 2, 1638, "It is ordered, that Newetowne shall henceforward be called Cambrige."

March 13, 1638-9, "It is ordered, that the Colledge agreed vpon formerly to bee built at Cambridg shalbee called Harvard Colledge."¹

conformity, went to Amsterdam in Holland, thence came to Boston, where with Governor Eaton he arrived 26 June, 1637, and the next year went to New Haven. After thirty years he came to Boston, where he was installed as successor of John Wilson, and died 15 March, 1670. Hugh Peters, of Salem, born 1599, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, preached in London till driven to Holland, where he was associated as teacher with the famous William Ames, and continued several months after Ames's death. He probably arrived in New England 6 October, 1635. August 3, 1641, he sailed for England as agent of the Colony, became a violent politician, and, being convicted of treason at the Restoration, was executed 16 October, 1660.

¹ The word College was not generally substituted for the word School, immediately. Nathaniel Eaton, the first teacher, is repeatedly designated as Schoolmaster, but never as President. September 9, 1639, having been accused before the General Court "for cruell & barbaros beating of M^r Natha: Briscoe, & for other neglecting & misvseing of his scholars, it was ordered, that M^r Eaton should bee discharged from keeping of schoale wth vs w^{thout} licence; & M^r Eaton is fined to the countrey 66^l 13^s 4^d, w^{ch} fine is respited till the next Court vnles hee remove the meane while. The Court agreed M^r

Eaton should give M^r Natha: Briscoe 30^l for satisfaction for the wrong done him, & to bee paid p^rsently."

Winthrop, in his History of New England, says: "The occasion was this: He was a schoolmaster, and had many scholars, the sons of gentlemen and others of best note in the country, and had entertained one Nathaniel Briscoe, a gentleman born, to be his usher, and to do some other things for him, which might not be unfit for a scholar. He had not been with him above three days but he fell out with him for a very small occasion, and, with reproachful terms, discharged him, and turned him out of his doors; but, it being then about eight of the clock after the Sabbath, he told him he should stay till next morning, and, some words growing between them, he struck him and pulled him into his house. Briscoe defended himself, and closed with him, and, being parted, he came in and went up to his chamber to lodge there. Mr. Eaton sent for the constable, who advised him first to admonish him, etc., and if he could not, by the power of a master, reform him, then he should complain to the magistrate. But he caused his man to fetch him a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length, and, taking his two men with him, he went up to Briscoe, and caused his men to hold him till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head

The vote of 20 November, 1637, was modified by another, which is on record under the date of 27 September, 1642, the year in which the first Commencement was held, and is in these words: —

“Whereas, by order of Co^rt in the 7th [9th] m^o, 1636,

and shoulders, etc., and so kept him under blows (with some two or three short intermissions) about the space of two hours, about which time Mr. Shepherd and some others of the town came in at the outcry, and so he gave over. In this distress Briscoe gate out his knife, and struck at the man that held him, but hurt him not. He also fell to prayer, (supposing he should have been murdered,) and then Mr. Eaton beat him for taking the name of God in vain. . . . He was called, and these things laid to his charge in the open court. His answers were full of pride and disdain, telling the magistrates, that they should not need to do any thing herein, for he was intended to leave his employment. And being asked, why he used such cruelty to Briscoe his usher, and to other his scholars, (for it was testified by another of his ushers and divers of his scholars, that he would give them between twenty and thirty stripes at a time, and would not leave till they had confessed what he required,) his answer was, that he had this rule, that he would not give over correcting till he had subdued the party to his will. Being also questioned about the ill and scant diet of his boarders, (for, though their friends gave large allowance, yet their diet was ordinarily nothing but porridge and pudding, and that very homely,) he put it off to his wife.” The next day, “being called, he was commanded to the lower end of the

table, (where all offenders do usually stand,) and, being openly convict of all the former offences, by the oaths of four or five witnesses, he yet continued to justify himself; so, it being near night, he was committed to the marshall till the next day. When the court was set in the morning, many of the elders came into the court, (it being then private for matter of consultation,) and declared how, the evening before, they had taken pains with him, to convince him of his faults; yet, for divers hours, he had still stood to his justification; but, in the end, he was convinced, and had freely and fully acknowledged his sin, and that with tears; so as they did hope he had truly repented, and therefore desired of the court that he might be pardoned, and continued in his employment, alleging such further reasons as they thought fit. After the elders were departed, the court consulted about it, and sent for him, and there, in the open court, before a great assembly, he made a very solid, wise, eloquent, and serious (seeming) confession, condemning himself in all the particulars; etc. Whereupon, being put aside, the court consulted privately about his sentence, and, though many were taken with his confession, and none but had a charitable opinion of it; yet, because of the scandal of religion, and offence which would be given to such as might intend to send their children hither, they all agreed to censure him,

there was appointed & named six ma^{trats} & six eld^rs to order the Colledge at Cambridge, of w^{ch} twelue some are removed out of this iurisdiction, —

“It is therefore ordered, that the Governo^r & Deputy for the time being, & all the ma^{trats} of this iurisdiction,

and put him from that employment. So, being called in, the governour, after a short preface, etc., declared the sentence of the court. . . . A pause being made, and expectation that (according to his former confession) he would have given glory to God, and acknowledged the justice and clemency of the court, the governour giving him occasion, by asking him if he had ought to say, he turned away with a discontented look, saying, ‘If sentence be passed, then it is to no end to speak.’ Yet the court remitted his fine to £20, and willed Briscoe to take but £20.”

The church at Cambridge intended to deal with him. But he “fled to Pascataquack, and, being pursued and apprehended by the governour there, he again acknowledged his great sin in flying, etc., and promised (as he was a Christian man) he would return with the messengers. But, because his things he carried with him were aboard a bark there, bound to Virginia, he desired leave to go fetch them, which they assented unto, and went with him (three of them) aboard with him. So he took his truss and came away with them in the boat; but, being come to the shore, and two of them going out of the boat, he caused the boatsmen to put off the boat, and because the third man would not go out, he turned him into the water, where he had been drowned, if he had not saved himself by swimming. So he returned to the

bark, and presently they set sail and went out of the harbor. Being thus gone, his creditors began to complain; and thereupon it was found, that he was run in debt about £1000, and had taken up most of this money upon bills he had charged into England upon his brother’s agents, and others whom he had no such relation to. So his estate was seized, and put into commissioners’ hands, to be divided among his creditors, allowing somewhat for the present maintenance of his wife and children. And, being thus gone, the church proceeded and cast him out. He had been sometimes initiated among the Jesuits.” He was “about thirty years of age, and upwards.” He went to “Virginia, took upon him to be a minister; but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken, as the custom is there. He sent for his wife and children.” She finally went, “and the vessel was never heard of after.” — i. 308; ii. 22.

Mather says that he went from Virginia to “*England*, where he lived privately until the Restauration of King *Charles II*. Then Conforming to the *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, he was fixed at *Biddiford*, where he became . . . a bitter *Persecutor*” of the Dissenters, and died in prison for debt. — *Magnalia*, iv. 127.

The confession of Eaton’s wife is printed in a note to Winthrop’s *History*, i. 310: — “For their breakfast

together with the teaching eld^rs of the sixe next adioyn-
ing townes, that is, Cambridge, Watertowne, Charlestowne,
Boston, Roxberry, & Dorchester, & the p^rsident of the
colledge for the time being, shall have from time to time
full power, & authority to make & establish all such

that it was not so well ordered, the
flower not so fine as it might, nor so
well boiled or stirred, at all times that
it was so, it was my sin of neglect, and
want of that care that ought to have
been in one that the Lord had in-
trusted with such a work. Concern-
ing their beef, that was allowed them,
as they affirm, which, I confess, had
been my duty to have seen they
should have had it, and continued to
have had it, because it was my hus-
band's command; but truly I must
confess, to my shame, I cannot re-
member that ever they had it, nor
that ever it was taken from them.
And that they had not so good or so
much provision in my husband's ab-
sence as presence, I conceive it was,
because he would call sometimes for
butter or cheese, when I conceived
there was no need of it; yet, foras-
much as the scholars did otherways
apprehend, I desire to see the evil
that was in the carriage of that as
well as in the other, and to take
shame to myself for it. And that
they sent down for more, when they
had not enough, and the maid should
answer, if they had not, they should
not, I must confess, that I have de-
nied them cheese, when they have sent
for it, and it have been in the house;
for which I shall humbly beg pardon
of them, and own the shame, and con-
fess my sin. And for such provoking
words, which my servants have given,
I cannot own them, but am sorry any
such should be given in my house.

And for bad fish, that they had it
brought to table, I am sorry there
was that cause of offence given them.
I acknowledge my sin in it. And for
their mackerel, brought to them with
their guts in them, and goat's dung
in their hasty pudding, it's utterly
unknown to me; but I am much
ashamed it should be in the family,
and not prevented by myself or ser-
vants, and I humbly acknowledge my
negligence in it. And that they made
their beds at any time, were my straits
never so great, I am sorry they were
ever put to it. For the Moor his lying
in Sam. Hough's sheet and pillow-
bier, it hath a truth in it: he did so
one time, and it gave Sam. Hough
just cause of offence; and that it was
not prevented by my care and watch-
fulness, I desire [to] take the shame
and the sorrow for it. And that
they eat the Moor's crusts, and the
swine and they had share and share
alike, and the Moor to have beer, and
they denied it, and if they had not
enough, for my maid to answer, they
should not, I am an utter stranger to
these things, and know not the least
footsteps for them so to charge me;
and if my servants were guilty of such
miscarriages, had the boarders com-
plained of it unto myself, I should
have thought it my sin, if I had not
sharply reprov'd my servants, and
endeavored reform. And for bread
made of heated, sour meal, although
I know of but once that it was so,
since I kept house, yet John Wilson


ord's, statutes, & constitutions as they shall see necessary for the instituting, guiding, & furthering of the said Colledge & the sev'all memb's thereof from time to time in piety, morality, & learning; as also that they shall have full power to dispose, order, & manage, to the use & behoofe of the said Colledge & members thereof, all gifts, legacies, bequeathalls, revenues, lands, & donations, as either have bene, are, or shalbee conferred, bestowed, or any wayes shall fall to the said Colledge; & whereas it may come to passe y^t many of the said ma^{trats} & eld's may bee absent, or otherwise implied in weighty affaires, when the said Colledge neede their p^rsent helpe, councell, & authority; therefore it is ordered, that y^e greater number of the said magistrates, eld's, & president shall have the power of the whole; provided, also, that if any constitution, order, or orders shalbee made that is found hurtfull to the said Colledge, or the members thereof, or to the weale publike, that then, upon the appeale of the partie or parties aggrieved to the said overseers, that they shall repeale the said order or orders at their next meeting, or stand accountable thereof to the next Gen^rall Co^t."

affirms it was twice; and I am truly sorry, that any of it was spent amongst them. For beer and bread, that it was denied them by me betwixt meals, truly I do not remember, that ever I did deny it unto them; and John Wilson will affirm, that, generally the bread and beer was free for the boarders to go unto. And that money was demanded of them for washing the linen, it's true it was propounded to them, but never imposed upon them. And for their pudding being given the last day of the week without butter or suet, and that I said, it was miln of Manchester in Old England,

it's true that I did say so, and am sorry, they had any cause of offence given them by having it so. And for their wanting beer, betwixt brewings, a week or half a week together, I am sorry that it was so at any time, and should tremble to have it so, were it in my hands to do again. . . . And whereas they say, that sometimes they have sent down for more meat, and it hath been denied, when it have been in the house, I must confess, to my shame, that I have denied them oft, when they have sent for it, and it have been in the house."

It was under an administration based on these votes of the General Court that the College was begun and continued till the charter was granted in 1650.

Of the spirit of the people in relation to such an institution, of the requirements for admission and for the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, of the discipline, and of the character and extent of the studies at that early day, some account is contained in "New Englands First Fruits," a work published at London in 1643, but probably written within a few weeks of the time when the first class was graduated. It says:—

“fter God had carried us safe to *New-England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and fetled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after, was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman, and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700. l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: after him another gave 300. l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at *Cambridge*, (a place very pleasant and accomodate) and is called (according to the name of the first founder) *Harvard Colledge*.

“The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures) Exercises, and a large Li-

brary with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire *Grammar* Schoole, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for *Academicall Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge: of this Schoole Master *Corlet* is the Mr., who hath very well approved himselfe for his abilities, dexterity and painfullnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him.

“Over the Colledge is master *Dunster*¹ placed, as Prefi-

¹ The statements in the text are confirmed by Edward Johnson’s History, or “Wonder-working Providence of Sion’s Saviour, in New-England,” published at London in 1654, which also contains some other information. The author, under date of 1640, says:—

“Toward the latter end of this Summer came over the learned, reverend, and judicious Mr. *Henry Dunster*, before whose coming the Lord was pleased to provide a Patron for erecting a Colledg, as you have formerly heard, his provident hand being now no less powerful in pointing out with his unerring finger, a president abundantly fitted this his servant, and sent him over for to manage the work; and as in all the other passages of this history, the Wonder-working Providence of *Sions* Saviour hath appeared, so more especially in this work, the Fountains of learning being in a great measure stopped in our Native Country at this time, so that the sweet waters of *Shilo’s* streams must ordinarily pass into the Churches

through the sinking channel of prelati- cal pride, beside all the filth that the fountains themselves were daily incumbred withall, infomuch that the Lord turned aside often from them, and refused the breathings of his blessed Spirit among them, which caused Satan (in these latter daies of his transformation into an Angel of light) to make it a means to perfwade people from the use of learning altogether, that so in the next generation they might be destitute of such helps, as the Lord hath been pleased hitherto to make use of, as chief means for the conversion of his people, and building them up in the holy faith, as also for breaking downe the Kingdom of Antichrist; and verily had not the Lord been pleased to furnish *N. E.* with means for the attainment of learning, the work would have been carried on very heavily, and the hearts of godly parents would have vanish’d away with heaviness for their poor children, whom they must have left in a desolate wilderness, destitute of the meanes of grace.

“It being a work (in the apprehen-

dent, a learned conscionable and induftrious man, who hath so trained up, his Pupills in the tongues and Arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of Divinity and Christianity, that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in Learning and godlinesse also: the former of these hath appeared in their publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and Disputations Logicall and Philosoficall,

tion of all, whose capacity could reach to the great sums of money, the edifice of a mean Colledg would cost) past the reach of a poor Pilgrim people, who had expended the greatest part of their estates on a long voyage, travelling into Forraign Countryes, being unprofitable to any that have undertaken it, although it were but with their necessary attendance, whereas this people were forced to travel with wives, children, and servants; besides they considered the treble charge of building in this new populated defart, in regard of al kind of workmanship, knowing likewise, that young Students could make but a poor progress in learning, by looking on the bare walls of their chambers, and that *Diogenes* would have the better of them by far, in making use of a Tun to lodg in, not being ignorant also, that many people in this age are out of conceit with learning, and that although they were not among a people who counted ignorance the mother of devotion, yet were the greater part of the people wholly devoted to the Plow, (but to speak uprightly, hunger is sharp, and the head will retain little learning, if the heart be not refreshed in some competent measure with food, although the gros vapors of a glutted stomach are the bane of a bright understanding, and brings barrenness to the brain) but how to have both go

on together, as yet they know not; amidst all these difficulties, it was thought meet learning should plead for itself, and (as many other men of good rank and quality in this barren defart) plod out a way to live: Here-upon all those who had tasted the sweet wine of Wifdoms drawing, and fed on the dainties of knowledg, began to set their wits a work, and verily as the whole progress of this work had a farther dependency then on the present eyed means, so at this time chiefly the end being firmly fixed on a sure foundation, namely, the glory of God, and good of all his elect people, the world throughout, in vindicating the truths of Christ, and promoting his glorious Kingdom, who is now taking the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession, means they know there are, many thousands uneyed of mortal man, which every daies Providence brings forth; upon these resolutions, to work they go, and with thankful acknowledgment, readily take up all lawful means as they come to hand, for place they fix their eye upon *New-Town*, which to tell their Posterity whence they came, is now named *Cambridg*, and withal to make the whole world understand, that spiritual learning was the thing they chiefly desired, to sanctifie the other, and make the whole lump

which they have beene wonted (besides their ordinary Exercises in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the Magistrates, Ministers, and other Schollars, for the probation of their growth in Learning, upon set dayes, constantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in fundry of them, by the favoury breathings of their Spirits in their godly conversation. Infomuch that we are confident, if these early

holy, and that learning being set upon its right object, might not contend for error instead of truth; they chose this place, being then under the Orthodox, and foul-flourishing Ministry of Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, of whom it may be said, without any wrong to others, the Lord by his Ministry hath saved many a hundred soul: The scituation of this Colledg is very pleasant, at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling green, then a Wilderness, neer a fair navigable river, environed with many Neighbouring Towns of note, being so neer, that their houses joyn with her Suburbs, the building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness, and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg, it is at present enlarging by purchase of the neighbour houses, it hath the conveniencies of a fair Hall, comfortable Studies, and a good Library, given by the liberal hand of some Magistrates and Ministers, with others: The chief gift towards the founding of this Colledg, was by Mr. *John Harnes* [Harvard], a reverend Minister, the Country being very weak in their publike Treasury, expended about 500. l. towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly revenue of a Ferry passage between *Boston*, and *Charles Town*,

the which amounts to about 40. or 50. l. *per annum*. The Commissioners of the four united Colonies also taking into consideration, (of what common concernment this work would be, not only to the whole plantations in general, but also to all our English Nation) they endeavoured to stir up all the people in the several Colonies to make a yearly contribution toward it, which by some is observed, but by the most very much neglected; the Government hath endeavoured to grant them all the priviledges fit for a Colledg, and accordingly the Governour and Magistrates, together with the President of the Colledg, for the time being, have a continual care of ordering all matters for the good of the whole: This Colledg hath brought forth, and nurst up very hopeful plants. . . . This hath been a place certainly more free from temptations to lewdness, then ordinarily *England* hath been, yet if men shall presume upon this to send their most exorbitant children, intending them more especially for Gods service, the Justice of God doth sometimes meet with them, and the means doth more harden them in their way, for of late the godly Governors of this Colledg have been forced to expell some, for fear of corrupting the Fountain." — pp. 162 – 166.

blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of Learning, and lovers of this pious worke, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.

“Over the Colledge are twelve Overseers chosen by the generall Court, six of them are of the Magistrates, the other six of the Ministers, who are to promote the best good of it and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

“*Rules, and Precepts that are observed in the Colledge.*

“1. **W**HEN any Schollar is able to understand Tully, or such like clasficall Latine Author *ex tempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigm's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.

“2. Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, *to know God and Iesus Christ which is eternall life*, Joh. 17. 3. and therefore to lay *Christ* in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and Learning.

“And seeing the Lord only giveth wisedome, Let every one seriously set himselfe by prayer in secret to seeke it of him, *Prov* 2, 3.

“3. Every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in *Theoreticall* observations of the Language, and *Logick*, and in *Practicall* and spirituall truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing *the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple*, Psalm. 119. 130.

“4 That they eshewing all profanation of Gods Name, Attributes, Word, Ordinances, and times of Worship, doe studie with good conscience, carefully to retaine God, and the love of his truth in their mindes else let them know, that (notwithstanding their Learning) God may give them up *to strong delusions*, and in the end *to a reprobate minde*, 2 Theſ. 2. 11, 12. Rom. 1. 28.

“5. That they studiously redeeme the time; observe the generall houres appointed for all the Students, and the speciall houres for their owne *Classis*: and then diligently attend the Lectures, without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall enquire, as of their fellowes, so, (in case of *Non satisfaction*) modestly of their Tutors.

“6. None shall under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit, and dissolute life.

“Nor shall any without his Tutors leave, or (in his absence) the call of Parents or Guardians, goe abroad to other Townes.

“7. Every Schollar shall be present in his Tutors chamber at the 7th. houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the Bell, at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the 5th. houre at night, and then give account of his owne private reading, as aforesaid in Particular the third, and constantly attend Lectures in the Hall at the houres appointed? But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or Lectures, he shall bee lyable to Admonition, if he offend above once a weeke.

“8. If any Schollar shall be found to transgreſſe any of the Lawes of God, or the Schoole, after twice Admonition, he shall be lyable, if not *adultus*, to correction, if *adultus*, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the Colledge, that he may bee admonished at the publick monethly Act.

“*The times and order of their Studies, unlesse experience shall shew cause to alter.*”

“**T**He second and third day of the weeke, read Lectures, as followeth.

“To the first yeare at 8th. of the clock in the morning *Logick*, the first three quarters, *Physicks* the last quarter.

“To the second yeare, at the 9th. houre, *Ethicks* and *Politicks*, at convenient distances of time.

“To the third yeare at the 10th. *Arithmetick* and *Geometry*, the three first quarters, *Astronomy* the last.

“*Afternoone,*

“The first yeare disputes at the second houre.

“The 2d. yeare at the 3d. houre.

“The 3d. yeare at the 4th. every one in his Art.

The 4th. day reads Greeke.

“To the first yeare the *Etymologie* and *Syntax* at the eighth houre.

“To the 2d. at the 9th. houre, *Profodia* and *Dialeſts*.

“*Afternoone.*

“The first yeare at 2d. houre practice the precepts of *Grammar* in such Authors as have variety of words.

“The 2d. yeare at 3d. houre practice in *Poëſy*, *Nonnus*, *Duport*, or the like.

“The 3d. yeare perfect their *Theory* before noone, and exercise *Style*, *Compoſition*, *Imitation*, *Epitome*, both in *Proſe* and *Verſe*, afternoone.

“*The fiſt day reads Hebrew, and the Eaſterne Tongues.*

“*Grammar* to the first yeare houre the 8th.

“To the 2d. *Chaldee* at the 9th. houre.

“To the 3d. *Syriack* at the 10th. houre.

“Afternoone.

“The first yeare practice in the Bible at the 2d. houre.

“The 2d. in *Ezra* and *Danel* at the 3d. houre.

“The 3d. at the 4th. houre in *Trostius* New Testament.

“The 6th. day reads Rhetorick to all at the 8th. houre.

“*Declamations* at the 9th. So ordered that every Scholler may declaime once a moneth. The rest of the day *vacat Rhetoricis studiis.*

“*The 7th. day reads Divinity Catecheticall at the 8th. houre, Common places at the 9th. houre. Afternoone.*

“The first houre reads history in the Winter,¹

“The nature of plants in the Summer.

“The summe of every Lecture shall be examined, before the new Lecture be read.

“Every Schollar, that on prooffe is found able to read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Testament* in to the Latine tongue, and to resolve them *Logically*; withall being of godly life and conversation; And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers, and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first Degree.

“Every Schollar that giveth up in writing a *System*, or *Synopsis*, or summe of *Logick*, *Naturall* and *Morall Philosophy*, *Arithmetick*, *Geometry* and *Astronomy*: and is ready to defend his *Theses* or positions: withall skilled in the Originalls as abovesaid: and of godly life & conversation: and so approved by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at any publique *Act*, is fit to be dignified with his 2d. Degree.”

CLASS OF 1642.

I do not find any record of the day or of the month, in 1642, when the first Commencement was held. Probably it was in October. Governor John Winthrop writes: "Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz.: all the magistrates and elders over the six nearest churches and the president, or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholars' ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students' encouragement, &c. and it gave good content to all."¹

Governor Thomas Hutchinson, in his History of Massachusetts Bay, says: "The Thesis, with a particular account of the whole proceeding, was published in England. I know of but two copies extant." He undoubtedly refers to "New Englands First Fruits," which, besides the "particular account," contains a reprint of the "Thesis," which was again printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, March, 1860, page 441. These documents, copied from the same source from which Hutchinson took them, are as follows:—

¹ "At this commencement, complaint was made to the governours of two young men, of good quality, lately come out of England, for foul misbehaviour, in swearing and ribaldry speeches, etc. for which, though they were adulti, they were corrected in the college, and sequestered, etc. for a time."—J. Winthrop, History of New England, ii. 88.

“The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a Letter sent over from the Governour, and diverse of the Ministers, their own words these.

“THE Students of the first Clasfis that have beene these foure¹ yeeres trained up in University-Learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues, and Arts) and are approved for their manners, as they have kept their publick Aets in former yeeres, our selves being present, at them; so have they lately kept two solemne Aets for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magistrates, and the Ministers from all parts, with all sorts of Schollars, and others in great numbers were present, and did heare their Exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations, and Hebrew Analasis, Grammaticall, Logicall & Rhetoricall of the Psalms: And their Answers and Disputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Physicall and Metaphysicall Questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called Batchelour) pro more Academiarum in Anglia: Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers, and by him, upon their Approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a Booke of Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library.

“All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even

¹ Although four years are here mentioned, the course of study, as prescribed on pages 13 and 14, is for but three years. Probably at first the time was not precisely limited. Perhaps the four years included some preparatory study in the “Grammar Schoole.”

Thomas Prince says of Samuel Torrey: “I suppose he was admitted into Harvard-College about 1650, and should, according to the preceeding Custom, have taken his first Degree in three Years. But the Corporation making a Law that the Scholars should study at College four Years

before they commenced Batchelors in Arts; several Scholars tho’ they were accounted as good as any before them, and I suppose of different Classes, went off, and never took any Degree at all. There were at least Five of them, who after made a very shining Figure in NEW-ENGLAND; viz. Gov. Josiah Winslow; this Rev. Mr. Samuel Torrey; the Rev. Mr. Ichabod Wiswall of Duxbury, Agent for PLYMOUTH-COLONY at the Court of England upon the Revolution; the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wakeman of Fairfield; and the Rev. Mr. Brimsmead, of Marlborough: who would all have

as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull, and able Servants in our owne Native Country, and here, (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lords goodnesse for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the Churches of Christ Iesus.

“BOSTON in New-England,

September the 26.

1642.

Your very loving
friends, &c.

“A Copie of the Questions given and maintained by the Commencers in their publick Acts, printed in Cambridge in New-England, and reprinted here *verbatim*, as followeth.

“Spectatissimis Pietate, et Illustrissimis Eximia Virtute Viris, D. Iohanni Winthropo, inclytæ Massachusetti Coloniae Gubernatori, D. Iohanni Endicotto Vice-Gubernatori, D. Thom. Dudleo, D. Rich. Bellinghamo, D. Ioan. Humphrydo, D. Israel. Stoughtono.

been a great Honour to our Harvard-Catalogue.” — Preface to Torrey’s “Discourse concerning Futurities.”

Cotton Mather says, “Upon a Disatisfaction, about an Hardship which” the scholars “thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a Year of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their Degree (about the Year 1655) there was a Considerable Number, even Seventeen of the *Scholars*, which went away from the Colledge without any Degree at all.” — *Magnalia*, iv. 135.

According to Johnson, President Dunster “having a good inspection into the well-ordering of things for the Students maintenance (whose

commons hath been very short hitherto) by his frugal providence hath continued them longer at their Studies then otherwise they could have done; and verily it’s great pity such ripe heads as many of them be, should want means to further them in learning.” — *Wonder-working Providence*, 168.

Frequently, if not generally, graduates continued their studies at the College after they had taken their first degrees, being called *Sirs* till they took their second degrees as Masters of Arts.

These statements have a bearing on the division which occurs in the Class of 1653.


“Nec non Reverendis pientissimisque viris *Ioanni Cottono*,
Ioan. Wilsono, *Ioan. Davenport*, *Tho. Weldo*, *Hugoni*
Petro, *Tho. Shepardo*, Collegij *Harvardensis* nov.
Cantabr. inspectoribus fidelissimis, cæterisque;
 Magistratibus, & Ecclesiarum ejusdem
 Coloniae Presbyteris vigilantissimis.

“Has Theses Philologicas, & Philosophicas, quas Deo
 duce, Præside *Henrico Dunstero*, palam pro virili pro-
 pugnare conabuntur, (honoris & observantiæ
 gratia) dicant consecrantque in artibus libe-
 ralibus initiati Adolescentes.

| | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Benjamin Woodbrigijs.</i> | <i>Henricus Saltonstall.</i> | <i>Nathaniel Bruslerus.</i> |
| <i>Georgius Downingus.</i> | <i>Iohannes Bulkleius.</i> | <i>Samuel Belinghamus.</i> |
| <i>Gulielmus Hubbardus.</i> | <i>Iohannes Wilsonus.</i> | <i>Tobias Bernardus.</i> |

“*Theses Philologicas.*

“GRAMMATICAS.

“ Inguarum Scientia est utilissima.
 Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis Organa
 efferunt.

- “3. Hæbræa est Linguarum Mater.
- “4. Consonantes & vocales Hæbreorum sunt coætaneæ.
- “5. Punctationes chatephatæ syllabam proprie non efficiunt.
- “6. Linguarum Græca est copiosissima.
- “7. Lingua Græca est ad accentus pronuntianda.
- “8. Lingua Latina est eloquentissima.

“RHETORICAS.

“**R**hetorica specie differt a Logica.
 In Elocutione perspicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui
 copia.

- “3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.
- “4. Oratoris est celare Artem.

"LOGICAS.

- "U Niversalia non sunt extra intellectum.
Omnia Argumenta sunt relata.
- "3. *Causa sine qua non* non est peculiaris causa a quatuor reliquis generalibus,
- "4. Causa & Effectus sunt simul tempore.
- "5. Dissentanea sunt æque nota.
- "6. Contrarietas est tantum inter duo.
- "7. Sublato relato tollitur correlatum.
- "8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur speciebus.
- "9. Testimonium valet quantum testis.
- "10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non est necessaria.
- "11. Axioma contingens est, quod ita verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit.
- "12. Præcepta Artium debent esse *Κατὰ πάντος, καθ' αὐτό, καθ' ὅλου πρώτου.*

"Theses Philosophicas.

"ETHICAS.

- "P Hilosophia practica est eruditions meta.
Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
- "3. Voluntas est virtutis moralis subjectum.
- "4. Voluntas est formaliter libera.
- "5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
- "6. Prudentia est virtus intellectualis & moralis.
- "7. Justitia mater omnium virtutum.
- "8. Mors potius subeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
- "9. Non injuste agit nisi qui libens agit.
- "10. Mentiri potest qui verum dicit.
- "11. Juveni modestia summum Oranmentum.

"PHYSICAS.

- "C Orpus naturale mobile est subjectum Phificæ.
Materia secunda non potest existere sine forma.

- “3. Forma est accidens.
 “4. Unius rei non est nisi unica forma constitutiva.
 “5. Forma est principium individuationis.
 “6. Privatio non est principium internum.
 “7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit substantia.
 “8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
 “9. In omni motu movens simul est cum mobili.
 “10. Cælum non movetur ab intelligentijs.
 “11. Non dantur orbes in cælo.
 “12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unam ex primis qualitibus sibi maximè propriam.
 “13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
 “14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
 “15. Vehemens sensibile destruit sensum.

“METAPHISICAS.

- “**O**Mne ens est bonum.
 “**O**mnne creatum est concretum.
 “3. Quicquid æternum idem & immensum.
 “4. Bonum Metaphysicum non suscipit gradus.”

BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE.

Born 1622, died 1684, aged 62.

REV. BENJAMIN WOODBRIDGE, M. A., in the words of Cotton Mather, was “the Leader of this whole Company [of Graduates of Harvard College], and . . . a *Star of the first Magnitude* in his Constellation.” Calamy speaks of him as “a great Man every way; . . . the first Graduate of the College; . . . the lasting Glory as well as the first Fruits of that Academy.”

He was born in 1622. His father was the Reverend

John Woodbridge, of Stanton, near Highworth, in the northeastern part of Wiltshire. His mother was daughter, says Calamy, of "the famous Mr. *Robert Parker*; who wrote those celebrated Books, *De signo Crucis*; *de descensu Christi ad Inferos*; & *de Politeia Ecclesiasticâ*. He was bred up in *Magdalen-Hall* in *Oxon*."

According to Wood, he "became either batler or commoner of Magd.[alen] hall in Mich.[aelmas] term, 1638, aged 16 years; where he continued for some time under the tuition of Will. Eyre. But before the time came that he could be adorned with a degree, the times changed, and the civil war thereupon began." He then went to his relatives and friends who were in New England.¹ "He answer'd in the university of Cambridge there, several positions (which were about that time printed) for the taking the degree of master of arts."

Possibly he was merely examined for a degree, or performed a part at Commencement, without being resident at the College, or after only a short residence. This was probably for the degree of Bachelor of Arts. I do not find that he ever took his second degree here. Cotton Mather does not mention it, nor does Calamy, except incidentally; neither is it found in any of the records or early catalogues, not even in the catalogue printed in the *Magnalia*. Wood may have confounded the two degrees.

After his return to England, "he retired to Oxon, and as a member of Magd. hall he was admitted to the same degree," (that is, according to Wood, to the degree of Master of Arts,) 16 November, "1648, being about that time a minister," or, in the words of Cotton Mather, "an Eminent Herald of Heaven at *Salisbury*."

¹ His brother, the Reverend John Woodbridge, afterward first minister of Andover, Massachusetts, had come to Boston in 1634, with his uncle, the Reverend Thomas Parker, one of the

first scholars of his time, and had married Mercy, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. The Reverend James Noyes, of Newbury, had married his mother's sister.

His talents and eloquence attracted the attention of several distinguished persons at Newbury, in Berkshire, and he accepted an invitation to succeed William Twisse, D. D., long the minister there, and well known as the President of the Westminster Assembly of Divines and as an author.

This must have been before 1652, for he speaks of having "formerly been a Preacher" at Salisbury, and in that year of being "detained there full sore against" his "will, by the surprisal of a Chronical distemper."

Wood says he was much resorted to by the Presbyterians, and "was constituted one of the assistants to the commissioners of that county, for the ejection of such, whom that party and the independents then (1654) called scandalous, ignorant and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters."

According to Calamy, "he had a mighty Reputation as a Scholar, a Preacher, a Casuist, and a Christian. By his excellent Instruction and wise Conduct he reduc'd the whole Town to a Sobriety of Opinion in Matters of Religion, and an Unity in Worship; whereas they had before been over-run with strange Opinions, and divided into many Parties. He Preach'd three times every Week, and expounded an Hour every Morning for several Years, and his Success was very great and remarkable. Before he left them there was scarce a Family in the Town, where there was not repeating, Praying, Reading, and Singing of Psalms in it. After King *Charles's* Return, he was made one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and Preach'd once before him, while he bore that Character. He was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy*, and very desirous of an Accommodation [with the church party], and much concern'd to find the Endeavours for it so fruitless. He was offer'd a Canonry of *Windsor*, if he would have Con-

form'd but refus'd it.¹ He continu'd Preaching privately at *Newberry* after he was Silenc'd [by the Act of Uniformity, 24 August, 1662]; and upon King *Charles's* Indulgence in 1671 [15 March, 1671-2], more Publickly. He suffer'd many ways for his Non-conformity, and yet was generally Respected by Men that had any Thing of Temper, or were Judges of true and real Worth." "When the *Five Mile Act* [31 October, 1665] took Place, he remov'd from *Newbury*. But his Successor Mr. *Sawyer* thinking him too near where he was, got some by Night to measure the Ground, but fail'd in his Design, because he prov'd to be out of Reach." "He dy'd at *Inglefield* in *Berks*, Nov. 1.

¹ Wood says : — After "bogling long with himself, whether he should take that dignity or not, it was at length bestowed on a son of the ch.[urch] of England. Soon after being silenc'd by virtue of the act of conformity (for he seem'd then to hate a surplice and the common prayer) he preached in private to the brethren, but being often disturbed, and imprison'd once or twice, he, at length, by the persuasion of some of his friends, took holy orders from the hands of Dr. Earle bishop of Salisbury, in the church of S. Peter in the East in Oxon, in Octob. 1665, with a resolution to be conformable to the church of England. But finding not preferment, suitable to his desire, to be conferr'd upon him, and a grand neglect and scorn of the brethren, he return'd to his former opinion (which some then call'd his rags) and preached several times in conventicles to the great disturbance of the government, the peace of *Newbury* and the neighbourhood." And after King *Charles's* Indulgence, 15 March, 1671, "he be-

came so audacious, that he did not only preach publicly in the market place there to the brethren, but disturbed, or caused to be disturbed, the good people in their going to church. Upon the breaking out of the popish plot an. 1678, when then the fanatics took all advantages to promote their respective interests, he did then appear more public again to the disturbance of the peace, preached every Sunday in a conventicle in *Highcleere* in *Hampshire*, and generally once in a week at *Newbury* before-mention'd, which is not far off that place. At length upon the breaking out of the presbyterian plot in June 1683, he sculk'd and retired to *Inglefield* in *Berks*, where, as I have been inform'd, he constantly, if his health permitt'd him, frequented the public service of the church of England and sermons in the church there, to the time of his death."

In regard to Wood himself, Cotton Mather says, he "docs continually serve the *Romanizing Faction* in the *Church of England*, with all manner of Malice and Slander against the

1684. After he had been Minister in Newbury “in Publick and Private, near Forty Years. He was an universally Accomplish’d Person. One of clear and strong Reason, and of an exact and Profound Judgment. His Learning was very considerable, and he was a charming Preacher, having a most commanding Voice and Air. His Temper was staid and chearful; and his Behaviour very Genteel and Obliging. He was a Man of great Generosity, and of an exemplary Moderation: One addicted to no Faction, but of a Catholick Spirit. In short, so eminent was his Usefulness, as to cast no small Reflection on those who had a Hand in silencing and confining him.”

best Men in the World, that were in any measure free from the *Spirit of that Faction.*” — Magnalia, iv. 146.

Calamy, in the Preface to the second volume of his second edition of *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, is very severe on the Athenæ Oxonienses. “*The Canker’d Spirit of the Author, has spoil’d that which otherwise had been one of the best Books that a lover of Biography could easily have met with. His Reflections, which are many times as void of Judgment as Charity, are intolerable. He spares none. Many of the most eminent Conformists, and some that were the Glory of the Establish’d Church, are severely lash’d as well as the poor Nonconformists. Nay the very Martyrs do again suffer under him.*”

“*Instead of being an Ornament to the Famous University of Oxford, ’tis really a Blemish to it; and so will remain as long as ’tis Uncorrected. Its not capable of being purg’d by Flames. It cannot indeed be suppos’d, but it was a Mortification to the Author, to live to see his Book Censur’d and Burnt, and him-*

self Expell’d the University. Justice was hereby done to many worthy Persons, tho’ undesignedly: For ’twas upon a particular Complaint, that the Chancellors Court of the University proceeded to that Severity, which was due for the Injury he had done to the Memory of many.”

Calamy also cites Bishop Gilbert Burnet’s letter to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, that “that poor Writer has thrown together such a Tumultuary mixture of Stuff and Tattle, and has been so visibly a Tool of some of the Church of Rome, to reproach all the greatest Men of our Church that no Man who takes care of his own Reputation, will take anything upon Trust, that is said by one that has no Reputation to lose.”

Kennet, in his *History of England*, ed. 1719, iii. 662, says that Wood, in his *Life of Judge Glynne*, states “that after the Restoration of King Charles II. he was made his Eldest Serjeant at Law, by the corrupt Dealing of the then Lord Chancellor;’ meaning Edward Earl of Clarendon. It was chiefly for this Expression, that the

To cite Wood again, he "was accounted among the brethren a learned and mighty man, and had brought upon himself a very ill habit of body by his too too much agitation for the cause. . . . His body being attended by multitudes of dissenters to Newbury, was buried in the church there, on the fourth day" of November, 1684.

In the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard University he bears the title of Doctor of Divinity. Neither Mather nor Calamy mentions this honor. If he had the title, it must have been given to him at Oxford under Cromwell, for under no other administration could a Puritan divine have received it.

late Earl, as Eldest Son and Heir of the said Chancellor, prefer'd an Action in the Vice-Chancellor's Court against the Author, for Defamation of his deceased Father. The Issue of the Process was a hard Judgment given against the Defendant; which, to be made the more publick, was put into the *Gazette* in these Words: 'Oxford, July 31. 1693. On the 29th Instant, *Anthony à Wood* was condemn'd in the Vice-Chancellor's Court of the University of *Oxford*, for having written and published, in the Second Volume of his Book, entitled, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, divers infamous Libels against the Right Honourable *Edward* late Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, and Chancellor of the said University; and was therefore banished the said University, until such Time as he shall subscribe such a Publick Recantation, as the Judge of the Court shall approve of, and give Security not to offend in the like Nature for the future: And his said

Book was therefore also decreed to be burnt before the Publick Theatre; and on this Day was burnt accordingly: And publick *Programma's* of his Expulsion are already affixed in the Three usual Places.'

"This Censure was the more grievous to the Blunt Author, because it seem'd to come from a Party of Men, whom he had the least disobligh'd. His Bitterness had been against the *Dissenters*; but of all the Zealous Church-Men he had given Characters with a singular Turn of Esteem and Affection: Nay, of the *Jacobites*, and even of the *Papists* themselves, he had always spoke the most favourable Things; and therefore it was really the greater Mortification to him, to feel the Storm coming from a Quarter where he thought he least deserved, and might least expect it, For the same Reason, this Correction was some Pleasure to the *Presbyterians*, who believ'd there was a Rebuke due to him, which they themselves were not able to pay."

WORKS.

1. Justification by Faith: or, A Confutation of that Antinomian Error that Justification is before Faith. Being the Summe and Substance of a Sermon preached at Sarum. London, 1652. 4to.

This is probably the second work printed by any Harvard College graduate, the first being by Ames, of the class of 1645. Wood says, it "is the sum of a sermon preached at Salisbury, and is contained in 3 or 4 sh.[eets] of paper." William Eyre heard Thomas Warren, of Houghton, preach in Salisbury, in 1652, a Wednesday lecture which he thought contained unsound doctrines. He asked a conference, which was held, but without satisfaction. The next day Eyre preached in reply. Woodbridge took Warren's part, and the next Wednesday preached on the same subject. "Afterwards he and Eyre, at a conference about the matter in the public meeting place after sermon, made it a public quarrel, and defied each other." Woodbridge thereupon published this sermon, embodying the contents of the disputation between himself and Eyre. "The famous Rich. Baxter saith that 'the sight of the said sermon of Mr. Woodbridge of so much worth in so narrow room, did cause him to bless God that the church had such a man, and especially Newbury, who had so excellently learned a pastor before (meaning Dr. Twysse), who had mistaken so much in this very point.' Also that 'the said sermon is one of the best, easiest and cheapest preservatives against the contagion of this part of antinomianism of any,' &c." Wood adds, "But by the way I must tell the reader that as the said Mr. Baxter was enclining to arminianism so our author Woodbridge was in some points."

2. The | Method | of | Grace | in the | Justification | of | Sinners. | Being a Reply to a Book written by Mr Wil- | liam Eyre of Salisbury: | Entituled, | Vindiciæ Justificationis Gratuitæ, | Or the | Free Justification of a Sinner justified. | Wherein the Doctrine contained in the said Book, is proved | to be Subversive both of Law and Gospel, contrary to | the consent of Protestants. And inconsistent with it self. | And the Ancient Apostolick Protestant Doctrine of | Justification by Faith asserted. || London, 1656. 4to. pp. (9), 359.

A copy of this work is in Harvard College Library. Calamy says it is "*A Book that deserves the Perusal of all such as would see the Point of Justification nervously and exactly handled.*" The "Epistle to the Reader," in nine pages, gives an account of the contro-

versy with Eyre, and of the circumstances which led to its publication. Wood mentions "The Apostolic Protestant Doctrine of Justification by Faith asserted — Printed with The Method of Grace, &c." This is not in the College copy. May not Wood have mistaken a part of the title of "The Method of Grace" for the title of a separate work?

3. Church Members set in Joynt: or, a Discovery of the unwarrantable and disorderly Practice of private Christians in usurping the peculiar Office and Work of Christ's own Pastors, viz. Public Preaching, &c. London, 1656, 57. 4to.

4. The name of B. Woodbridge is subscribed to Verses "Upon the Tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late Teacher of the Church of Boston in New England," printed in Mather's *Magnalia*, iii. 30. They contain the following lines, which, it has been suggested, gave to Franklin the hint for his celebrated epitaph upon himself:—

"A Living Breathing *Bible*; Tables where
Both *Covenants*, at Large, engraven were;
Gospel and *Law*, in's Heart, had Each its Column;
His Head an Index to the Sacred Volume;
His very Name a *Title-Page*; and next,
His Life a *Commentary* on the Text.
O, What a Monument of Glorious Worth,
When, in a *New Edition*, he comes forth,
Without *Errata's*, may we think he'll be
In *Leaves* and *Covers* of Eternity!"

5. When chaplain to King Charles, he preached before him a sermon on Acts xvii. 11; but it may not have been printed.

6. He published a work by his uncle, James Noyes, of Newbury, Massachusetts, entitled, "Moses and Aaron: Or, The Rights of Church and State: Containing two Disputations." London, 1661. 4to.

AUTHORITIES.—E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. ix, 95; *Continuation*, 132. E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, i. 22. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 327; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 3; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 39; *Farmer and Moore's Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous*, iii. 183;

American Quarterly Register, viii. 129. S. Kettell, *Specimens of American Poetry*, i. xxix. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, x. 32. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. 31; iv. 135. D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iv. 530. T. Palmer, *Non-Conformists Memorial*, i. xi, 229. A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, iv. 158; *Fasti*, iv. 108.

GEORGE DOWNING.

Born about 1625, died 1684, aged 59.

SIR GEORGE DOWNING, M. A., was son of Emanuel Downing, of Salem, Massachusetts, who married, 10 April, 1622, Lucy, sister of Governor John Winthrop. He was probably born in London, England, in 1625. In 1636 he was at school "at Maydstone in Kent." March 4, 1636-7, his mother wrote from England to her brother, Governor Winthrop: "George and his father comlye moste cordyally for new Eng: but poor boy, I fear the journie would not be so prosperous for him as I could wish, in respect you haue yet noe societies nor means in that kinde for the education of youths in learninge: and I bless God for it he is yet reasonable hopefull in that waye. and it would I thinke as wee saye greue me in my graue to know that his mynde should be withdrawne from his booke by other sports or imployments, for that weer but the way to make him good att nothinge. Its true the collegdes hear are much corrupted, yet not so I hope, but good frinds maye yet finde a fittinge tutor for him: and if it maye be with any hopes of his well doeinge hear, knowinge your preualency with my husband, and the hazard the boy is in by reson both of his fathers and his owne stronge inclination to the plantation sports: I am bould to present this sollisitous suit of myne, with all earnestnes to you and my nephew Winthrop that you will not condecend to his goinge ouer till he hath either attayned to perfection in the arts hear or that theer be sufficient means for to perfect him theerin with you: wich I should be moste glad to hear of: it would make me goe far nimbler to new Eng: if God should call me to it, then

otherwise I should: and I beleeu a collegd would put noe small life into the plantation.”

George arrived in New England with his parents in 1638, probably early in October. He pursued his studies under the Reverend John Fiske, for many years an instructor in Salem. He was also under the influence of Hugh Peters, who married his aunt, and to whose church in Salem his parents belonged. Upham says he “spent his later youth and opening manhood on Salem Farms. In his college vacations and intervals of study, he partook, perhaps, in the labors of the plantation, mingled with the rural population, and shared in their sports. The crack of his fowling-piece re-echoed through the wild woods beyond Procter’s Corner; he tended his father’s duck-decoys at Humphries’ Pond, and angled along the clear brooks.”

He was the first graduate from Salem. February 24, 1642-3, a few months after he took his degree, his mother wrote to Governor Winthrop: “Somwhat allso I am troubled concerning my sonne Georg. I perceiue he is strongly inclined to trauill. Eng. is I fear vnpeaceable, and other cuntryes perilous in poynt of religion and maners. Besides wee haue not whearwith to acommodate him for such an ocasion:¹ and to goe a seruant I think might not be very fit for him neither in diuers respects. Religious masters or fellowes are not

¹ February 11, 1642-3, not a fortnight before this, George’s mother, possibly to meet in part the drain made upon her resources to pay her son’s college expenses, conveyed real estate to John Pickering, for which he agreed to pay £22, “nine pounds of her debts, to such persons as she hath appointed, and eight pounds in bacon, at vi^d the pound, and corne at such rates as they are sold commonly

by Capt. Traske the second week in April next, whereof xvi bushels is to be of Indian, the rest pease and wheate. And the other five pounds in such commodities as her occasions require excepting money and corne.” Her husband, who was then in England, recorded his agreement to this sale, 10. 12 mo., 1643.—Essex County Registry of Deeds, cxliv. 149.

frequent in traills, nor is he any scribe. I pray, sir, be pleased to consider of it, and to giue him your best aduise, for I fear it maye be some present preiudice to him hear: and the liklyest I can perceiue to be his motiue is his little expectation and fears of supplye hear. The good Lord direct him to His owne glory."

Downing's purpose to go abroad was deferred. He engaged in teaching, having received, 27 December, 1643, an appointment for "y^{is} yeare" at the college on a salary of four pounds, "to read to y^e Junior pupills as y^e P^rsident shall see fit."¹

In the mean time he pursued the study of divinity; his love of "traill" and adventure increased, and he was probably excited by the prospect of employment and fame amid the stirring events in England. Accordingly, in the summer of 1645, at the age of twenty, he "went in a ship to the West Indies to instruct the seamen." Probably he took this method to pay the expenses of his voyage. He proceeded by way of "Newfoundland, and so to Christophers, and Barbados, and Nevis, and being requested to preach in all these places, he gave such content, as he had large offers made to stay with them. But he continued in the ship to England, and being a very able scholar, and of a ready wit and fluent utterance, he was soon taken notice of, and called to be a preacher" in Colonel John Okey's regiment in the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had the chief command of the Parliament forces in the North on the resignation of Lord Essex.

¹ "At y^e meeting of y^e Governours of Harvard Colledge, held in y^e Colledge-Hall this 27 of 10^h — 1643.

"It is ordered y^{at} 2 Batchelours shall be chosen for y^e p^rsent helpe of y^e P^rsident, to read to y^e Junior pupills as y^e P^rsident shall see fitt, & be allowed out of y^e Colledge Treas-

ury 4^l pr Annum to each of y^m for y^eir paines.

"S^r Bulkly, & S^r Downing are appoynted for y^t service to continue for y^{is} yeare." — Corporation Records.

Among the contributions in 1669 for building the new college is £5 by Sir George Downing.

February 23, 1650-1, his mother wrote: "All Georg writs is that he is now returnd from Scotland, and is still in a hurry of busines, and was that night by command to goe to the armye wich he expected was then near the borders of Scotland. . . . My brother Kirby sayth his cosen Georg is the only thriveing man of our generation."

When not more than twenty-five years of age, Downing had risen so fast as to have become a confidential member of Cromwell's staff, and one of the most important correspondents and advisers of Parliament. September 3, 1651, he was at the battle of Worcester, which Cromwell, foreseeing its consequences, called his "crowning mercy"; and his despatch, which is printed in Cary's Memorials, ii. 357, is thought to be far more perspicuous and soldier-like than that of his great commander. As early as 13 April, 1652, he held the important position of Scoutmaster-General to the army in Scotland.

In 1655, being secretary to Thurloe, who was Cromwell's Secretary of State, he was sent to the Duke of Savoy to remonstrate against the persecution of the Waldenses in Piedmont, and, on his way, to open negotiations with the prime minister of France. In noticing this mission Upham says: "He embarked from Dover in a public ship, 4 August, 1665." He was received with much attention, "and, after having travelled in great state through the Netherlands, obtained a private audience with Mazarin, which lasted, as Downing states in his despatches, 'full two hours.' The conversation was conducted in Latin, and all the leading topics of European politics were fully discussed and adjusted. Downing accomplished all the objects of his mission, so far as Mazarin was concerned, in this memorable interview, and after having received the most flattering marks of the Cardinal's favor pursued his journey to Geneva, se-

cured the Waldenses from further injury and persecution, and returned to England with great applause."

He "was specially chosen member of Parliament in 1656 for the Protector's purposes . . . under Monk's instructions," from the "boroughs connected with Haddington" in Scotland. Besides engaging zealously in all other important business of the House he took the lead in questions of revenue and trade.

"A Narrative of the late Parliament," published in 1657, records "George Downing as Scoutmaster General £365 per Annum; one of the Tellers in the Exchequer £500; in all £865 per Annum. It's said he hath the Captain's pay of a troop of horse."

In 1657, he was appointed by Cromwell Minister to Holland, with a salary of £1,100. The letter of credence, written by the poet John Milton, says he "is a Person of eminent Quality, and after a long trial of his Fidelity, Probity and Diligence, in several and various Negotiations, well approv'd and valu'd by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignify'd with the Character of our Agent, and amply furnish'd with our Instructions."¹ He went over in January, 1657-8, and was received with great ceremony. Upham, in relation to his services during his residence at the Hague, writes: "He held a constant correspondence with all the Courts of Europe, negotiated a peace (as mediator) between Portugal and the States-General, visited Copenhagen and the other Northern capitals for similar purposes and with similar success, procured treaties to be made with Russia, and between Sweden and Denmark, and by the most indefatigable and judicious interposition pro-

¹ "Vir nobilis, nobis est multis ac variis negotiis summâ fide, probitate ac solertiâ perspectus jam diu & cognitus. Eum, ut apud vos Oratoris

munere fungatur, mittendum censuimus, mandatisque nostris amplissimè instruximus."

moted the policy of his government in preserving the peace of Europe. . . . At the same time he was ever watchful and unwearied in attending to the more immediate duties of his station, protecting the property and vindicating the rights of his countrymen.

“But the talent for which he was most distinguished as a public minister and most valuable to his own government was his faculty of obtaining information of all that was going on around him. . . . It may be said, with almost literal truth, that by his agents, correspondents, servants, and spies, he was everywhere present. Not a ship arrived or sailed from a port in Europe that he did not communicate to Cromwell her name, destination, owners, cargo, consignees, armament, and even the number and character of her crew. He watched the course of Charles Stuart and the other members of the exiled family, tracked their agents and adherents from court to court, and kept a list of their correspondents on the Continent and in England.” He “ascertained and reported every journey Charles made, every interview he held with his friends, and even the places where he lodged, and the very rooms in which he slept from night to night.”

When Charles once, during his residence at Brussels, made a journey *incognito* to see Amsterdam and other places, Downing sent a remonstrance to the States of Holland, with a copy of the article of the treaty by which they were not “to suffer any Traitor, Rebel or any other Person, who was declared an enemy to the *Commonwealth of England*, to reside or stay in their Dominions”; and they were obliged to notify the Princess Royal “that if her Brother were then with her or should come to her, He should forthwith depart out of their Province.”

Several of the exiled royalists resided at the Hague and, in their worship, continued the practice of praying for

Charles. Downing maintained that "this way of praying, with its dependances, made this place a meere nursery of cavallierisme," and "obtayned an order of the counsel of state" that it should be discontinued. Many persons were exasperated. The Queen of Bohemia said she would no more worship with them. Three "Englishmen, about ten of the clock at night, with their haire tucked up under white caps, stood privatly at a bridg" near his house, evidently with the intention of assassinating him; but Downing escaped, as they assaulted a Dutch gentleman who came out, and fled as soon as they discovered their mistake.

Broderick, calling Downing "as arrant a rascal as lives amongst men," writes to Clarendon, 16 December, 1659, that he "goes very shortly into Holland to reside with his Wife, as he pretends for thrift, having many conveniences there, but in truth to be a Spy." From the Memoirs of Pepys, who was in Downing's office, at first as a clerk, it appears that "he went over on the most important juncture, end of January, 1659-60, to wait for events at the Hague." Having become convinced that an effort would be made to put Charles into power, "He bethought himself how Hee might have a Reserve of the King's Favour." Thomas Howard, his brother-in-law, who appears always to have adhered to the royal party, in a letter to Charles, dated 5 April, 1660, states, that, in accordance with Downing's repeated and urgent request, he had an interview with him on the preceding day, and "that he wished the promoting your Majesty's service, which he confessed he had endeavoured to obstruct, though he never had any malice to your Majesty's person or family; alledging to be engaged in a contrary party by his father, who was banished into *New England*, where he was brought up, and had sucked in principles that since his reason had made him see were

erroneous. . . . In short, he told me his desires were to serve your Majesty, if you would be so graciously pleased as to pardon his past faults and errors; and that he did believe himself in many capacities able to do your Majesty some service. He could not particularise any great and notable service for the present, but in the general he would from this time do all he could. He believes he has a good interest in the army, and that your Majesty can have no greater service done you than the dividing the army's interest in their resolutions of vehemently declaring against your Majesty in particular, and in general against any government in a single person. . . . He shewed me a letter he received that morning (all in cypher which he had decyphered) from *Thurloe*; which gave him an account of the intention of the army. . . . He wished to see you a King that might oblige and punish, and [said] that he would make no conditions for himself; but desired to be looked upon according to the merit of his services, and he would for the future hazard his life and fortune for your Majesty. He told me, if your Majesty were pleased to pardon him and accept his service, he would immediately go for *England*, where he would endeavour to make good his promise, and says, his not being looked upon as interested in your Majesty's service will make him more capable to prevail with the soldiers and the officers of the army, who must first be brought off from their vehement courses; and then he and his friends will endeavour to bring them to such reasonable terms as your Majesty shall think fit."

Carte says, Howard informed Charles that Downing, "lately come out of *England*, would be glad to have a private conference with any one whom his Majesty entirely trusted, and wished it might be the Marquis of *Ormonde*." He obtained a private conference with the Marquis, who was journeying *incognito* to the Hague,

and through him offered his services to the King, “if his Devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his Majesty.” As an earnest of his fidelity, he communicated important intelligence, and said that by the same channel through which he had obtained secret information respecting the King, which he had sent to Cromwell, he would obtain information for him now that Cromwell was dead. The Marquis spoke favorably. Downing said, “He knew the King’s present Condition too well to expect any Reward from him: But if his Majesty would vouchsafe, when He should be restored, to confirm to him the Office He then held of a Teller in the Exchequer, and continue him in this Employment He then had in *Holland*, where He presumed He should be able to do him more Service than a Stranger could do, He would think himself abundantly rewarded.” The Marquis communicated this to Charles at Brussels, and assured Downing “of the King’s Acceptation, and that all that He expected should be made good.

“THIS was the Ground and Reason, that when the King came to the *Hague* the year following [in May] to embark for *England*, He received *Downing* so graciously, and knighted him,¹ and left him there as his Resident; which They who were near the King, and knew Nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as Strangers who had observed his former Behaviour. And the *States* themselves, who would not at such a Time of publick Joy do any Thing that might be ingrateful to his Majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, ‘that his Majesty would depute a Person to have his Authority, who had never used any other Dialect to persuade them to do any Thing He proposed, but Threats if They should not do it, and who at several Times had disobliged most of their Persons by his Insolence.’”

¹ May 21, 1660.

June 28, 1660, after Charles had arrived in England, Pepys writes: "To Sir G. Downing, the first visit I have made him since he come. He is so stingy¹ a fellow I care not to see him; I quite cleared myself of his office, and did give him liberty to take any body in. After all this to my Lord, who lay a-bed till eleven o'clock, it being almost five before he went to bed, they supped so late last night with the King."

Downing was elected burgess for Morpeth, in Northumberland, to serve in the Parliament which convened at Westminster, 8 May, 1661. In the intervals of Parliament he returned to his employments at the Hague.

July 15, 1661, he wrote to Clarendon: "I did speak to De Witt about having a *dormant order to apprehend any of the excepted persons*. He made much difficulty therein; saying that it was not a thinge that was fitt to be done

¹ The trait here ascribed to Downing clung to him through life. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxix. 61, is a long letter from his mother, dated as late as 17 April, 1674, in which she gives an account of her bodily infirmities and straitened circumstances. Besides other details she writes: "In respect your sister Peters is now forced for her present profit to confine her selfe to a smale part of her hous, and I am necessitated by my weakenes to keep a seruant to help me, I found it more for my profet; since I must giue 7 pound a year for my chamber, and furnish it myself, and find myself cooles and candilles and wasing, and to pay for our boards with her besides, for now allthought I may feare the harder, yet I can take my owne time, for want of which I formerlie sufferd, and now I am less

troublesom to her. But I am now att ten pounce ayear for my chamber and 3 pound for my seruants wages, and haue to extend the other tene pound a year to acomadat for our meat and drinck: and for my clothing and all other nessesaries I am much to seeke, and more your brother Georg will not hear of for me: and that it is onely couetousnes that maks me aske more. He last sumer bought another town, near Hatly, calld Clappum, cost him 13 or 14 thousand pound, and I really belecue one of us 2 are indeed couctous. Cooles haue ben this winter at fiftie shill and 3 pound a chaldron, and wheat at ten shills a bush, and all other things sutible therunto. The good Lord help me to liue by fayth, and not by sence, whilst he pleas to afforde me a life in this world."

untill the *Treaty be concluded*, but yett in conclusion did consent, but withall that it could not be done but by order of the *States of Holland*, which is true in regard that there is noe treaty yett made. But I told him that, if soe, that then it could not possibly be *kept secret*; and thereupon I asked him what he thought, if *I* should cause any of *them to be apprehended without order, and putt them into a ship, and send them into England*. He replied, that he thought it was the surest way; that it might indeede make a little stirre and busling; but when it was done it could not be undone."

In March, 1662, he procured the arrest of John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the judges who had condemned Charles the First. Barkstead and Okey, being settled at Hanau, in Germany, had, on application, been assured by the States-General that they might reside a short time in Holland, unmolested; and Okey, in whose regiment Downing had been chaplain, and "who gave him his first bread in England," had taken particular pains to inform Downing of his purpose, and had obtained from him through a friend an assurance "that he had no order from the king to apprehend or molest them, but that they might be as free and safe there as himself." The night on which they arrived at Delft, Downing, with a warrant from the States-General, had them apprehended, together with Corbet, who had been making a friendly call and was just leaving them. Through Downing's "procurement" they were shackled and fettered, and "cast into a nasty, moist, and dark dungeon" in the prison, with nothing "but the damp earth to repose upon." There they were kept all night and till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when the authorities, on conversing with them, were inclined to favor them. But, through Downing's "extreme officiousness" and "continued solicitations, accompanied (as is reported)

with strange menaces, these persons were soon after, . . . by order from the States-General, at two of the clock in the morning, taken out of prison, and being manacled with wrist irons, chains, and locks, were thrust into a vessel lying at Delft, and from thence conveyed into one of the king of England's frigates, provided for the purpose."

Pepys writes, 12 March, 1662: "This morning we had news from Mr. Coventry, that Sir G. Downing, (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the King, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey, Corbet, and Barkestead . . . and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Pen, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebell Cromwell: by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world, — and they know it too." Under date of the 17th, mentioning the arrival of the judges, Pepys adds: "The Captain tells me, the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so: though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villaine for his pains."

The three were convicted of treason, and were hanged and quartered 10 April, 1662, and their several quarters brought back to Newgate to be boiled, — Okey's "macerated body to be buried where his wife should think meet," — a permission afterwards revoked because of the hasty assembling of nearly twenty thousand persons to attend the funeral.

There are reasons for supposing Downing to have been

the author of the policy developed in the British Navigation Act, which was initiated 9 October, 1651, and advanced by another Act in 1660. This topic is treated by Upham, in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, iv. 407. Downing regarded the enforcement of this Act to be the "only means of curbing the progress and reducing the power of Holland." As stated by Palfrey, it provided that "no goods should be imported from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships, . . . nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belonged to the people of that country of which the goods were the growth or manufacture; . . . that no goods of foreign growth or manufacture should be imported but from the ports where such goods could only be, or usually had been, first shipped for transportation; . . . that no salt-fish, whale-fins, or oil should be imported, but what were caught or made by the people of England, nor any salt-fish imported, or carried from one port to another in this nation, but in English vessels."

This Act made England the great naval power of the world, but it was ruinous to Holland, and would have been so to New England, if it had not been resisted. By its severe pressure upon the North American Colonies, and its vexatious restrictions upon their trade, it kept alive and nourished that spirit of discontent which finally culminated in the American Revolution. But if all which is claimed for it be granted, it consolidated England's colonial possessions into one vast fountain of wealth to the realm, and has been the occasion of extensively advancing knowledge, truth, freedom, and the triumphs of humanity. Still, Downing is represented as having been friendly to Massachusetts in the difficulties between the New England Colonies and Charles.

July 1, 1663, Downing was created a baronet by the title of Sir George Downing of East Hatley, Cambridge-

shire, knight, where his estate was called the largest in the county. On the same occasion his Majesty "gaue him a thousand pounds as a token of his favour."

Meantime Downing and James, Duke of York, were taking measures for the seizure of New Netherland, now New York. In March, 1664, Charles the Second granted Long Island and the adjoining country, then in possession of the Dutch, to James Duke of York, who disliked the Dutch as much as Downing did, had pecuniary and other interests to subserve, was Governor of the Royal African Company, with which Dutch commerce was interfering, and in time of profound peace had despatched a fleet which committed aggressions against the Dutch in Africa, "without any authority," as Lord Clarendon emphatically expresses it, "and without any shadow of justice." In the spring of 1664, in continuation of movements made by Charles in the preceding year, James "*borrowed* two men of war of the King; in which he sent Colonel Richard Nicholas, . . . with 300 men," to take possession of New Netherland. May 6, 1664, Downing wrote of an interview with De Witt, who was alarmed at the report of this movement, and states that he told De Witt he "knew of no such Country" as New Netherland "but only in the Mapp, that indeed if their people were to be believed all the world were New Netherland, but that when that buisness shall be looked after, it will be found that y^e English had the first pattent & possession of those parts."

July 8, the report of an approaching invasion reached New Netherland, and measures were taken for defence. The report was soon silenced by a "despatch from the Chamber at Amsterdam, stating that no apprehension . . . need be entertained." The consequence was a surprise, and an absolute necessity of yielding to a superior force.

O'Callaghan describes Downing as "keen, bold, subtle,

active and observant, but imperious and unscrupulous, naturally preferring menace to persuasion, reckless of the means employed or the risk incurred in the pursuit of a proposed object, disliking and distrusting the Dutch, and forearmed with a fierce determination not to be foiled or overreached." This estimate of him is confirmed by his conduct in relation to New Netherland. November 4, 1664, he wrote, after an interview with De Witt: "As to New Netherland, I replied, y^t his Ma^{tie} did not looke upon himselfe as obliged to give y^m [the Dutch] any account of what he did in relation thereunto, for y^t he did not looke upon them as att all interested therein; no more yⁿ he should thinke himselfe obliged to lett them know his mind, or to have their consent, in case he should thinke fitt to proceed ag^t any Dutch y^t live in y^e Fenns in England, or in any other part of his dominions, of which he always understood y^t land they call New Netherland to be a part."

Were it not for the great principle that truth and right always bear the best fruits, it would seem as if Downing's conduct, in this seizure of New Netherland, led to incalculable good. If New York had been under the Dutch government at the time of the American Revolution, probably there could not have been a union and cooperation of the British possessions on the north and south of it; there would not have been any important attempt at revolution, or, if there had been, it would have failed; and the oppressed everywhere would have continued without the encouragement for relief with which they have been inspired by the example and success of the republic of the United States.

July 12, 1666, Evelyn makes the record: "We sat y^e first time in y^e Star Chamber. There was now added to our Commission Sir Geo. Downing (one that had ben a great . . . against his Ma^{ty} but now insinuated into his

favour, and from a pedagogue and fanatic preacher not worth a groate had become excessive rich) to inspect the hospitals and treat about prisons."

May 27, 1667, Pepys writes: "The new Commissioners of the Treasury have chosen Sir G. Downing for their Secretary:¹ and I think in my conscience that they have done a great thing in it; for he is active and a man of business, and values himself upon having of things do well under his hand; so that I am mightily pleased in their choice."

Downing labored industriously to increase the revenue and enlarge the resources of the country. Pepys, 8 September, 1667, remarks, incidentally: "Sir George Downing told he had been seven years finding out a man that could dress English sheep-skin as it should be; and indeed it is now as good in all respects as kidd; and, he says, will save 100,000l. a-year that goes out to France for kidds'-skins."

He originated, and, notwithstanding very violent opposition, particularly by the Earl of Clarendon, succeeded in procuring the passage of the Act of 17 Charles II., "To make all the Money that was to be raised by this Bill to be applied only to those Ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on of the War, and to no other purpose whatsoever, or by what authority soever." This innovation was particularly necessary at the time for the navy and the coast defence; and the public service was suffering because of the appropriation of money to the purposes and pleasures of the court. It was the origin of the laying of estimates before the House of Commons. The practice has been adopted extensively in

¹ "Downing Street, Whitehall, was so called after Sir George Downing, Secretary to the Treasury, when the office of Lord Treasurer was put in commission (May, 1667) on Lord Southampton's death." — P. Cunningham, Hand-Book of London, Past and Present.

other countries besides Great Britain, and in the administration of government is of incalculable importance.

December 27, 1668, Pepys states that Downing discoursed with him about having given, when in Holland, advice to his Majesty for prosecuting the Dutch war, but that the king hearkened to other counsellors and thus subjected the nation to loss. "He told me that he had so good spies, that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was a-bed, and his closet opened and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and keys put into his pocket again. He says he hath always had their most private debates, that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the King, but nobody here regarded them."

In 1671 Downing went to Holland, to take the place of Sir William Temple. A letter from London, dated 4 March, 1671-2, states, that he "was sent to make up the quarrel with the Dutch, but coming home in too great haste and fear, is now in the prison where his master [meaning Okey] lay that he betrayed." Another statement from England in 1671 is in these words: "Sir George Downing is in the Tower, it is said because he returned from Holland, where he was sent ambassador, before his time: As it is reported, he had no small abuse offered him there. They printed the sermons he preached in Oliver's time and drew three pictures of him. 1. Preaching in a tub, over it was wrote, *This I was*. 2. A treacherous courtier, over it, *This I am*. 3. Hanging on a gibbet, and over it, *This I shall be*." According to Lingard, he "was a bold, rapacious, and unprincipled man, who under Cromwell had extorted by menaces considerable sums, in the form of presents, from the Dutch merchants," and was

so "hateful in Holland that he fled back to England to escape the vengeance of the mob." The wife of Goffe, the regicide, wrote to her husband in New England: "Sir G. Downing was put in the tower because he came out of Holland without the king's order."

He must have been released from imprisonment, and soon restored to royal favor, for within a year he published a discourse, "Vindicating his *Royal Master* from the *Insolencies* of a *Scandalous Libel*."

Downing was one of the three Commissioners of the Customs in London, who, under date of 9 July, 1678, prepared the rigid instructions for "Edward Randolph, Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher, of his Majesty's Customs in New England." They are printed in the twenty-seventh volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Bishop Burnet asserts that he was "a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every side that was uppermost, and to betray those who by their former friendship and services thought they might depend on him." In the Life of Clarendon he is spoken of as "a Man of an obscure Birth, and more obscure Education, which He had received in Part in *New England*," "of a restless Brain," "a very voluminous Speaker," "a Man of a proud and insolent Spirit, and who would add to any imperious Command of his [Cromwell's] somewhat of the Bitterness of his own Spirit." But Clarendon was his enemy.

Wood, mistaking the parentage of Downing, says, Calibute Downing "was father to a son of his own temper named George, a sider with all times and changes, well skill'd in the common cant, and a preacher sometimes to boot, a man of note in Oliver's days," etc.

Marvell, in "A Seasonable Argument," etc., published in 1677, writes as follows: "NORTHUMBERLAND. *Morpeth*."

Sir George Downing, a poor child, bred upon charity; like Judas, betrayed his master. What then can his country expect? He drew and advised the oath of renouncing the king's family, and took it first himself. For his honesty, fidelity, &c. rewarded by his Majesty with 80.000*l.* at least, and is a commissioner of customs, the house bell, to call the courtiers to vote at six o'clock at night, an Exchequer teller."

Hutchinson says: "His character runs low with the best historians in England; it was much lower with his countrymen in New England; and it became a proverbial expression, to say of a false man who betrayed his trust, he was an arrant George Downing."

John Adams writes: "To borrow the language of the great Dr. Johnson, this 'dog' Downing must have had a head and brains, or, in other words, genius and address; but, if we may believe history, he was a scoundrel."

Such appears to be the estimation in which Downing is generally held. Still, when we consider how liable a man's political motives and acts are to be misunderstood, some allowance, perhaps, may be made for the bitterness with which he was commonly assailed by contemporaries, in a time of political turbulence, revolution, and intense party feeling.

He died in 1684, the year in which the charter of Massachusetts was abrogated.

Downing's progress to power was greatly advanced by his matrimonial union with the "blood of all the Howards." To cite the Life of Clarendon, he "had passed through many Offices in *Cromwell's* Army, of Chaplain, Scoutmaster, and other Employments, and at last got a very particular Credit and Confidence with him, and under that Countenance married a beautiful Lady of a very noble Extraction, which was the Fate of many bold Men in that presumptuous Time." The "beautiful

Lady" was Frances Howard, a descendant from that fourth Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded by Queen Elizabeth for tenderness to Mary Queen of Scots. Of only three peers created by Cromwell, her brother, Charles Howard, was the first, with the title of Viscount Morpeth; and 20 April, 1661, after the Restoration, he was made first Earl of Carlisle, a title "now enjoyed by his lineal heirs." The marriage took place with great splendor in 1654, at the magnificent seat of the Earl. Wood cites Kennet, that "In the *Inauguratio Olivariana Carmen votivum autore Fitz-Pagano Fishero*, 1654, 4to, is an epithalamium 'In nuptias viri vere honoratissimi Georgii Downingi campo-exploratoris generalissimi &c. et vere nobilissimæ Franciscæ Howardi equitis aurati et sororis illustrissimi Caroli Howardi de Naworth in com. Cumbriæ, &c.'" She died 10 July, 1683.

Their eldest son, George, was teller in the Exchequer in 1680. He was married to Catharine, eldest daughter of James, Earl of Salisbury, of the House of Cecil. Their son, "The Worshipful & Honorable S^r George Downing, Baronet, Knight of the Bath, and Justice of the Peace for y^e County of Cambridge," was member of Parliament in 1710, 1713, 1727, and, according to the London Magazine, a member "for *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*" in 1749. He was married early in life to Miss Forester, daughter of Sir William Forester, knight, of Watling Street in Shropshire; but he "never cohabited with his wife; & for the latter Part of his Life led a most miserable covetous & sordid Life." "He died at his fine seat at Gamlingay, June 9, Friday, 1749, where he had been confined with the Gout for a long Time, leaving only one natural Daughter, to whom he left about 20,000 pounds, and the mother of her 200 pounds per ann. His great Estate, the largest of any Gentleman or Nobleman in this county," he bequeathed successively

to his first cousins, Jacob Garrard Downing and Serjeant Barnardiston, and, if they died without lawful issue, "for the erecting and building a College" at Cambridge. After a half-century's opposition and litigation, "the great seal was affixed to the charter," 22 September, 1800; and the magnificent Downing College was erected, with funds said to amount to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Savage says: "I can imagine the delight of an enthusiast of such severe temper, as Hugh Peters, at this termination of the male lineal descendant of the first Sir George, which he might naturally regard as the retributive justice of one 'visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.'"

William, Prince of Orange, afterward King of England, was godfather to the first Sir George's second son, William. Another son, Charles, was a teller in the Exchequer in 1700.

The graduate's sister, Mary, was married to Anthony Stoddard, of Boston, linen-draper, from whom, thus uniting the blood of the Winthrops and the Downings, have descended some of the ablest men and women whom the country has produced.

Ann, another sister of Sir George, was married to the intrepid Captain Gardner, who was killed at the Narragansett swamp fight, 19 December, 1676. Afterwards she became the second wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet.

WORKS.

1. Propositie uyt den Naem de Protector van Engelandt aen de Staten General. Amst. 1658. 4to.
2. Naerdere Aenspraecke aen 't Verenichde Nederlant gedaen by den Heer Douwningh, Resident van S. H. Mylord Protector, Anno 1658. pp. 8. In Dutch and English.

3. Propositie vande Heere Downing, Extr. Afgesante vande Republyck van Engelandt. Gedaen aende . . . Staten Generael . . . den 24 Febr. 1660. — 1660. 4to. pp. 6.

4. Memoire présenté par le S. George Downing Envoyé Extr. d'Angleterre, a Mess. les Estats Generaux . . . le 17 Avril 1660. — 1660. 4to. pp. 12.

5. Memoriael vande Heere G. Downing . . . Gepres. aen de . . . Staten Generael . . . Den 17 April 1660. pp. 10.

6. Aenspraeck gedaen in de Vergaderingh van de Staten Generael van de Vereenighde Nederlanden den 18 Junii 1661. 4to.

7. Twee Memorien van de Heere Downing Extraord. Afgesante van Engelandt. Overgeg. aen de Heeren Staten Generael den 3 ende 8. Aug. 1661. — 1661. 4to. pp. 8. In Dutch and French.

8. Pretentien tegens d' Oost-Indische Comp., gedaen door ende van wegens Willem Courten Zal: ende andere Geinteresserde, over schade geleden in Oost-Indien. Mitsg. Missive van s. Maj. van Groot Brittagnien aen . . . de Heeren Staten Generael [in French, 21 March] ende Memoriael aen hun overgelevert door Sir G. Downing [in Eng., 19 Apr.] . . . 1662. pp. 12.

9. Memorie van de Ridder G. Downing Extr. Afgesante van z. Maj. van Groot Britannien. Overgel. aen de . . . Staten Generael . . . den 3/13 Mey 1662. pp. 8. In Dutch and French.

10. Over vijandelijkheden tegen de Engelschen op de kust van Guinea.

This relates to the hostilities against the English on the coast of Guinea.

11. Replicatie van de Ridder G. Downing . . . Overgeg. den 13 Julij, 1662. Op de Antwoorde van de Staten Generael . . . op syne Memorien aeng. het Schip Carel. pp. 8.

12. Advys ende Antwoort van . . . (de) Staten Generael . . . op het sentiment ende verklaring' van de Heer Downing . . . ontrent de twee Schepen Bon' Avontura, en Bon' Esperance [4 Junij]. Gehouden in 's Grav., kort voor . . . Downing . . . syn vertreck nae Londen, den 10 Junij 1664. Leyden, 1664. pp. 16.

13. Memorie van Sir George Downing . . . overgeg. aen de . . . Staten Generael . . . den 11/21 Aug. 1664. — Memorie. pp. 24. In Dutch and French.

14. Vertoogh, van den Heer G. Downing, . . . aen de . . .

Staten Generael den 5 Dec. 1664 n. St. gedaen. — Memoire ou Declaration. pp. 8. In Dutch and French.

15. Mémoire du Chev. George Downing . . . delivré à Mess. les Estats Generaux . . . le 30 Dec. 1664. pp. 12.

16. Memorie . . . over geg. aen de Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederl. den 20 [*sic*] Dec. 1664. 4to. pp. 12.

17. Memorie . . . den 30 Dec. 1664. pp. 12.

18. Memorie . . . Vereenighde Nederl., den 30 Dec. 1664. pp. 12.

19. A | Reply | . . . | To the Remarks | of the | Deputies of the Estates-General | upon his | Memorial | Of December 20, 1664. || Old Style, London, 1665. 4to. pp. 104.

20. Translaet van de Replique van de Heere Ridder George Downing . . . op de Aenteykeningen van haare Ho: Mo: Gedeputeerden 1665. 4to.

21. A | Discourse | Written by | Sir George Downing, | The King of Great Britain's Envoy | Extraordinary to the States of the | Vnited Provinces. | Vindicating his Royal Master from the | Insolencies of a Scandalous Libel, Printed | under the Title of [An Extract out of the | Regicter of the States General of the Vnited | Provinces, upon the Memorial of Sir George | Downing, Envoy, &c.] And delivered by | the Agent De Heyde for such, to several | Publick Ministers. | Whereas no such Resolution was ever | Communicated to the said Envoy, nor any | Answer returned at all by Their Lordships to | the said Memorial. | — | Whereunto is added a Relation of some | Former and later Proceedings of the | Hollanders: By a Meaner Hand. || London, 1672. 12mo. pp. 31, 139, (1), (3). *A, H, P.*

The three pages of verses at the end are entitled "Neptune's welcome to his Royal | Highness James Duke of | York, upon his first appearance | at Sea, to Fight the Hollan- | der." Downing's signature to the "Discourse" is "Given at the Hague this 16 of September, 1664." The first edition was printed in 1664 in 4to, and a later one in 8vo in 1692.

22. Besides these publications there are many others, which are printed in J. R. Brodhead's Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, Vol. II.; in the Letters, Life, and Correspondence of Clarendon; in J. Thurloe's State Papers; &c. There are also manuscript Downing papers in the Dawson Turner Collec-

tion at Great Yarmouth, England; and among the Winthrop papers in the possession of Robert Charles Winthrop, of Boston, Massachusetts, are others, which, in advance of their publication by the Massachusetts Historical Society, I have been permitted, through his courtesy, to use freely in preparing this article.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Adams, Works, x. 329. J. R. Brodhead, Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, ii. 255–335, 365, 379, 415; iii. 245. G. Burnet, History of my own Time, i. 198. Burke, Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies. Cambridge University Calendar. T. Carte, Letters, ii. 319; and Life of Ormonde, ii. 197. Life of Clarendon, ed. 1759, Continuation, 222–226, 313; and State Papers, iii. 630. J. S. Clarke, Life of James the Second, i. 400. J. P. Dabney, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, v. 47. G. Dyer, History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, ii. 440. J. Evelyn, Memoirs, ed. 1819, i. 389. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 86; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 7; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 43. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, i. 541. Gentleman's Magazine, lxxi. 197. Harvard College Corporation Records, i. 1. T. Hutchinson, History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, i. 111. W. Kennet, Historical Register, ed. 1745, 662–665. J. Le Keux, T. Wright, and H. L. Jones, Memorials of Cambridge, ii. 106–112. J. Lingard, History of England, ed. 1829, xii. 115, 241. T. H. Lister, Life and Administration of Clarendon, ed. 1842, ii. 258, 261; iii. 134, 155, 320, 347, 350, &c. London Magazine, xviii. 288. A. Marvell, Works, ii. 571. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, vi. 240; xvii. 29; xxi. 61; xxvii. 129, 138; xxviii. 277; xxxvi. 536; xxxix. 14, 19, 23, 34, 41, 45, 52, 56, 59, 60, 62; and Proceedings, 1858, October, 128; 1868, December, 389. J. Milton, Opera, ed. 1698, 223; and Works, ed. 1698, 689–695, 723. E. B. O'Callaghan, History of New Netherland, ii. 515, &c. J. G. Palfrey, History of New England, i. 586; ii. 282, 431; iii. 5. Parliamentary History, xix. 411, 465. B. Peirce, History of Harvard University, Appendix, 61. T. Pepys, Memoirs. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 268–270, 509. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 66. State Trials, ed. 1778, viii. Appendix, 370–379; and ed. 1816, v. 1302–1335. Sir W. Temple, Works, ed. 1770, i. 307. J. Thurloe, State Papers, iii. 696, 734; v. 323, 367; vi. 748, 753, etc.; vii. 121, 246, 272, etc. C. W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft, i. 47–49; and Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, iv. 407; and Manuscript Lecture on Sir George Downing. P. Vaughan, Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, ed. 1839, i. 227, 255, 260, 266; ii. 299, 434. B. Whitelocke, Memorials, ed. 1732, 681, 689, 693. J. Winthrop, History of New England, or Journal, ii. 240, 243. R. C. Winthrop, Life and Letters of John Winthrop, i. 50, 186. A. à Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, iii. 108; Fasti, ii. 135.

JOHN BULKLEY.

Born 1619, died 1689, aged about 70.

REV. JOHN BULKLEY, M. A., appears to have been the first in the list of graduates who took the degree of Master of Arts at Harvard College. He was son of the Reverend Peter Bulkley, of Odell, in the hundred of Willey, in Bedfordshire, England, and afterward of Concord, Massachusetts, by his first wife Jane, who was daughter of Thomas Allen, of Goldington. He was baptized 19 October, 1619. In 1635 he came to New England with his father in the *Susan and Ellen*. In 1642 he was made freeman. He was chaplain of the party sent in 1643 to arrest Samuel Gorton in Rhode Island and bring him to Massachusetts. December 27, 1643, he and his classmate, George Downing, received similar appointments as teachers in the College, as stated on page 30. He went to England probably about the same time with Downing. He was settled in the ministry at Fordham, in the county of Essex; and styles himself an "hireling of the church at Fordham," in the parish register of which are recorded with his own hand the baptisms of a son and a daughter. There he continued till his ejection by the Act of Uniformity, 24 August, 1662. He then "retir'd to *Wapping* in the Suburbs of *London*, where he liv'd several Years, practising Physick with good Success; administring natural and spiritual Physick together. He was a learned and eminently Pious Man. His whole Life was a continual Sermon. Tho' he was not often in the Pulpit, yet he might truly be said to Preach every Day in the Week: And seldom did he visit his Patients, without reading a Lecture of Divinity to them, and praying with them."

"That which gave a Lustre to all his other Vertues,

was his great Humility, the constant Sweetness of his Temper, Integrity of his Mind, and Charitableness of his Nature, which appear'd in every part of his Life."

He "died at *St. Katherine's*, near the *Tower*," 24 May, "1689; in the seventieth Year of his Age, and then finish'd his Course with unusual Tranquility, and Resignation of Mind. Mr. *James* of *Nightingale-lane*, preach'd and afterwards printed his Funeral Sermon, on *Prov. xiv. 32.*"

By deed dated 20 December, 1645, Bulkley gave to Harvard College his portion of a "Garden conteyning about one Acre & one Rood of land scittuate & near adjoining to the Colledge & ordered the same to be for the use of the ffellows that should from time to time belong to & be resident at the said Society, the s^d Garden being now commonly called & known by the name of the ffellows Orchard."¹ The boundary extended from what was then called Braintree Street, now Harvard Street, northerly on a line with the west side of the present site of Gore Hall nearly to the northern end of that build-

¹ "Extractum Doni Pomarii Sociorum per Johannem Bulkleium.

"Decembꝛ 20. 1645.

"Noverint universi per presentes, Quod Egomet Johannes Bulkleius, nuper studens Collegii Harvardini, dono Henricum Dunsterum dicti Collegii Presidem, ut pote eidem ob plurima atq; ampla accepta beneficia devinctissimus, mea parte Illius Jugeris, quod Ipse cùm Domino Downingo, Samuele Winthropo & Johanne Alcoke emimus à Patrefamilias Marrit; viz. Quartâ parte pomarii dudum a nobis plantati, & dimidium reliqui manentis adhuc agrestis: ut dum hic Præses vixerit pro Suâ vendicet, ordinetq; Sin aliquando Præsidium exuerit aut in

eodem vitâ defunctus fuerit, tum velim, ut Collegium tanquam *λέπτον* Tenue, ab alumno maximè benevolo sibi in perpetuum appropriaret.

"Hæc Ego, propriâ manu

"JOHANNES BULKLEIUS."

Matthew Day, Steward of the College, who was the other owner, gave "with all" his "heart all that part" he had "in the Garden unto the fellows of Harvard Colledge forever," by nuncupative will, 10 May, 1649.

After President Dunster's resignation, the Corporation gave the income to the Tutors, who received it for many years, and hence the lot obtained the name of Tutors' Pasture or Fellows' Orchard. — Harvard College Corp. Records, iii. 32, 37.

ing, thence easterly through it 91 feet, whence it took a southerly direction 398 feet 6 inches to the street, the front being wider than the rear of the lot.¹ Since that time the College yard has been considerably encroached upon. Several feet were taken from it in the year 1860 to widen Harvard Street.

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, *Ejected and Silenced Ministers*, ii. 311; and *Continuation*, 487. T. W. Davids, *Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex*, 399, 400. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 47; and *Memorials*, 13; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 50; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 130. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 474, 510, 541. Harvard College Corporation Records, iii. 32, 37. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1861, February, 155. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, i. 505. J. Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i. 505, 510. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 290, 291.

WILLIAM HUBBARD.

Born about 1621, died 1704, aged 83.

REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD, M. A., oldest son of William Hubbard, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, and afterward of Boston, came from London in 1635, with his father, whose wife, Judith, was brought up under the preaching of John Norton at Ipswich, England. For fourteen years after graduation very little is known of him. July 4, 1656, he was desired to preach in Ipswich. There he was ordained, 17 November, 1658, as colleague with Thomas Cobbett.

Ipswich was settled "by men of good rank and quality, many of them having the yearly revenue of large lands in England, before they came to this wilderness." It

¹ Map, from materials furnished by Thaddeus William Harris, in S. A. Eliot's *Sketch of the History of Harvard College*.

had a large proportion of intellectual people, and was a very desirable situation for a clergyman. As Cobbett was in the vigor of life, and continued to perform ministerial duty till old age, Hubbard had time for historical studies.

In 1677 he published a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians. Some criticisms on it by a contemporary, John Cotton, H. U. 1657, may be found in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 232-235, 239.

His History of New England was probably finished in 1680, though it appears from the heading of the seventy-fifth chapter that additions to it may have been made as late as 1682. It contains but few facts after the year 1650. At the session of the General Court of Massachusetts, 11 June, 1680, it was ordered "that our honored Goũnor [Simon Bradstreet] & W^m Stoughton, Esquire, Capt. Daniel Fisher, Lieu^t W^m Johnson, & Capt. W^m Torrey be a coĩmittee to pervse the same, & make returne of their opinion thereof to the next session, that the Court may then, as they shall then judge meete, take order for the impression thereof." The chirography was bad, and this may be the reason that nothing more is known of it till the Legislature, 11 October, 1682, more than two years afterward, passed the following vote:— "Whereas it hath binn thought necessary, & a duty incumbent vpon vs, to take due notice of all occurrences @ passages of Gods providence towards the people of this jurisdiction since their first arrivall in these parts, which may remajne to posterity, and that the Reuerend M^r Willjam Hubbard hath taken paynes to compile a history of this nature, w^{ch} the Court doeth with thankfullnes acknowledge; and, as a manifestacõn thereof, doe hereby order the Treasurer to pay vnto him the some of fiuetý pounds in money, he transcribing it fairely into

a booke, that it may be the more easily perused, in order to the satisfaction of this Court." March 30, 1683, it was ordered that the "Treasurer pay him or his order halfe of the sajd sume as soone as money comes into his hands."

The manuscript, of more than three hundred pages, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, is not in the author's handwriting, but it contains his corrections, and was probably made for the purpose of securing the grant. The "precious relick was among the rich contributions, furnished [to the Society] by Rev. Dr. John Eliot. . . . It is believed to have been rescued by his excellent father from the fury of the mob, in the depredations on the house, furniture and library of Governor Hutchinson." It was given to the Society as early as 1791. "On application," the Legislature encouraged its "publication, by a very liberal subscription, for the use of the Commonwealth," and it was issued in 1815, under the editorial care of Abiel Holmes and Joseph McKean, as the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes of the Society's Collections. The manuscript was not entire, and Professor McKean endeavored to obtain from the Oliver family in England another copy, which was made by Peter Oliver, H. U. 1730, or a transcript of the few pages which were wanted to complete the work; but his efforts were unsuccessful. The correspondence, including a very discourteous letter from Peter Oliver, of Shrewsbury, is printed in the Collections of the Society, xiii. 288. In 1848 a second edition was published, under the supervision of William Thaddeus Harris, H. U. 1846, who made a critical collation of the printed text with the manuscript belonging to the Historical Society, and added notes evincing much labor and research.

For more than a century this History was regarded as an original authority, and was the source of nearly

all the historical information relating to New England during the first sixty years after its settlement. Thomas Prince, H. U. 1707, who made use of the manuscript, considered it a valuable work, and Hutchinson says, "The former part of it [before 1650] has been of great use to me: It was so to Dr. Mather in his history, of which Mr. Neale's is little more than an abridgement." Since the publication of Winthrop's History there has been a disposition to look upon the author as a plagiarist. Though he freely used the statements and even the language of others, particularly of Winthrop, as stated in Savage's note in Winthrop, i. 297, it is proper to notice what Hubbard says in his Preface, of which a copy, found among the Belknap papers since the publication of Harris's edition, is printed in the Society's Proceedings, 1858, March, page 321. In this he speaks of himself as a "compiler," and states that he "was carried into the country of New England about forty-eight years since, all which time he hath spent in that part of the world, save two or three years, when he was absent in his native country; and, being of years able to observe many passages of Providence when he was first transported thither, it is probably to be supposed he could not be ignorant of the most important affairs that were transacted during the whole time of his abode here. And, for other things, he hath not wanted the best advantages to be acquainted with all such matters as may be thought were worthy to be communicated to posterity, either by the original manuscripts of such as had the managing of those affairs under their hands, or were related by the persons themselves concerned in them, being upon the place at the time when such things were transacted, and so were eyewitnesses thereof."

Hubbard was "one of the seventeen ministers who bore testimony against the old church in Boston, when

they settled Mr. Davenport," and one of the fifteen who, 31 May, 1671, protested to the General Court against the censure which that body had passed on them in 1670, for innovation and apostasy when they were members of the ecclesiastical council which formed the Old South Church. This censure caused great excitement throughout the Colony, and but few of the delegates who voted for it were re-elected. Probably there was no town in which the opposition was greater than in Ipswich, where "Hubbard's influence had considerable effect upon their proceedings."

The eccentric John Dunton, who visited Hubbard in 1686, says: "*The benefit of Nature, and the Fatigue of Study, have equally contributed to his Eminence, neither are we less oblig'd to both than himself, for he freely communicates of his Learning to all who have the happiness to share in his converse. — In a word, he's learned without Ostentation and Vanity, and gives all his Productions such a delicate Turn and Grace (as is seen in his Printed Sermons and HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS) that the Features and Lineaments of the Child, make a clear Discovery and Distinction of the Father; yet is he a Man of singular MODESTY, of strict MORALS, and has done as much for the Conversion of the INDIANS, as most Men in New England.*"

Eliot says Hubbard presided at the Commencement in 1684, "after the death of President Rogers." This is not strictly correct, as Rogers's death did not occur till the day after Commencement. At a meeting of the Overseers on Commencement Day, 1 July, 1684, on account of the President's "sudden visitation by sickness," Hubbard was "nominated, appointed, & ordered . . . to manage" the Commencement, and "to admit to, & confer upon the Persons concern'd their Degrees belonging to them respectively." In 1688, President Ma-

ther being in Europe, he was appointed by Andros to preside again. He made the customary oration. Sewall writes: "Wednesday July 4. Coñenc^t managed wholly by Mr W^m Hubbard, compard Sir William [Phips] in his oration to Jason fetching y^e Golden Fleece¹—11 Masters proceeded, no Bachelours."

To cite Eliot again, Hubbard "certainly was for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex; equal to any in the province for learning and candour, and superiour to all his contemporaries as a writer." "In all his histories Mr. Hubbard appears a steady friend to the constitution of the churches. He expressed indignant feelings at the erection of the church in Brattle-street, upon a more liberal plan than our fathers were willing to adopt.

"There is nothing of this said in his ms. history, . . . but he speaks pointedly in his private letters to several gentlemen, and in the last thing he published,"—his Testimony, etc., which he wrote jointly with Higginson.

Hutchinson says, he was a "man of learning, of a candid and benevolent mind, accompanied, as it generally is, with a good degree of catholicism; which, I think, was not accounted the most valuable part of his character in the age in which he lived."

Cobbett, his venerable colleague, died in November, 1685. John Denison, H. U. 1684, was employed in April, 1686, to assist Hubbard, but his services were terminated by death, 14 September, 1689. Subsequently John Rogers, H. U. 1684, nephew of his wife, and son of President Rogers, H. U. 1649, was settled as his colleague.

Hubbard's first wife was Margaret, only daughter of the Reverend Nathaniel Rogers. In 1694, being then in his seventy-third year, he gave dissatisfaction to his

¹ Phips had been knighted for dis- the wealth of a sunken Spanish gal-
covering and taking possession of leon.

people by marrying Mary, widow of Samuel Pearce; "for though she was a serious, worthy woman, she was rather in the lower scenes of life, and not sufficiently fitted, as they thought, for the station."

In 1703 he relinquished his salary, and the Society voted him sixty pounds as a gratuity.

Thursday, 14 September, 1704, he "goes to y^e Lecture, after to Col. Apletons, goes home, sups, & dyes that night." The sum of thirty-two pounds was voted to pay the funeral expenses. According to the Ipswich records, 17 October, 1704, the town appropriated for this purpose the twenty pounds for which the old meeting-house was sold.

WORKS.

1. The Happiness of a People | In the Wisdome of their Rulers | Directing | And in the Obedience of their Brethren | Attending | Unto what Israel ougho to do: | Recommended in a | Sermon | Before the Honourable Governour and Council, and | the Respected Deputies of the Mattachusetts Colony | in New-England. | Preached at Boston, May 3d. 1676. being the day of | Election there. || Boston. Printed by John Foster. 1676. 4to. pp. (v), (1), 63. *H, M.*

Eliot says this sermon "is among the very good ones published during that century."

2. A | Narrative | of the Troubles with the | Indians | In New-England, from the first planting thereof in the | year 1607. to this present year 1677. But chiefly of the late | Troubles in the two last years, 1675. and 1676. | To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the | Pequods | In the year 1637. || Boston; Printed by John Foster, in the year 1677. 4to.

On the page which precedes the title is the license for its publication, dated at "Boston, March 29. 1677.", signed by Simon Bradstreet, Daniel Denison, and Joseph Dudley, who commend it. The reverse of the title-page is blank. This is followed by "An Advertisement to the Reader," in two pages, and the Epistle Dedicatory "to the Honourable John Leveret, Esq;" and others, in four pages, dated "From my Study 16th. 12th. 1676." The

next three pages contain thirty-four lines "To the Reverend Mr. William Hubbard on his most exact History of New-Englands Troubles," signed "J. S.," probably Jeremiah Shepard, a graduate in 1669; and thirty-eight lines "Upon The elaborate Survey of New-Englands Passions from the Natives, By the impartial Pen of that worthy Divine Mr. William Hubbard," signed "Gratitudinis ergò apposuit B. T.," probably Benjamin Tompson, a graduate in 1662. On the next page comes "The Printer to the Reader," giving Errata. Then we have the main work, the "Narrative," in 132 pages, followed by "A Table shewing the Towns and places which are inhabited by the English in New England:" etc. pages (1-7), and "A Postscript," pages [6]-12. To these are added eighty-eight pages, which may be considered as the Second Part of the work, being "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, From Pascataqua to Pemmaquid." There is also in the volume "A Map of New-England, Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places. The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to distinguish such as have been assaulted by the Indians from others."

About three months after the work was issued in Boston, another quarto edition, licensed 27 June, was published in London, with the errors corrected, and the title altered by prefixing to it the words "The Present State of New England. Being" &c. Probably the author was in London at the time, for he returned thence in 1678, as early as October. *H.*

3. The Benefit | Of a Well-Ordered | Conversation, | As it was Delivered in a | Sermon | Preached June 24th. 1682. On a Day | of publick Humiliation. | As also A Funeral Discourse upon the | three first verses of the third Chapter of | Isaiah; Occasioned by the Death of the | Worshipful Major General Denison; | Who Deceased at Ipswich, Sept. 20. 1682. | ——— | By Mr. William Hubbard. | ——— | To which is Annexed an | Irenicon | Or a Salve for New-England's Sore: | Penned by the said Major General; And | Left behind him as his Farewell and | last Advice to his Friends of the | Massachusets. || Printed at Boston by Samuel Green. 1684. Sm. 8vo. pp. (6), 218. *M.*

The first part, by Hubbard, ends on page 175. Between pages 176 and 177 are inserted "Irenicon, | Or a | Salve | for New England's Sore: | ——— | By Major Daniel Denison. | ——— | Printed in the Year 1684." | and an address "To the Reader," in five pages; the whole occupying 4 leaves.

4. With thirteen other ministers he signed the Address to the "Christian Reader" of Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience.

5. With John Higginson, he wrote A | Testimony, | to the | Order of the Gospel, | In the Churches of | New England. | Left in the Hands of the Churches; | ——— | By the two most Aged Ministers of the Gospel; | yet Surviving in the Countrey. || Boston. 1701. 8vo. pp. 15.

6. Collections | of the | Massachusetts | Historical Society. | ——— | Vol. V. | Of the Second Series. | Containing Hubbard's History of New England. Part I. Events | from the discovery to 1641. [and] Vol. VI. | Of the Second Series. | Containing Hubbard's History of New England. Part II. Events | from 1635 to 1650. [Boston, 1815.] 8vo. pp. vi, 304, & 305-676.

Harris's edition has the following extra title: —

A | General History | of | New England, | from | the Discovery to MDCLXXX. | By | the Rev. William Hubbard, | Minister of Ipswich, Mass. | Second Edition, collated with the Original MS. || Boston. 1848. 8vo. Although the work is issued in two volumes the paging is consecutive throughout, so that this title-page can be substituted for the one which makes it a part of the series of the Historical Collections.

AUTHORITIES. — Boston News Letter, 1704, September 18. S. G. Drake, Founders of New England, 39. J. Dunton, Life and Errors, ed. 1705, 189. J. Eliot, Biograph. Dict., 266. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 152; and Memorials, 14; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 50, 300; American Quarterly Register, viii. 131. J. B. Felt, History of Ipswich, 228. A. Holmes, American Annals, i. 490. J. Hull, Diary in the Archæologia Americana, iii. 185. T. Hutchinson, Massachusetts Bay, i. 1; ii. 147. D. T. Kimball, Sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of Ipswich, 21. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (ii.) 493; v. 279, 378, 395. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, vii. 263; x. 32, 187; xii. 121, 281; xiii. 288; xv., xvi.; xxxviii. 4, 232-235, 239; and Proceedings, 1858, March, 321; 1868, February, 123. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, v. 142; viii. 49. S. Sewall, Manuscripts. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 148. A. Young, Chronicles of Massachusetts, 17, 34.

SAMUEL BELLINGHAM.

SAMUEL BELLINGHAM, M. A., M. D., son of Governor Richard Bellingham, of Massachusetts, whose wife was Elizabeth, came to New England with his parents in 1634. The year following his graduation he was at Rowley. Afterward he went to Europe, and took the degree of Doctor in Medicine at Leyden. About the year 1660 he "obtained a Promise" from Increase Mather, then on a visit to England, to travel with him "into the Continent of *Europe*; . . . But a sudden Emergency drove" Bellingham "over to *Holland*, before the Time agreed for; which Released" Mather "from his Engagement."

Nathaniel Mather, H. U. 1647, writes, 7 April, 1681: "M^r. Bellingham is so drowned in Melancholy if yet living, for I have not heard of him these 8 or 9 years, nor seen him as many more, that Mr. [Samuel] Stone's body of Divinity is like to be utterly lost with him." February 19, 1689-90, Judge Sewall, H. U. 1671, wrote to Mather, then in England: "Madam Bellingham desired me to Entreat your Enquiry after Mr. Samuel Bellingham in Germany, and give him notice, that Mr. Wharton being dead, twill be necessary to constitute another Attorney to look after his Concerns here, w^{ch} will otherwise be at sixes & sevens, & several years Rent being behind, much of it will be in danger to be lost."

Savage makes the statement, that he lived most of his days in or near London. There is no substantial foundation for the conjecture that he may have made one or two visits to New England.

Bellingham had but one child, Elizabeth, daughter of his first wife. In April, 1695, he was married in London, to the widow Elizabeth Savage, whom he sent to New England to manage his affairs.

December 23, 1695, Sewall alludes to a correspondence between his father-in-law, John Hull, and Bellingham, and writes: "I am glad to hear of your return to your native Land again, and of y^e change of Affairs in England, that Encouraged you so to doe. As to your Lands in y^s Country, I am informd you have conveyd them to Feoffees in Trust for the use of Madam Bellingham. Now by y^e purchase of my forementioned father-in-Law, the house and Ground that formerly belonged to the right Reverend Mr. John Cotton, is become mine and you have a small piece lying above it, cut off from all communication with y^e Street, that I know of. It is in quantity about half an Acre, of w^{ch} I ask y^e Refusal, if you or they in whose power it may be, see Cause to sell. It butts Northerly & Easterly upon my Land. It seems my worthy Kinsman, Mr. Hull, is one of y^e Feoffees, whereby I am y^e more easily drawn to make y^s motion to you."

In November, 1697, Bellingham's wife made her will, in Boston. She took passage for England on the eighth of the month, and was lost by shipwreck on the coast of Ireland, 3 February, 1697-8. Bellingham appears to have been living in London when his wife's will was written, as also when the letter of administration was granted, 11 August, 1698. In the Harvard Triennial Catalogue of 1700 there is no star prefixed to his name, to indicate that he was dead. He had then outlived all his classmates except Hubbard, whom perhaps he survived.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 32; and *Memorials of Graduates of Harvard University*, 19; Farmer and Moore's *Collections*, iii. 185; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 55. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, xxxviii. 33, 76. C. Mather, *Parentator*, 22. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 162. S. Sewall, *Manuscripts. Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Probate Records*, viii. 286, 287.

JOHN WILSON.

Born 1621, died 1691, aged nearly 70 years.

REV. JOHN WILSON, M. A., of Medfield, Massachusetts, was born in London, England, in September, 1621. He was son of John Wilson, the first minister of the First Church in Boston, Massachusetts, and grandson of William Wilson, D. D., Prebendary of St. Paul's, in London, whose wife was niece of Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury. He came to New England with his father on his second voyage. While at Nathaniel Eaton's school in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which was introductory to the establishment of Harvard College, he bore his testimony to the ill-treatment of the scholars by Eaton and his wife, as may be seen by the note on pages 5 and 6. He was admitted to the First Church in Boston, 3 March, 1644, and made freeman at the session of the General Court of Massachusetts, 26 May, 1647.

After preaching several years he was invited to assist the Reverend Richard Mather, of Dorchester, and in 1649 was settled as his "coadjutor." Johnson notices him as "the gracious and godly Mr. *Wilson*, . . . Pastor to the Church of Christ at *Dorchester*." After preaching there about two years he removed to Medfield, where he was settled in 1651; and, besides performing the duties of physician and schoolmaster, he was the minister more than forty years.

Hutchinson says he was held in "high esteem." Cotton Mather states that Wilson, "when a Child, fell upon his Head from a Loft four Stories high, into the Street; from whence he was taken up for Dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his Fall, that it struck Horror into the Beholders: But" his father "had a wonderful

Return of his *Prayers* in the Recovery of the Child, both unto *Life* and unto *Sense*; insomuch, that he continued unto *Old Age*, a Faithful, Painful, Useful Minister of the Gospel; and . . . went from the Service of the Church in *Medfield*, unto the Glory of the Church *Triumphant*."

He died at Medfield on Sunday, 23 August, 1691. "The Lord's day preceding his translation, he preached both forenoon and afternoon, fervently and powerfully. The Lord's day that he expired, the greater part of his Church were present to behold and lament his remove from them."

Joseph Baxter, H. U. 1693, was settled as his successor, 21 April, 1697, after the town had heard thirty-two candidates.

Wilson's wife was Sarah, daughter of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, Connecticut. Their daughter Elizabeth was married to the Reverend Thomas Weld, of Dunstable, H. U. 1671. Another daughter, Susannah, born December, 1664, was married in 1683 to the Reverend Grindall Rawson, H. U. 1678.

WORKS.

In 1668 Wilson preached the Artillery Election Sermon; but it is not known that he published anything.

AUTHORITIES. — E. Alden, Address, 10 May, 1853, 26. D.avenport, Sexton's Monitor, 10. Hist. of Dorchester, 180, 405. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 322; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 20; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 56; Farmer and Moore's Historical Collections, iii. 185; American Quarterly Register, viii. 133. T. M. Harris, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, ix. 175. T. Hutchinson, Massachusetts Bay, i. 112. E. Johnson, History of New England, 165. Massachusetts Bay Records, ii. 294. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 49. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiv. 108. D. C. Sanders, Sermon near the 166th Anniversary of the Incorporation of Medfield, 9. J. Savage, Notes in J. Winthrop's History of New England, i. 310, 311; and Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 585. Z. G. Whitman, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 181. J. Winthrop, History of New England, i. 310.

HENRY SALTONSTALL.

HENRY SALTONSTALL, B. A., son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, the first of the six patentees of Massachusetts and one of the first settlers of Watertown, probably accompanied his father to Massachusetts in the same ship with Governor John Winthrop, in 1630. He was admitted to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company as early as 1639, three years before he graduated. In 1642 he was proprietor of a farm of three hundred acres, besides eighty-eight acres of meadow, in Watertown. He returned to England. In 1644 he was in Holland.

The *Fasti Oxonienses* contains this notice: 1652, "June 24. HENR. SALTONSTAL a knight's son, fellow of New coll. by the favour of the visitors, and doct. of phys. of Padua, was then incorporated.—The said degree he took at Padua in Oct. 1649." From the list of Fellows on the records of the New College, Savage cites "Henr. Saltonstall, 1653–1657, Med. Dr. Patavii & Oxoniæ, Equ. aurati filius Author. Parl. 1650."

In the Triennial Catalogue of Harvard University, the word "Socius" is affixed to his name; but as he does not appear by the College records to have been a Fellow, and the title is not on any catalogue till late in the eighteenth century, it is doubtless an error, occasioned probably by the juxtaposition of the words "Oxon." and "Socius," between which, at a comparatively recent date, "1652" has been interposed, to designate the year when he became Fellow at Oxford.

AUTHORITIES.—H. Bond, Family xxviii. 251; xxix. 122. Pedigree of Memorials, 415, 917, 918. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 252; J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 7. Z. G. Whitman, and Memorials of Graduates, 21. History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 103. A. J. Farmer and J. B. Moore's Collections, iii. 185. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xiv. 159; à Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, Fasti, ii. 172.

TOBIAS BARNARD.

TOBIAS BARNARD, B. A., is mentioned in Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*. Nothing has been learned respecting him, except that he went to England, probably soon after he graduated. Though persons named Barnard were in Watertown, Boston, and Weymouth at an early day, I have not found any evidence that they were his relatives.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 26; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 22; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 58.

E. Johnson, *History of New England*, 165. T. Prince, *Annals of New England*, i. 151. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 121.

 NATHANIEL BREWSTER.

Born about 1620, died 1690, aged about 70.

REV. NATHANIEL BREWSTER, B. A., if a son of Jonathan and grandson of the distinguished Elder William Brewster, and born at Plymouth in Plymouth Colony, was the first native who received a collegiate education in America. But it is more reasonable to suppose that he was the son of Francis Brewster, of New Haven, who came "from London, probably with his wife Lucy & family, in all counting nine heads," and who was lost with Gregson, Lamberton, and "divers other godly persons," on a voyage from New Haven to England, in January, 1646; his widow afterward marrying Thomas Pell.

Not far from the time when Brewster took his degree the laws enforcing uniformity in England were repealed,

and others passed, which made the situation of the Episcopal clergy so uncomfortable that many left their parishes, and the vacancies were filled by Presbyterians and Independents. Several persons who had fled to New England to escape oppression, and others who had been educated here, among whom were Brewster and some of his classmates, returned to enter the ministry. Hutchinson notices him as a "settled minister in Norfolk, and of good report."

The Calendar of State Papers mentions an "Order of the Council of State," dated 8 August, 1654, "Directing that the sum of 36*l.* per annum, formerly allowed and settled by way of augmentation, for the better maintenance of Nathaniel Brewster, late minister of Netisheard and Irsted, in Norfolk, be paid to John Leverington, from the time of Brewster's leaving it [*to go to New England, where he graduated at Harvard College*]." The words in brackets, which appear to have been added by the editor, may convey the impression that Brewster returned to New England to obtain a college education, whereas he graduated twelve years before. Possibly he visited New England, but it is more probable that he was employed in Great Britain in services which required him to be absent from his people, or he may have left them for another situation.

In a letter dated "Alby in Norfolk, June 18, 1655," Brewster writes to Thurloe, who was Secretary of State under Cromwell, for information respecting a recommendation in his behalf "to the deputy of Ireland, which his highnesse [Cromwell] intended; . . . for the suddenesse of my voyage and the importance of his highnesse letter in the present case hath enforced me to usurpe soe much upon your love. I expect to be in London this weeke, and (as I finde things) to hasten after my lord Henry [Cromwell] before he set sayle, soe as the

readynesse of my advance money and of that recommendation will be an extraordinary furtherance, if I can be resolved about them, by calling at your honor's house." In another letter to Thurloe, dated "Dublin, July 18, 1655," he writes: "Since I saw your honour, I had a wearisome journey to West Chester, where I overtooke my lord Henry the evening before his departure to Holyhead, and came with his honour safely and comfortably to Dublin."

Brewster carried to Fleetwood, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, a letter from Oliver Cromwell, dated 22 June, 1655, in which Cromwell writes: "Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so."

From "Alby in Norfolk, Jan. 28, 1655 [1655-6]," Brewster writes to Thurloe: "About North Walsham the Black-Fryars-way seems to gaine upon some (ministers and others) so farre, as grieves many sollid Christians," though, he says, "I cannot but beare witness to the godlynesse of those that carry it on." The tone of the letter is opposed to the movement.

The writer of an anonymous letter, dated 16 July, 1656, speaks of being on the preceding day at "North Walsham, where the messengers of several churches in the publique meeting-place gave their sence and some arguments against dipping, and for baptizing the children of believers. Mr. Brewstre and Mr. Powly being both dipped, stood up to plead the contrary." If the Brewstre here mentioned be the Harvard graduate, which is scarcely credible, it seems that he became an Anabaptist.

From "Dublyn, Oct. 22, 1656," he writes to Thurloe of "being lately returned with my lord from a long progresse, where I had occasion to take some notice of the townes in Ireland," and informs him that "the prin-

cipal sea ports and inland townes of this country are sadly decayed and unpeopled, being likely to continue so till better encouragement be offered to planters, especially merchants; the want of which renders many beautifull stronge townes to be but sad spectacles. . . . Our dissenting (but I hope) godly friends in this countrey doe seeme to carry such a jealousy and distance with the present magistracy and ministry (I meane in matters spirituall) as I am now at last somewhat weary of hoping for an accommodation, which I have hoped and endeavoured with so much compliance as offended my best friends, for twelve months space, but doe finde by experience in six weeks travailing, that they are every where unanimous and fixt in separateing from us, even to the ordinance of hearing the word, a thing that greatly afflicts my lord and many hundreds fearing God, that wish them well.”

From the university at Dublin, probably when there, he received the degree of Bachelor of Theology or Divinity.

He was in Ireland, as appears from his letters, more than a year, though not continuously, as between his letters dated at Dublin, 18 July, 1655, and 22 October, 1656, is one dated at Alby, 28 January, 1656, and, if he be the Brewstre alluded to in the anonymous letter, he was in England in July, 1656.

July 26, 1658, being in straitened circumstances, he writes to Henry Scobell, “Clerke to his Highnesse Privy Councell at **Whitehall**”: “After my humble Service and Thankfulnesse for all your Christian Respect & Favours, I am occasioned, by an extraordinary Exigent, to move you, a litle beyond my Bounds, that (as this Bearer Mr. *Clerke*, my Agent & faithfull Friend, shall explaine my Affaires to you) you may vouchsafe to lighten my present Cares so farre as (with Securitie

from my Lord *Charles Fleetwood* or Lieutenant General [*Edmund*] *Ludlow*) you shall finde safe & convenient. Wherein you would greatly refresh my Bowells, & (with your Pardon of this strange Boldnesse) more oblige me to be
Your very humble faithfull Servant."

From an application by his church, it appears that "The parsonages of Alby and Twaite [in the County of Norfolk] being under sequestration" had been united and settled upon him, "by order of the Committee for plundered Ministers." He preached in both these places every Lord's day; but because of disbursements for "reparation of the parsonage houses, being lefte exceeding ruinous by the late incumbents, at their ejection; . . . the said Mr. Brewster, a great family, and much imployed in the country by preaching freely, where there is need, is reduced to very greate streights, and not like to continue in his function, without assistance from the State"; not being able to "raise above fifty pounds *per annum* clearly, out of both the said parsonages."

About September, 1663, after the restoration of Charles the Second and the passage of the Act of Uniformity, Hull says that Brewster, "a very able and pious minister," came to Boston "in Master Prout's ship, from London. Mrs. Norton [widow of the Reverend John Norton] entertained him and his family in her house; and after a while, when our church had tasted his gifts, they desired his frequent labor among us. Who, together with Mr. James Allen, — that came hither about August, 1662, — carried on the public ministry in our church"; Brewster beginning in October, 1663, and continuing as a fellow-laborer for several months. In 1665 he went to Brookhaven on Long Island, where his sons John, Timothy, and Daniel resided, and in the autumn he was

settled there as the first minister. At a town meeting, 24 October, 1665, it was voted to purchase for his accommodation the house and home-lot of Matthew Prior. He died 18 December, 1690, age and infirmity having for some time disabled him from performing constant ministerial duty.

Brewster was married to Roger Ludlow's daughter Sarah, who is said to have been distinguished for her literary acquirements and domestic virtues.

George Phillips, H. U. 1686, the second permanent pastor of Brookhaven, was ordained in 1702.

John Adams, 17 November, 1777, makes the following record in his Diary: "Dined at Brewster's, in Orange county, State of New York. Brewster's grandfather, as he tells me, was a clergyman, and one of the first adventurers to Plymouth; he died, at ninety-five years of age, a minister on Long Island; left a son who lived to be above eighty, and died leaving my landlord, a son who is now, I believe, between sixty and seventy. The manners of this family are exactly like those of the New England people; a decent grace before and after meat; fine pork and beef, and cabbage and turnip."

AUTHORITIES. — J. Adams, Works, ii. 441. T. Blomefield, Norfolk, vi. 422. T. Carlyle, Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, ed. Lond., ii. 366, 367. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 41; also Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 22; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 58; American Quarterly Register, viii. 133. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, i. 497. J. Hull, Diary in the Archæologia Americana, iii. 210. T. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, i. 112, 510. J. Nickolls, Original Letters and Papers of State, Addressed to Cromwell, found among the Political Collections of John Milton, 158. F. Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, ii. (xiii.) 22. N. S. Prime, History of Long Island, 223. W. N. Sainsbury, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660, 418. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 244, 245. B. F. Thompson, Long Island, i. 421. J. Thurloc, State Papers, iii. 559, 660; iv. 472; v. 219, 508. S. Wood, Long Island, 47.

CLASS OF 1643.

THE following list of Theses at the Commencement in 1643 is taken from an imperfect original copy belonging to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has already been printed in their Proceedings, under the date of March, 1860, page 444:—

“ILLVSTRISSIMIS PIETATE, ET VERA
RELIGIONE, VIRTUTE, ET PRVDENTIA
Honoratissimis Viris, D. Iohanni Winthropo,
cæterisque unitarum Nov-Angliæ Coloni-
arum Gubernatoribus, & Magistratibus
Dignissimis; Vna cum pientissimis,
vigilantissimisque Ecclesiarum
Presbyteris:

“Nec non omnibus nostræ Reip. literariæ, tam in Veteri
quam in Nov-Anglia, Fautoribus benignissimis:

“*Has Theses Philologicas & Philosophicas, quas συν Θεῶ, Præside Henrico Dunstero palam in Collegio Harvardino pro virili propugnare conabuntur (honoris, observantiae et gratitudinis ergo) D. D. D. in artibus liberalibus initiandi Adolescentes.*

“Iohannes Ionesius.
Samuel Matherus.

Samuel Danforthus.
Iohannes Allinus.

“Theses Philologic:

“Grammatic:

- “**L**inguae prius discendæ, quam artes.
Linguae fœlicius usu, quam arte discuntur.
 “ij Linguarum Anglicana nulli secunda.
 “iij Literæ diversæ sonum habent diversum.
 “v C. et T. efferre ut S. in latinis absurdum.
 “vi Sheva nec vocalis est, nec consona, nec syllabam e . .
 “. . Nullæ diphthongi pronuntiandæ ut simplices vo . . .
 “. . Syllabarum accentus non destruit tempus.
 “ix Verba valent sicut nummus.
 “x Synthesis est naturalis Syntaxis.

“Rhetoric:

- “**R**hetorica est affectionum domina.
Reloquentia naturalis excellit artificialem.
 “ij Apte loqui præstat quam ornate.
 “iij Vel gestus fidem facit.

“Logic:

- “**D**ialectica est omnium artium generalissima.
Defficiens & finis non ingrediuntur rei essentiam.
 “ij Forma simul cum re ipsa ingeneratur.
 “iv Posita forma ponuntur essentia, differentia & actio.
 “v Et motus et res motu factæ sunt effecta
 “vj Oppositorum ex uno affirmato alterum negatur.
 “vij Relata sunt sibi mutuo causæ.
 “viij Contradictio topica negat ubique.
 “ix Privantia maxime dissentiunt.
 “x Genus et species sunt notæ causarum et effectorum.
 “xi Omnis syllogismus est necessarius ratione formæ.
 “xii Omnis quaestio non est subjectum syllogismi.
 “xiii Methodus procedit ab universalibus ad singularia.

“Theses Philosophic:

“Ethic:

- “**F**œlicitas moralis est finis Ethices.
 unum actum non generatur h . . .
 “ij . . . oitus non pereunt sola actuum ce . . .
 “iv perfecta dari potest, vitium n . . .
 “v causa est liberum arbitrium.
 “. atus in individuo . . .
 “. amentu . . .
 “viiij Vulgi mos non regeret nos.
 “ix Est abstinens qui continens.
 “x Honor sequentem fugit, fugientem sequitur.
 “xi Divitiæ nil conferunt fœlicitati morali.
 “xij Nulla est vera amicitia inter improbos.

“Phyfic:

- “**N**ihil agit in seipsum.
 Omnis motus fit in tempore.
 “ij Non datur infinitum actu.
 “iiij Pura elementa, non sunt alimenta.
 “v Non datur proportio arithmetica in mixtis.
 “vi In uno corpore non sunt plures animae.
 “vii Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte.
 “viiij Status animae in corpore est naturalissimus.
 “ix Visio fit receptione specierum.
 “x Phantasia producit reales effectus.
 “xi Primum cognitum est singulare materiale.

“Metaphyfic:

- “**E**Ns qua ens, est objectum metaphyficas.
 Ente nihil prius, simplicius, melius, verius.
 “ij Datur discrimen inter ens et rem.
 “iv Effentia entis non fuscipit magis et minus.
 “v Veritas est conformitas intellectus cum re.

“Cantabrigiæ, *Nov. Ang. Mens.* 8, 1643.”

JOHN JONES.

JOHN JONES, M. A., was son of the Reverend John Jones, of Concord, Massachusetts, and afterward of Fairfield, Connecticut, who, as stated in the autobiography of his fellow-passenger, the Reverend Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, arrived at Boston in the *Defence* from London, 3 October, 1635. With him came his wife Sarah, his son John, who was about eleven years old, and other children. In May, 1645, John was made a freeman of Massachusetts. As early as 1651 he was "imployed in these Western parts in *Mevis* [Nevis], one of the summer Islands," as a preacher, where he probably died. In speaking of the father, Johnson thus alludes to the son: —

*"Leading thy son to Land, yet more remote,
To feede his flock upon this Westerne wast:
Exhort him then Christs Kingdome to promote;
That he with thee of lasting joyes may tast."*

His widow, Mary, came with her son to New England. October 17, 1677, the Connecticut General Court "haueing heard and considered what hath been presented by Mrs. [Susanna] Joanes [second wife of John Jones of Fairfield] to alter what hath been done by the Court of Assistants in refference to the estate claymed by Mrs. Osborn for herselfe and Mr. John Joanes, son of Mr. John Joanes of Nevis, giuen by the last will of the Reverend Mr. John Joanes of Fayrefeild," confirmed the act of the Court of Assistants.

As the graduate is named in his father's will, dated 17 January, 1665, he probably died between that time and 27 December, 1673, the date of the will of his widow, who had married an Osborn at New Haven, and who gave most of her estate, £408, to her two sons, John and David, and to John Austin and his wife Mercy.

AUTHORITIES. — S. G. Drake, *Founders of New England*, 39. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 164; and *Memorials of the Graduates*, 23; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 59; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 133. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, ii. 261. E. Johnson, *History of New England, or Wonder-working Providence*, 82, 165. Massachusetts Bay Records, ii. 294. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, ii. 562, 563. L. Shattuck, *History of Concord*, 240. J. H. Trumbull, *Connecticut Records*, ii. 324.

SAMUEL MATHER.

Born 1626, died 1671, aged 45.

REV. SAMUEL MATHER, M. A., son of the Reverend Richard Mather by his first wife, Katharine, daughter of Edmund Houtt, was born at Magna-Wotton, or Much-Wootton,¹ in Lancashire, England, 13 May, 1626. He accompanied his parents and three brothers to Boston, where they arrived 17 August, 1635, after having been "delivered . . . from as Eminent Danger of *Death*, as ever was escaped by *Mortal Men*, in a Fierce and Sore Hurricane on the *New-English Coast*."

He was so mature in early life that he was called "*The Young Old Man*." Having graduated at the age of seventeen, he "continually grew in his Accomplishments . . . instead of losing them."

In the charter, dated 30 May, 1650, by which the Corporation of the College is made to consist of a President, Treasurer, and five Fellows, he is the first-named Fellow, — Fellow then being nearly equivalent to Tutor, — and accordingly he is the earliest graduate to whom the title belongs. He probably succeeded Bulkley and Downing in the office of instruction, as there is no name between theirs and his in the record of payments

¹ Probably Much-Woolton.

for teaching, and he is allowed £9 8s. 6½d. for his services during his Fellowship, which, judging by what was paid to his predecessors, must have made the time when he began coincide nearly, if not exactly, with the time when they left.

Cotton Mather says, "His careful *Instruction*, and exact *Government* of the Scholars under his Tuition, caused as many of them as were *so*, to mention him afterwards with Honour, as long as they lived; and such was the Love of *all* the Scholars to him, that, not only when he read his *Last Philosophy-Lecture*, in the Colledge-Hall, they heard him with *Tears*, because of it's being his *Last*, but also, when he went away from the Colledge, they put on the Tokens of *Mourning* in their very Garments for it. But by this his Living at *Cambridge*, under the Ministry of Mr. *Shepard*, he had the Advantage to conform himself, in his younger Years, more than a little, unto the *Spirit* and *Preaching* of that Renowned Man; (of whose Life, he afterwards published certain *Memoirs*)."

"Being not only by Notable *Parts*, both *Natural* and *Acquired*, and by an Eminently *Gracious* Disposition of Soul, but also by a certain Florid and Sparkling *Liveliness* of Expression, admirably fitted for the Service of the Gospel, several Congregations in this Wilderness, applied themselves unto him, for the Enjoyment of his Labours." Some time was spent by him as an assistant to Ezekiel Rogers, in Rowley, "where the Zeal of the People to have him settled, was the Cause of his not settling there at all." "He was the first that did Preach the Gospel to the North Church in Boston"; and at its organization, 5 June, 1650, it was hoped that he would become the pastor. His sermon on the occasion called forth warm encomiums even from the grave lips of Cotton. "With this People he continued the Winter following."

He was very zealous "against every thing which he

judged contrary unto the Interests of *Holiness*. But there was hardly any one thing, against which he used more of *Thunderbolt*, than that *Vnholy Spirit of Antinomi-anism*, wherewith many People in those Days were led aside."

He was inspired "with a strong Desire to pass over into *England*, and by the Wisdom of Heaven, there fell out several *Temptations* in this *Wilderness*, which occasioned him to be yet more desirous of such a Removal. To *England* then he went, in the Year 1650," the vessel encountering on the voyage a terrible storm, besides narrowly escaping destruction by fire. "*Thomas Andrews*, Esq; then Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, quickly took such Notice of his Abilities, as to make Choice of him, for his *Chaplain*; and by the Advantage of the Post, . . . he came into an Acquaintance, with the most Eminent Ministers in the Kingdom. . . . He was Courted so often to preach in the Biggest Assemblies, that by *Overdoing* therein, he had like to have *undone* his Friends, and lost his *Life*," and was obliged to diminish his labors.

After this, he was "invited unto a Settlement, in several Places; and . . . did preach for a while, at *Graves-End*, and after that, at the *Cathedral*, in the City of *Exeter*. But having from his Childhood, a Natural and Vehement Affection to a *Colledge-Life*, he retired unto *Oxford*, where he became a Chaplain in *Magdalen-Colledge*; and he had therewithal an Opportunity, sometimes at *St. Maries*, to preach the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ."

"Having before this, proceeded *Master of Arts* in the only Protestant Colledge of *America*, he was now admitted, *Ad Eundem*," in the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

He was one of the ministers chosen by the English Commissioners, in the time of Cromwell, to accompany them into Scotland, "and there he continued at *Leigh*,

preaching the Gospel of *God our Saviour*, for Two Years together.”

In 1655 he returned to England, and, with Doctors Harrison and Winter, Mr. Charnock, Nathaniel Brewster, H. U. 1642, and perhaps others, accompanied “Lord *Henry Cromwel*, then going over Lord-Deputy for *Ireland*, . . . for the Service of the Christian Religion there.” At Dublin he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, “was made a Senior Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge*; and . . . had the Offer of a *Baccalaureatus in Theologiâ*, but he modestly declined it. . . . He was joined as a Colleague with Dr. *Winter*; and here preached every Lord’s Day Morning at *St. Nichol’s Church*; besides his Turn which he took once in six Weeks, to preach before the Lord Deputy and Council. A *Preacher* he now was of Extraordinary *Esteem* and *Success*. . . . It was commonly remark’d, Mr. *Charnock’s* Invention, Dr. *Harrison’s* Expression, and Mr. *Mather’s* Logick, meeting together, would have made the *Perfectest Preacher* in the World.” “He was publickly ordain’d by Dr. *Winter*, Mr. *Taylor* of *Carriick-fergus*, and Mr. *Fenner* of *Tredagh*, on *Dec. 5. 1656*.”

Anthony Wood says: “Tho’ he was a congregational man, and in his principles respecting church government a high nonconformist, yet he was observed by some to be civil to those of the episcopal persuasion, when it was in his power to do them a displeasure: And when the lord deputy (*Henry Cromwell*) gave a commission to him and others in order to the displacing of episcopal ministers in the province of Mounster, he declined it, as he did afterwards to do the like matter in Dublin, alledging that he was called into that country to preach the gospel, and not to hinder others from doing it. He was a religious man in the way he professed, and was valued by some who differed from him as to opinion in lesser and circumstantial points in religion.”

When the storm of persecution for Nonconformity arose in Ireland, after the restoration of Charles the Second, he was suspended from the ministry, though more than five months had elapsed since he preached, in 1660, the two sermons, afterwards printed, which were "the pretended Occasions of his being silenced."

Calamy says, "He was represented as seditious, and guilty of Treason; tho' he had not a disrespectful word of the King or Government, but only set himself to prove, that the Ecclesiastical Ceremonies then about to be restor'd, had no Warrant from the Word of GOD." And in his "Address to the Lord-Chancellor for his Liberty" he remarks: "*I can truly say, I desire no more, not so much Favour for my self now, as I have shewed unto others formerly, when they stood in need of it. But I will not say, how much cause I have to resent it, and to take it a little unkindly, that I have met with so much of Molestation from those of that Judgment, whom I have not provoked unto it, by my Example, but rather have obliged by sparing their Consciences, to another manner of Deportment. For indeed, I have always thought, that it is an Irksome Work, to punish or trouble any Man, so it is an Evil and Sinful Work, to trouble any Good Man with Temporal Coercions, for such Errors in Religion, as are consistent with the Foundation of Faith and Holiness. It is no Good Spirit in any Form, to fight with Carnal Weapons; I mean, by External Violence, to Impose and Propagate it self, and seek by such means, the suppressing of Contrary Ways, which by Argument it is not able to subdue.*"

Being now precluded from any further service in Ireland, he returned to England in the latter part of 1660-1, and was minister at "Burton-Wood in Lancashire, until the general Death upon the Ministry of the Non-Conformists, at the Black Bartholomew-Day, August 24. 1662." His church in Dublin now sent for him, as they could

say, "*The Men are dead that sought thy Life,*" and he returned. "Their meetings were at first more favourably wink'd at in *Ireland* than in *England.*" But as he "was preaching privately, on *Sept.* 18. 1664, he was interrupted by an Officer," and carried to the main guard. "There," says Calamy, "he reason'd with the Officers and Soldiers about their disturbing a Meeting of *Protestants*, when yet they gave no Disturbance to the *Papists*, who said *Mass* without any Interruption. They told him, that such Men as he were more dangerous than the *Papists*, &c. The Mayor having consulted the Lord-Deputy, told Mr. *M.* that he might go to his Lodgings, but, that he must appear the next Day before his Lordship, for which he and some others gave their Word. Being the next Day before the Mayor, he told him, that the Lord-Deputy was much incens'd against him for his Conventicle, being inform'd there were many old discontented Officers there. Mr. *M.* deny'd that he saw any of those there, whom the Mayor nam'd, and gave him an Account of his Sermon, which was on *John* 2. 15, 16, 17; and could not give any reasonable Offence. However, that Evening he was seiz'd by a Pursevant from the Lord-Deputy, and the next Day imprison'd, but soon releas'd."

Some years afterward he had an urgent invitation to settle in Boston, in New England, but his church would not consent to it. "He spent all the Rest of his Days with his Church in *Dublin*; but he preached only in his *Own Hired House*, which being a very large One, was well fitted for that purpose. And there was *This Remarkable* concerning it; That although no Man living used a more Open and Generous *Freedom*, in Declaring against the *Corruptions of Worship*, reintroduced into the Nation, yet such was his *Learning*, his *Wisdom*, his known *Piety*, and the true *Loyalty* of his whole Carriage towards the Gov-

ernment, that he lived without much further Moles-
tation."

When Valentine Greatarick drew crowds around him from all parts of Ireland, on the pretence that by stroking with his hand he could cure the king's evil, — subsequently adding the ague, and then all manner of diseases, — Mather, attributing his success to friction and to the imaginations of his patients, wrote a discourse against his miraculous pretensions. It was commended by "some of the King's *Privy-Council* in *Ireland* . . . as most worthy to be printed; but the *Primate's* Chaplain, at last, obstructed it, because forsooth; the *Geneva Notes*, and Dr. *Ames*, were quoted in it, and it was not convenient, that there should be any Book printed, wherein any Quotations were made from such *Dangerous Fanatics*," or, as Calamy says, it was "not allow'd to be Printed, because of the Author's Character."

At the desire of the "*Non-Conformist* Ministers, in the City of *Dublin*," he began a course of sermons on the Types of the Old Testament. His interest in the subject increasing as he proceeded, he continued them from March, 1666, to February, 1668.

Not long after the "*Author had gone through this Subject*," writes the editor, "*God took him to Heaven, (when he wanted above six months of being six and forty years old) by an Imposthume in his Liver; which, as some that were conversant with him judged, hung upon him when he studied and preached these Sermons.*" He died at Dublin, 29 October, 1671, and was buried in the church of St. Nicholas, in which he had formerly preached.

Mather "never was a *Man of Words*, but of a *Silent*, and a *Thinking Temper*, a little tinged with *Melancholly*." "He continu'd taking Pains to do Good in all Ways within his Reach to the Last, and had generally the Character of a good Scholar, and a generous spirited

Man." As a preacher he held the first rank, and his name was known throughout the kingdom.

In 1656 he was married to Sir John Stevens's sister, who died in 1668. By her he had four or five children, only one of whom, a daughter, lived to maturity. In a letter dated 31 December, 1679, Nathaniel Mather, H. U. 1647, who succeeded him at Dublin, speaks of his orphans, and of their being greatly wronged.

WORKS.

1. Address "To the Reader" of Mr. Samuel Stone's Congregational Church, &c. 1651. 4to. pp. 5.

2. A Defence of the Protestant, Christian Religion against Popery, wherein the manifold Apostasies, Heresies, and Schisms of the Church of Rome, as also the Weakness of their Pretensions from the Scriptures and the Fathers are briefly laid open. Lond. 1671. 4to.

This title is taken from Mather's *Magnalia*, iv. 151, where it is stated that "A certain *Roman Catholick* having published a short, but subtil Discourse, Entitled, *Of the One, Only, Catholick and Roman Faith*, whereby the Faith of some *Vncatechized Protestants* was not a little endangered. Mr. *Mather* was desired by Persons of Quality, to give the World an Answer to this *Discourse*. And in Answer to their Desire, he Composed and Emitted" this "most Elaborate, Pertinent, Judicious, though Brief Treatise."

3. An Irenicum; Or, An Essay for Union among Reformers. London. 4to.

Written not long before the author's death. Cotton Mather gives a particular account of it in the *Magnalia*, iv. 150. According to Increase Mather, its design "is to shew wherein Presbyterians and (those called Independents) Congregational Men, and Antipedobaptists differ from each other, and that they ought to give the Right hand of Fellowship to each other, considering the greatness of their Agreements, and the smallness of their Differences." Nathaniel Mather wrote, 31 December, 1674, "Our Br. Sam's Irenicum is sent to London to bee printed, if any will undertake it. I purpose, that some other things of his shall follow it shortly. I have gotten the remaying part of his

discourses on 2 King 18, 4, transcribed for the presse, and a good part of his discourses on the types also, which I intend also to get published, and some other things of his, if the Lord will."

4. A | Testimony | from the | Scripture | against | Idolatry & Superstition, | In Two Sermons; | Upon the Example of that Great Reformer Hezekiah, | 2 Kings 18. 4. | The first, Witnessing in generall against all the Idols and | Inventions of men in the Worship of God. | The second, more particularly against the Ceremonies, and | some other Corruptions of the Church of England. | Preached, the one September 27. the other Septemb. 30. 1660 | — | By Mr. Samuel Mather, Teacher to a | Church of Christ in Dublin in Ireland. || n. p., n. d. 4to. pp. (4), 75.

The address "To the Reader," in four pages, is signed "M. I." On the title-page of the copy in the Boston Athenæum is written: "ffor the publike Library at Boston 1674." *A, M.*

The same. By Mr. Samuel Mather, Once Pastor of a Church of Christ in Dublin. n. p., n. d. 8vo. pp. (4), 88. Apparently printed in New England, and, according to a manuscript note, in 1725. *A, M, P.*

Henry Ware, Junior, D. D., says he found in these sermons "passages in the finest style of that peculiar puritan eloquence, which is so happily imitated in Walter Scott's Romances."

5. The | Figures | or | Types | of the | Old Testament, | By which | Christ and the Heavenly things of the | Gospel were preached and shadowed to | the People of God of old; | Explained and improved in sundry | Sermons, | — | By | Mr. Samuel Mather, sometime Pastor of a Church | in Dublin. | — | Printed in the Year M.DC.LXXXIII. || n. p. [Dublin?] 4to. pp. (6), 678. *A.*

The same. Second edition, To which is annex'd, (more than | was in the former Edition) a Scheme and Table of the whole, | whereby the Reader may readily turn to any Subject treated | of in this Book. || London. 1705. 4to. pp. vii, (1), 540, (16). *A, H.*

This work was edited by the author's brother, and successor, Nathaniel Mather, of Dublin, H. U. 1647, who writes to Increase Mather, 31 May [1683], probably from Dublin: "Our Br. Sañ's Sermons on the Types will, I think, bee printed at last in this Towne, but by stealth. Sundry have subscribed, to the valew of about 35 £, they beeing to have 5 books at the rate that

4 are sold by the bookseller. It is an imperfect work, being for the most part taken out of his owne notes, onely in some places filled up from his broken scraps of paper, or some other ways, which cost mee considerable payns, as also the correcting the press will doe." In the book itself he says: "*If this work find encouraging acceptance, others of his labours may possibly be published hereafter. For besides this and those three other small Tracts, viz. his Defense of the Protestant Religion against the impotent Assaults of a Popish Priest, his Irenicum, or Essay for Union among the Re-forming Parties in these Nations, and his Two Sermons against the Ceremonies, on 2 King. 18. 4. which are already printed, there are some other works of his not unfit to see the publick Light.*"

In an abridged form this work was published as "The Gospel of the Old Testament; an explanation of the types and figures by which Christ was exhibited under the legal dispensation; re-written from the original work of S. M. by the author of 'The Listener' [Caroline Fry]. Lond. 1834. 2 vols. 8vo." A new edition of this abridgment was published in one volume in 1851.

6. In a letter to Increase Mather, dated at Dublin, 25 August, 1679, Nathaniel Mather writes: "To gratify you I will send you as soon as I can, some sermons of my Brs at Boston. I cannot advise the printing of them; (I think himselfe, if living, would bee against it,) discerning a great defect in them as to that ripeness & subactnes of judgment which his latter days arrived at."

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, Account of Ejected Ministers, ii. 415; and Continuation, 572. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 191; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 24; American Quarterly Register, viii. 134; Collections of the New Hampshire Hist. Society, iv. 60. Harvard College Corporation Records, iii. 11. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, ix. 172, 178; x. 27; xvii. 187; xxxviii. 19, 23,

45. C. Mather, Magnalia, iv. 143. I. Mather, Preface to C. Mather's Brethren dwelling together in Unity. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 456, 589. C. Robbins, History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston, 7. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 79. H. Ware, Century Discourses, 5, 43. A. à Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses, iii. 941.

SAMUEL DANFORTH.

Born 1626, died 1674, aged 48.

REV. SAMUEL DANFORTH, M. A., of Roxbury, second son of Nicholas Danforth, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was born in Framlingham, in the County of Suffolk, in England, in September, 1626, and was "by the Desire of his Mother [Elizabeth], who died Three Years after his Birth, earnestly Dedicated unto the *Schools of the Prophets*. His Father brought him to *New-England* in the Year 1634. and at his Death, about four Years after his Arrival here, he committed this Hopeful Son of many Cares and Prayers, unto the Paternal Oversight of Mr. *Shepard*," of Cambridge, to whose church he belonged, and to whom he had "prov'd a *Gaius*, and then especially when the *Laudian* fury scorched them."

Cotton Mather says: "His *Early Piety*, answered the pious Education bestowed upon him; and there was One Instance of it somewhat singularly circumstanced: when he was reciting to his *Tutor*, out of the *Heathen Poets*, he still made some Ingenious Addition and Correction, upon those Passages, which ascribed those Things unto the *False Gods* of the *Gentiles*, that could not without *Blasphemy* be ascribed unto any, but the *Holy One of Israel*: His Tutor gave him a sharp Reprehension for this, as for a meer *Impertinency*; but this Conscientious Child reply'd, *Sir, I can't in Conscience recite the Blasphemies of these Wretches, without Washing my Mouth upon it!* Nevertheless, a fresh Occasion occurring, his Tutor gave him another sharp Reprehension, for his doing once again as he had formerly done; but the Tutor to the Amaze-ment of them all, was terribly and suddenly siezed with a Violent *Convulsion-Fit*; out of which when he at last recovered, he acknowledg'd it as an Hand of God upon

him, for his Harshness to his Pupil, whose *Conscientiousness* he now applauded.

“His *Learning* with his *Virtue*, e’re long brought *Him* into the Station of a *Tutor*,” or Fellow of the College, an office which he appears to have held till about the time of his ordination. The disbursement to him as “Readr and ffellow 6 yeares” was £56 13s. 8d. In 1647 he was made freeman, and the name appears again in 1648. He is the second of the Fellows named in the College charter, dated 30 May, 1650. In 1656 he is credited with a donation of £1 4s. to the College.

“The Watchfulness, Tenderness and Conscientiousness of *Aged Christianity* accompanied him, while he was yet but *Young* in Years. His Manner was to *Rise* before the *Sun*, for the Exercises which *Isaac* attended in the *Evening*; and in the *Evening* likewise he withdrew, not only from the Conversation then usually maintained, which he thought hurtful to his Mind by its *Infectious Levity*, but from *Supper* it self also, for the like Exercises of Devotion. . . . The Sin of *Vnfruitfulness* gave as much Perplexity to him, as more Scandalous and Immoral Practices do to other Men.”

After the return of the Reverend Thomas Welde to England, Danforth was invited to assist the Reverend John Eliot, “whose Evangelical Employments abroad among the *Indians*, made a Collegue at Home to be necessary”; and he was ordained at Roxbury, 24 September, 1650. Neither “the *Incompetency* of the *Salary*” nor “the *Provocation*, which unworthy Men in the *Neighbourhood* sometimes tried him withal, could perswade him . . . to remove unto more Comfortable Settlements.”

He was particularly watchful over his flock, very attentive to the sick, a faithful instructor of the convalescent, and a peacemaker “in rising Differences; being of the Opinion, *That usually they have little Peace of Conscience, who do not make much Conscience of Peace.*”

He exerted his influence to have only such persons keep houses of public entertainment "as would keep Good Orders and Manners" in them. And when from his study window "he saw any Town-Dwellers tipling there, he would go over and chide them away."

His sermons "were Elaborate and Substantial; He was a Notable *Text-Man*, and one who had more than Forty or Fifty *Scriptures* distinctly quoted in One Discourse; but he much recommended himself by keeping close to his Main Text," and by such depth of feeling "that he rarely, if ever ended a Sermon without Weeping. On the Lord's Days in the *Forenoons*, he expounded the *Old-Testament*; in the *Afternoons*, he discoursed on the *Body of Divinity*, and many Occasional Subjects, and some Chapters in the Epistle to the *Romans*, until the Year 1661; and then he began to handle the *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*," and proceeded as far as Luke xiv. 14: "*Thou shalt be recompenced at the Resurrection of the just*: On which, having preached his *Last Sermon*, it proved indeed his *Last*." He never ventured "upon any *Ex-temporaneous Performances*," but wrote "his Sermons *twice over* . . . in a fair long Hand." "His *Vtterance* was free, clear, and giving much in a little time; his *Memory* very tenacious, and never known to fail him, though he allowed no Assistancess."

Danforth's ministry continued twenty-four years. "And when he then came to *Dye*, spending one whole *Sleepless Night*, in a Survey of his past Life, he said, *He could find no remarkable Miscarriage (through the Grace of Christ) in all this time, to charge himself withal, but that with Hezekiah, he had served the Lord with a perfect Heart all his Days*." "As his End approached he had strong Apprehensions of its Approach; and the very Night before he fell sick, he told his Wife, *He had been much concerned, how she with her Children would subsist, if he should be removed; but now he had got over it, and firmly*

believed . . . that they should be . . . as well provided for, as they could be, if he were alive . . . Immediately after this, he fell sick of a putred Fever, occasioned by a Damp, Cold, Nocturnal Air, on a Journey; and in the Space of six Days, passed from *Natural Health*, to *Eternal Peace*, Nov. 19. 1674," in so happy a state that his venerable colleague, Eliot, would say, "*My Brother Danforth made the most glorious End, that ever I saw!*" His remains were laid in the Governor Dudley tomb. Welde wrote a poem upon him. Cotton Mather, alluding to his studies, wrote:

*"Non dubium est, quin e^d iverit, quò Stellæ eunt,
DANFORTHUS, qui Stellis semper se associavit."*

After Danforth's "*Contraction*, according to the *Old Usage of New-England*, unto the Virtuous Daughter of [the Reverend] Mr. *Wilson* [of Boston] (whereat Mr. *Cotton* preached the Sermon) he was married," 5 November, 1651. They had twelve children, of whom the first, Samuel, born 14 January, 1653, "at nine o'clock at night," baptized at Boston two days after by his grandfather, died at the age of six months; and the next three being attacked by the "*Malady of Bladders in the Windpipe* [Acute Laryngitis?]" in December, 1659, "it pleased God to take them all away at once, even in one fortnight's time." John, born in 1660, and Samuel, born 18 December, 1666, graduated respectively in 1677 and in 1683. Danforth's widow married Joseph Rock, Rocke, or Ruck, of Boston, where she died, 13 September, 1713, in the eighty-first year of her age.

WORKS.

1. Danforth devoted considerable time, particularly in early life, to astronomical studies, and for several years published Almanacs. "Those from 1646 to 1649, inclusive," John Farmer says he has "seen, and some of them are valuable for the chronological tables at the end. These tables were consulted and cited by Mr. Prince [H. U. 1707] in his *New-England Chronology*."

2. An | Astronomical Description | of the late | Comet | Or Blazing Star, | As it appeared in New-England in the | 9th, 10th, 11th, and in the beginning | of the 12th Moneth, 1664. | Together | With a brief Theological Application | thereof. || By S. D. Cambridge. 1665. 16mo. pp. 122. *M.*

In this tract the author maintains that comets move according to mathematical laws, and are portentous.

3. A brief | Recognition | of | New-Englands | Errand | into the | Wilderness; | Made in the Audience of the General Assembly of the | Massachusetts Colony, at Boston in N. E. on the | 11th of the third Moneth, 1670. being the | Day of Election | there. || Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1671. 4to. pp. (4), 23. The Address to the "Christian Reader," pp. 4, is signed "Thomas Shepard." *M, P.*

4. The | Cry of Sodom | Enquired into; | Upon Occasion of | The Arraignment and Condemnation | of | Benjamin Goad, | For his Prodigious Villany. | Together with | A Solemn Exhortation to Tremble at Gods Judgements, | and to Abandon Youthful Lusts. | — | By S. D. || Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1674. 4to. pp. (2), 25. The Address to the "Christian Reader," pp. 2, is signed "John Sherman, Urian Oakes, Thomas Shepard." *P, W.*

5. Several specimens of poetry are found in his Almanacs.

6. Ellis says, "That part of the diary of the Pastors which he wrote indicates the interest he took in astronomy, by its frequent descriptions of the appearances of various phenomena, and of the situations and movements of heavenly bodies. . . . From 1664 to 1670, it is filled with descriptions of prodigies, earthquakes, comas, &c."

AUTHORITIES. — C. M. Ellis, History of Roxbury Town, 96. J. Farmer, Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, i. 28; and Genealogical Register, 77; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 64; American Quarterly Register, viii. 135; Farmer and Moore's Collections, ii. 270. W. T. Harris, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 317. Harvard College Records, iii. 11. E. Johnson, Wonder-working Providence, 165. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, viii. 33. C. Mather, Magnalia, iv. 153. W. Newell, Church Gathering, 55. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 456, 507, 589, 593. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 8. W. B. Sprague, Annals, i. 138.

JOHN ALLIN.

Born 1623.

REV. JOHN ALLIN, B. A., born 13 October, 1623, erroneously called Thomas Allen by Calamy and Palmer, was son of John and Margaret Allin, of Wrentham, in Suffolk, England. He came to America with his parents in 1637, and his father was settled in the ministry at Dedham, Massachusetts, where he died 26 August, 1671. As Allin did not take his second degree, he probably returned to his native country soon after he graduated. In 1653, according to Cooper, he became the vicar of Rye, in Sussex, "and continued vicar till December 1662, when he was ejected under the Bartholomew Act. On leaving Rye, he came to London and studied physic, for on the 2nd March, 1664-5, he writes, that he had spent three days 'upon an anatomic.'"

His letters, many of which were addressed to his friends at Rye during the prevalence of the plague, when there was such a dread of infection, even from the letters themselves, that he hardly knew to whom he could write, reveal his opinions, character, and circumstances, at the same time that they contain minute and interesting accounts of the progress and treatment of the desolating scourge, and of the feelings with which it was regarded. After the pestilence had made its appearance in London, and when it was on the increase, Allin writes to Philip Fryth, 26 July, 1665: "I thanke God I goe about my buisines without any slavish feare of it; yet my body too apt for such a disease, which proves very mortal where it comes: many whole families of 7, 8, 9, 10, 18 in a family totally swept away. I thinke there is no fleeing from God's hand, and truely this sicknes so highly pestilential in some places speakes it to be more

a judgment than any thing else, and true repentance is the best antidote, and pardon of sin the best cordiall."

September 2, 1665, he mentions the death of his wife's brother, Peter Smith, "the best friend" he had "in y^e world," and one of the few to whom his children, whom he often mentions, and who were still at Rye, could look for help.

September 7, 1665: "The increasing sickenes hath now drawne very nigh mee, and God knoweth whither I may write ony more or no: it is at the next doore on both hands of mee; and under the same roofe . . . ; but I have no place of retireing, neither in the city nor coun-try; none in heaven nor earth to go unto but God onely; the Lord lodge mee in the bosom of his love, and then I shall be safe whatever betides. . . . If I live I hope to have some *materia prima*¹ from you; if you could inclose a little dust in a letter I shall be glad to receive it."

September 20, 1665, he writes to Samuel Jeake: "It is some refreshing to mee to thinke you are yet willing to receive a line from mee. It was an affliction to mee that I knew not to whom I might send a letter with acceptance (except Mr. Fryth onely). I am afrayd that some of my friends there are this day too much afrayd where no feare need to bee, for were my penn infectious

¹ Allin dabbled in alchemy, and attached a high value to the *Materia prima*. "It was to be gathered with great mystery, and preserved with much care, for the purposes of distillation; and he intended, in September, 1665, to set up 'divers chemical stills and one furnace for the main worke.' He was a disciple of Paracelsus, who says that 'the saline spirit unites with the earthy principle, which always exists in the liquids, but in a state of *materia prima*.'" The plant was formerly

known by the "name of *cælifolium*, as the popular belief was that it fell from heaven in the night. Paracelsus gave to it the name of *nostock* or *cerefolium*. . . . The alchemists took it to contain the universal spirit, and an extract to be the solvent of gold." Being reduced to a powder, it was said to cure ulcers, however "obstinate and rebellious they may be": hence possibly its use in the plague. "The ammonia was the chief ingredient of its utility for this purpose."

my hand would soone let it drop. . . . Clouds are gathering thicker and thicker, and I thinke veryly the day of the Lord will yet prove more blacke. Whither the Lord will make good that word spoken by a child here concerning the increase of y^e Plague, till 18,317 dye in a weeke. . . . and that word too of a yeares time of greate and sad persecution, spoken by y^e same mouth after death had once cooled it in this visitation, time will show."

September 22, 1665: "Freind get a piece of angell gold, if you can of Eliz. coine (y^t is y^e best), w^{ch} is phylosophicall gold, and keepe it allways in yo^r mouth when you walke out or any sicke persons come to you: you will find strange effects of it for good in freedome of breathing, &c. as I have done; if you lye wth it in your mouth wthout yo^r teeth, as I doe, viz. in one side betweene your cheke and gumms, and so turning it sometimes on one side, sometimes on y^e other.

October 7, 1665: "None of our family hath beene ill at all yet, through mercy: what with some imploy^{mt} on Lords dayes, at at other dayes some times, in this scarcity of ministers, many beeing dead, though more fled: I am streightened in time, yet get as much time to write to my friends as I can."

November 2, 1665: "My head aketh at y^e p^{re}sent. Y^e Lord fitt mee for what hee intends towards mee. Remember *prima materia*."

Allin, like Jeake, was an astrologer, and their correspondence contains "accounts of those blazing stars which were looked upon as so ominous." His astrological inquiries now excited apprehension. November 8, 1665, he writes: "Through mercy I am yet very well, though never without dayly feares, and truly not without cause, if I either consider the will of myne owne hearte, or yet if there bee any truth in y^e language of the starrs; for

Mars is coming to my ascendant in my nativity, wh^h was there lord of the eighth; and in my revolution for this yeare Lord of the Asc.; and in his course of p^{ro}gresse and regradation hee will continue within the compasse of my ascendant in my nativity till 1st July next. I had thought to send Mr. Jeake, the scheames, with y^e directions and p^{er}fections for this yeare for his judgment, but I have not time now. . . . Send as much *prima materia* as you can get gathered in ♎ (scorpio), by itself; if in ♍ (virgo), by itselfe.”

November 23, 1665, he tells Fryth: “The cold pincheth soarely here, seeing that coales are above 40^s p^{er} chaldron; but ere long I must bee forced (if I live so long) to a country climate; I thinke it must bee Sussex ward, but where I doe not know. If you can learne some place for me, somewhat above five miles¹ from you, with honest people, you may doe well to let mee know of it, where I may also practice physicke.”

Cooper states, that “on the 7th December, 1665, he writes that he is about to get a provincial licence to practise, and he hopes to obtain it, ‘though of late they are loath to make any so fully universall, but for 2 or 3 dioceses only;’ and on the 2nd March, 1666-7, he says, ‘I next week expect an universal license — ad practicandum; and this week I met with an offer to go to Oxford with a friend for one year, to work in the University chemical elaboratory: if my friend take the mastership of the work, I shall get his assistant.’ He failed, however, to obtain the licence from his scruples about the renunciation of the covenant, saying on 8th March, 1666-7, ‘A physitian hath nothing at all to do

¹ Probably in allusion to the “Five Mile Act,” which, under a penalty of fifty pounds and five months’ imprisonment, prohibited any Dissenting preacher, who took not the oath,

from coming, except upon the road, within five miles of any corporation or of any place where he had preached after the Act of Oblivion.

either with abrenunciation of y^e covenant, nor with y^e adopting of ceremonyes, and so I left them.' He then went to Woolwich and practised without a licence, till December 1669, when, the world having 'gone very hard' with him, he returned to London, residing near Moorfields; and I find little further trace of him."

July 4, 1668, he writes to Fryth: "Wee know not what God is doing but p̄digious signes are here & there frequent. A late private apparition & frightfull to one at W. H. (*Woolwich*) also at Dullwich neere Camberwell this weeke was heard (by one Scot Justice of y^e peace & a woman to her greate affrightm^t) the noise of Drumms trumpetts, neighing of horses & clattering of armes, about 4. in the morning. the like noises also in N. E. hath alarmd them as I perceive by a letter from my father this day; one other remarkable & mercifull p̄vidence relating to them he also mentions w^{ch} was this, that letters written agst the country to greate ones in England, divers violent stormes, to the apparent danger of ship & lives, forced the messenger to p̄duce them (as Jonas once himselfe) which being viewed & throwne overboard they had after it an happy & prosperous voyage, which accident is the 6th time y^t letters agst the country hath from tyme to tyme miscarryed."

October 13, 1670, he writes to Samuel Jeake: "Since my good freind Mr. ffryth dyed, I have not had the happiness to receive one line from Rye neither know I to whom to write to receive an accompt of my childrens & friends wellfare unlesse your selfe will please now & then to gratifye me. . . . One told mee this weeke y^t Rye was very sickly, I pray doe mee the favour as to afford mee a few lines, by way of accompt how my freinds & children stand in health or sicknes: I have beene in a more then ordinary discomposednes to my buisines, for want of any thing to doe whereof to keepe body & soule

together, & truly I haue beene very ill all this weeke & this beeing my revolution day of 47 years. It puts me to mind w^t hapened at 29. when I had liked to haue marched off by y^e small pox: what fitt of sicknes or death attends mee I know not, y^e will of God bee done."

Lamson says, Allin "frequently mentions his father at Dedham, and speaks of letters received from, and sent out to, him. In one of them, bearing date 1673-4, he refers to his father's will,¹—a copy of which he had received,—and to measures he was taking to secure his portion of the estate. He had an intention of coming over himself to present his claims in person, which, I have reason to think he never carried into execution."

Until the middle of the nineteenth century all efforts of modern inquirers to trace Allin after he graduated were unsuccessful. The discovery of his manuscript letters, and the investigations by Cooper and Lamson, as seen by the extracts which have been made, bring his history down till after the plague, but fail to follow it further. From documents recently brought to light, however, it appears that he returned to America.

In a letter to Jeake, dated London, 11 May, 1680, Allin's son John says: "My ffather was gone a weeke before I came, and I have heard nothing of him since." It appears from Whitehead, that previously to this the settlers of Woodbridge, in New Jersey, after numerous unsuccessful attempts to obtain a minister, had "turned their eyes towards England, and raised their voices for

¹ "To my beloved first-born son John Allin, now in England, —whom I have educated in learning, and, besides, given him to the value of thirty pounds, —my mind and will is, that the said thirty pounds shall be made up a double portion, to be set out unto him equally out of my houses and lands and movable goods, to the value of a double portion as aforesaid, within one year after my decease; to be delivered to him, or to his assigns here in New England; which double portion with his other brethren I give to my said son John Allin and his heirs."

help to 'Dr. Burns and Mr. Richard Baxter.'" In July, 1679, letters were written to these divines, which "Captain Bound," a trader between the two countries, was requested to deliver, and to provide, if wanted, a passage for a minister. "In September, 1680, Mr. John Allen commenced preaching among them, and fifty pounds was granted to him, and in November following voluntary subscriptions were directed to be taken for his permanent support." In December, 1680, or January, 1681, the meeting-house, which had been raised as early as May, 1675, "was actually floored." January 1, 1681, the records say: "We the freeholders and Inhabitants of Woodbridge having sent to England to have an honest, able, godly minister to Come over to vs to preach the word of God sinserly and faithfully—And Mr. John Alin by the providence of God being for that End Come amongst vs, and we having had Sum Experience of his good Abilities: are willing and doe hereby make Choise of him to be our Minister and desire to put ourselves under his ministry According to the Rules of the Gospel." February 13 he was admitted a freeholder, and a house-lot of ten acres was granted him. March 10, Seth Fletcher, of Elizabeth Town, was visited by "M^r Allen." May 24, 1681, Abraham Pierson writes to Increase Mather a letter, in which he introduces "the bearer hereof, M^r John Allin, son to M^r Allin of Deadham disceased, whom the Lord in great pity and mercy sent ouer from England the last summer, to our neighbours att Woodbridge, in this Prouince, who sent to England for supply. The Lord hath graciously looked on the condition of that people, and sent a man to them who doth industriously seek their eternal welfare. He is, according to the experience we haue had of him, such a one as of whom we haue reason to say, he is a faithfull man, and one that feareth God aboue many; able

also to teach others. He is now intending a voyage into your parts upon bussinesse. I hope he will find encouragement among you, in his returne to the poor people to which he belongeth."

In June, 1682, the society, which seems to have been poor, manifested its interest by providing nails and hinges for two doors and a lock for a third door, and by "lathing and *daubing*" the meeting-house "as high as the plate beams," all the inhabitants of the town who had suitable implements apparently rendering assistance in the "daubing."

"In September, 1682, a request was directed to be presented to the Governor and Council to induct" Allin formally into office, "in order that all the immunities of the station might devolve upon him." After this the records contain no allusion to him or to the meeting-house till January, 1686, when, or before, his ministry must have terminated, as a committee was then chosen to negotiate with Archibald Riddell to preach. He subsequently, however, appears on the records as a resident of the town. He died before the close of the century, but when or where I have not ascertained. The Reverend George Clark Lucas, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Woodbridge, writes: "After a careful examination of the Inscriptions in the two Burying Grounds, I am unable to find his name, and the inference is that he was not buried here."

The name of his wife appears to have been Smith. He had at least three children, John, Elizabeth, and Hannah, the youngest, whom, while in England, he was at one time endeavoring to bring up as a seamstress.

WORKS.

1. Extracts and selections from manuscript letters, printed in the thirty-seventh volume of the *Archaeologia*, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

2. William Durrant Cooper writes, 21 May, 1856: "Among the MSS. which once belonged to Samuel Jeake, the well-known editor of the Charters of the Cinque Ports, now in the possession of Morton Frewen, Esq. are 190 letters written in the years 1664 to 1674 to Mr. Philip Fryth, a solicitor at Rye, and a few to Mr. Samuel Jeake, by Mr. John Allin, sealed with the device of a pelican and its young, or the death's head and cross bones, or the arms, a chevron between three talbot's or leopard's heads, and the crest a talbot's or leopard's head. Many of these letters relate to the last grievous visitation of London by the Plague (the history of which De Foe compiled). They are very interesting." Manuscript copies of a few of the letters, which relate to New England, have been furnished by Mr. Cooper to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Allin, manuscript letters in the Library of the Massachusetts Hist. Society. E. Calamy, *Account of Ejected Ministers*, ii. 693. W. D. Cooper, in the *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 1. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 15. E. P. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey*, 207, 280. A. Lamson, *Fortieth Anniversary Sermon*, 41, 49. G. C. Lucas, Letter, 1871, February 3. Mather Papers, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 601, 602, 615. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 472. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 40. W. S. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy, &c.*, 383, 384.

1644.

There were no Graduates this year.

CLASS OF 1645.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| John Oliver, | John Russell, |
| Jeremiah Holland, | Samuel Stow, |
| William Ames, | James Ward, |
| Robert Johnson. | |

JOHN OLIVER.

Born about 1616, died 1646, aged about 30.

JOHN OLIVER, B. A., of Boston, born in England, was son of Thomas Oliver, who arrived in Boston, 5 June, 1632, in the William and Francis, with his wife Ann, and at least six sons and a daughter. He appears to have been admitted to the church in Boston in 1633, when about seventeen years old.

At the May session of the General Court in 1634 "John Ollyver" took the freeman's oath. "By this time the fort at Boston was in defence, and divers pieces of ordnance mounted on it"; and, at the same session, "it was ordered, that there shalbe a ward of two kept eūy day att the ffort att Boston, dureing the tyme of any shipps rydeing there, . . . to be ordered by Cap̃t. Vnderhill; . . . & John Ollyver [was] chosen corporall to the said captaine."

September 6, 1636, when, according to Winthrop, he could not have been more than twenty years of age,

“it was ordered, that John Olyver & Rob^t Marten should veive the land beyond Monotoquid Ryver, & bring a plot of the same.” From this time the records of the Court furnish numerous instances in which Oliver, called “Serg^t” in 1640, but commonly designated “Mr.,” is ordered to survey or assist in surveying lands, and in adjusting boundary lines between towns and farms. As early as 1638 he was the principal surveyor in laying out “the newe plantation” of Sudbury, for which there was allowed to him “5 sh^s,” and to each of the others “4^s,” a day for services.

At the session of the General Court in November, 1637, “S^rg John Oliver, iustifying the seditious libell called a remonstrance or petition, was dismissed from being a deputy in this Courte.” This remonstrance related to “the opinions & revelations of M^r Wheeleright & M^{rs} Hutchinson”; and through fear that their followers, “as others in Germany, in former times, may, vpon some revelation, make some suddaine irruption vpon those that differ from them in iudgment,” fifty-eight persons, among whom were “Cap^t John Vnderhill, M^r Thomas Oliver,” who was the graduate’s father, and “John Oliver,” were ordered, before 30 November, to “deliver in at M^r Canes house, at Boston, all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, & match as they shalbee owners of, or have in their custody, vpon paine of ten pound for ev^ry default to bee made thereof”; and were forbidden to “buy or borrow any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot, or match, vntill this Court shall take further order therein.”¹

¹ It may be thought that I have in this instance confounded the graduate with a contemporary of the same name. But the designation “S^rg,” and the connection with his old commander, Underhill, and with the fa-

ther, Thomas Oliver, seem to point to the graduate as the person here referred to.

If it be objected that an act so obnoxious as “the seditious libell” would have precluded the graduate’s

February 16, 1639-40, "Mr. John Oliver" "the younger," "Mr. Willyam Hibbon," and "Captaine Edward Gibon," were "Chosen & Deligated by y^e Church to goe to y^e Iseland of *Aquethnicke* to inqyre of y^e state of matters amongst o^r Brethren there, & to require some satisfactory Aunswer about such things as wee heare to be Offensive amongst y^m." Winthrop writes, 24 March, that they were sent "with letters to Mr. Coddington and the rest of our members at Aquiday [Rhode Island], to understand their judgments in divers points of religion, formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give account to the church of their unwarrantable practice in communicating with excommunicated persons, etc." The difficulty related to Ann Hutchinson and the Gortonists. Oliver, as cited by Felt, says: "At the Iland . . . they gaue vs satisfactory answers." At Portsmouth "thay denied owr commision, and refused to see owr letter; and they conseaue one church hath noe power ouer the member of another church, and doe not thinke thay are tide to vs by our couenant." As "for our church," Mrs. Hutchinson "would not acknowledge it any church."

Early in March of the same year, 1639-40, in the Boston church, "a motion was made by such as have farms at Rumney Marsh [Chelsea], that our brother Oliver may be sent to instruct their servants, and to be a help to them, because they cannot many times come hither, nor sometimes to Lynn, and sometimes nowhere at all." Considerable discussion ensued. Oliver's father said: "I desire what calling my son hath to such a work, or by what rule of God's word may the church

subsequent appointment as one of the committee to visit the brethren at Aquiday, it may be said that he was not sent by the General Court, but by the Boston church, and that the change of sentiments implied by such an appointment might have been regarded as peculiarly fitting him for the mission.

send out any of her members to such as are not of the church." The Reverend John Cotton answered at some length. Two others of the lay brethren who proposed objections were replied to by the Reverend John Wilson, and the subject was then postponed. March 23, "Wilson made a full statement of the general consent of the church," whereupon "Sergeant Oliver," signified his acceptance of the appointment in the following terms: "I desire to speak a word or two to the business of Rumney Marsh. I am apt to be discouraged in any good work, and I am glad, that there is a universal consent in the hearts of the church; for if there should have been variety in their thoughts, or compulsion of their minds, it would have been a great discouragement. But, seeing a call of God, I hope I shall employ my weak talent to God's service; and, considering my own youth and feebleness to so great a work, I shall desire my loving brethren to look at me as their brother, to send me out with their constant prayers."

Subsequently to the events which have been mentioned, Oliver, though he had a family and the pastoral care of the residents at Rumney Marsh, entered college and graduated. The career, however, which his friends anticipated for him was soon afterwards brought to a premature close. Winthrop relates, that in the spring of 1646 a malignant fever, whereof some died in five or six days, "swept away some precious ones amongst us, especially one Mr. John Oliver, a gracious young man, not full thirty years of age, an expert soldier, an excellent surveyor of land, and one who, for the sweetness of his disposition, and usefulness through a publick spirit, was generally beloved, and greatly lamented. For some few years past he had given up himself to the ministry of the gospel, and was become very hopeful that way, (being a good scholar and of able gifts otherwise, and had exercised publickly for two years)."

Hull writes: "1646. April 11, died Mr. John Oliver, one of choice parts, endued with variety of able gifts for the generation; but God took him away in youth, to the saddening of very many godly hearts and threatening of the rising generation."

The inventory of his estate is dated "23. 2 mo, 1646." In his will, dated "25. 6. 1641," and proved "11 (7) 1647," of which there is an abstract in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, iii. 266, he mentions his "house at Boston," his "bookes and geometricall instruments," and names his "deere & reverend ffathers Mr *Tho: Oliver* Mr *John Newgate*," and his "deare brother *James Oliver*."

He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Newgate, or Newdigate, of Boston. Their children were: 1. John, baptized 29 July, 1638, died 1639; 2. Elizabeth, born 28 February, 1640, married Enoch Wiswall, of Dorchester, in 1657; 3. Hannah, born 3 March, 1642, died 1653; 4. John, born 15 April, 1644, married, settled in Boston, and said to have died in 1683; 5. Thomas, born 10 February, 1646, settled in Newton.

Oliver's widow married Edward Jackson, of Newton. She survived her first husband sixty-three years, her second husband twenty-eight years, and died 30 March, 1709, aged 91.

AUTHORITIES.—J. Coffin, *History of Newbury*, 34, 312. S. G. Drake, *History of Boston*, 293; and *Founders of New England*, 11. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 211; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 33; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 137; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 69. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 454, 569. J. Hull, *Diary*, in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 172. F. Jackson, *History of Newton*, 373. I. P. Langworthy, *Historical Discourse*, 9. *Massachusetts Bay Records*, i. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i. 74; iii. 266; vii. 35. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 309, 311. W. H. Whitmore, *Hutchinson and Oliver Genealogy*, 25, 26; also *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xix. 100, 101. J. Winthrop, *History of New England*, with *Savage's Notes*, i. 96, 328; ii. 257.

JEREMIAH HOLLAND.

REV. JEREMIAH HOLLAND, B. A., went to England probably very soon after he graduated, as it does not appear that he ever took his second degree. He first settled near London, but soon afterwards removed into Northamptonshire, where he had a living of between two and three hundred pounds a year, perhaps as an Episcopalian. As he was starred in Mather's *Magnalia*, and in the General Catalogue of the Graduates of the College printed in 1700, he probably died in the seventeenth century.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 343; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 35; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 71; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 138. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 543. T. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 112.

WILLIAM AMES.

Born about 1623, died 1689, aged about 65.

REV. WILLIAM AMES, B. A., was born in Holland. His father was the famous William Ames, D. D., who proceeded Bachelor of Arts in 1607 at Christ's College, Cambridge, and subsequently became an eminent professor and divine in Holland. A contemplated removal to New England was frustrated by the death of the father in November, 1633, but in 1637, the son, with his mother Joane, his brother John, and sister Ruth, the last said to be eighteen years old, came over in the *Mary Ann* of Great Yarmouth. On the 15th of November, in the same year, the General Court of Massa-

chusetts "gave 40^l to M^{rs} Ames, the widow of Doctor Ames, of famos memory." The family, consisting of six persons, lived first at Salem; but the mother, probably for the purpose of having her son educated, afterward removed to Cambridge, where she died during his last year in college, and was buried 23 December, 1644.¹ At the session of the General Court, 26 May, 1647, Ames was made freeman. Soon afterward he appears to have returned to England, as in 1648 he was at Wrentham, in the County of Suffolk, where, 1 February, 1649-50, he and eleven others organized a church on Congregational principles, he becoming co-pastor with John Philip, who had married his father's sister, Elizabeth, and was then a member of the Westminster Assembly. For many years he also preached part of the Lord's Day at Frostenden. In this situation he remained till 1662, when, for nonconformity, "he was ejected from both the pulpits he had worthily supplied."

Samuel Baker writes, 2 September, 1684: "Mr. Ames, the son of Dr. Ames is yet liveing, but strangely disabled for work, by a weaknes in head, that he cannot bear discourse, nor able to pray in his family, yet looks well, eats and sleep[s.] so its said, he is a little better than he was."

Calamy says: "He was a very holy man, of the Congregational Persuasion, and in all Respects an excellent Person."

His ministry extended over a period of forty-nine

¹ Joseph Weld, of Roxbury, by his will, dated "Ipswich 2. 4 moth 1646," gives "To the Colidg In Cambridg Tenn pounds to be payd In five yeeres, viz 40^s p Annum, to the helpe & fertherance of such In larning as are not able to subsist of themselves, & herein I referr my Say to m^r *Dunster* & m^r *Eliot*, to be disposed as they Judg meet, only by this I recall the 20^s a yeare back againe, w^{ch} I put to my hand to giue to Dr *Ames* sonn; yet If those fournamed Judg it fitt to give him the 40^s p annum I leave it to their Wisdoms."—New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., vii. 33.

years, including the twenty-seven years succeeding his ejection, during which he appears to have sustained to his society the relation of teacher.

On his gravestone in the Wrentham churchyard is the following inscription:—

“HERE · LYETH · INTERRED · THE · BODY · OF · WILLIAM · AMES
(ELDEST · SON · TO · THE · LEARNED · DOCTOR · AMES) · TEACHER
OF · A · CONGREGATIONAL · CHURCH · IN · WRENTHAM · WHO
DEPARTED · THIS · LIFE · ON · JULY · 21 · 89 · AND · IN · THE
66 · YEARE · OF · HIS · AGE.”

His first wife, Susan, admitted to the church at one of its earliest gatherings, was buried 6 January, 1651–2, leaving one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Robert Smith, described in the parish register as “Minister of the gospel in Wrentham”: probably the same man who was ejected from Blythburgh, six miles distant.

January 26, 1652–3, Ames was married to Elizabeth Wales, who was mother of Ruth and Phillip, both of whom died young. After her marriage she was admitted to the church, and against her name in the Church Book her husband wrote: “fell asleep in y^e Lord, Feb. 19, 1682–3.”

WORKS.

A Sermon from 1 John ii. 20, on the Gunpowder Plot, entitled The | Saints | Security, | against | Seducing Spirits, | or, | The Anointing from the Holy one | The best Teaching. | Delivered in a Sermon at Pauls before the Lord | Major, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of | London, upon the Fifth of November, 1651. | — | By William Ames, M. A. || London. 1652. 4to. pp. (6), 39.

Copies of this sermon are in the libraries of Bowdoin College and of Charles Wentworth Upham of Salem. In the Catalogue of the British Museum and in other catalogues it is incorrectly entered under the name of the author's father

Although the title M. A. is affixed to Ames's name in this sermon, as also by Calamy and Palmer, there is no record of his having received any other degree than Bachelor of Arts at Harvard College.

AUTHORITIES. — W. G. Brooks, *Manuscript Notes*. J. Browne, *Congregational Church at Wrentham in Suffolk*, 11, 13. E. Calamy, *Ejected Ministers*, ii. 648, 649; and *Continuation*, 797, 798. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 16; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 36; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 72; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 138. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 543. J. Hunter, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, xxx. 169. T. Hutchinson, *Massachusetts Bay*, i. 112. E. Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 165. *Massachusetts Bay Records*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff, i. 208; ii. 295. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, xxxviii. 513. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 443. W. L. Ropes, *Letters*, 1871, January 10, February 7, 8. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 49.

JOHN RUSSELL.

Born about 1627, died 1692, aged 65.

REV. JOHN RUSSELL, M. A., of Hadley, born in England, was son of John Russell, glazier, who came to Cambridge, Massachusetts, was admitted freeman 3 March, 1635-6, a month after the Cambridge church gathering, removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, and afterward to Hadley, Massachusetts, where he died 3 May, 1680.

Russell began to preach at Wethersfield in 1649 or 1650, as successor of the Reverend Henry Smith, whose widow, in 1649, was married to his father. February 26, 1656-7, the General Court of Connecticut desired him, with Warham, Stone, and Blinman, "to meet the elders, who should be delegated from the other colonies, at Boston, the next June; and to assist in debating the questions

proposed by the general court of Connecticut, or any of the other courts, and report the determination of the council." Contentions about membership, discipline, and baptism had arisen in the church at Hartford, and were increasing in violence and extending to the neighboring churches, Russell becoming involved in them. The Reverend Samuel Stone and the church at Hartford undertook to discipline John Webster, the Governor, William Goodwin, a ruling elder, and John Cullick and Andrew Bacon, principal men in the church and town: Stone and most of the church being inclined to Presbyterianism, while the other party favored Congregationalism. The aggrieved members, "having long lived in the fire of Contention," and finding themselves "scorched more and more therewith," finally withdrew, and were about to unite with Russell's church at Wethersfield, when the General Court interfered, forbade the church from proceeding with its discipline, and the aggrieved from joining the Wethersfield or any other church until further efforts should be made to effect a reconciliation. As Palfrey remarks, "Stone stood upon his right, and the right of his church, to regulate their own affairs by their own discretion, and to execute ecclesiastical judgments upon members of their ecclesiastical body without regard to the offenders being the highest Magistrates of Connecticut." Several unsuccessful attempts were made by the General Court and by ecclesiastical councils to heal the dissension. For the purpose of settling the difficulties, ministers and delegates from the churches at Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Ipswich, Dorchester, Dedham, and Sudbury, in Massachusetts, made journeys to Hartford, some of them more than once, and this when travelling in the wilderness was difficult.

Cotton Mather says: "From the *Fire of the Altar*, there issued *Thundrings* and *Lightnings*, and *Earthquakes*,

through the *Colony*." In consequence of the part taken by Russell in this quarrel, the church in Wethersfield became divided. Some of the members brought a complaint against him before the General Court for joining with the church in excommunicating John Hollister, one of their number, without furnishing him with a copy of the charges, or even informing him what they were; and Russell was reproved by the Court for violating the usage of the churches. There was also a controversy in the Wethersfield church as to their church standing, some maintaining that they were not a church, because they had never been organized according to gospel order, or, if they had been, that by the removal of members they had ceased to be such. In this state of affairs the General Court ordered a council, which failing to effect a reconciliation, the Court itself decided the question by declaring, that, though many had removed, those who remained constituted "y^e true and vndoubted Ch: of Wethersfield."

Early in 1659 all the members of the church except six, five of whom were not present, voted for a removal. Russell thereupon drew up an instrument in the nature of a covenant, which was signed by himself and thirty of his church and congregation. Joining the Webster party, they, with a few others from Windsor, April 18th met "at Goodman Ward's house, in Hartford," where they signed an agreement to "remove out of the jurisdiction of Connecticut into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts." They accordingly planted the town of Hadley, whither most of them removed in 1660.

Their first place of assembling for worship was in a hired house. December 10, 1663, "Mr. Goodwin and John Barnard were chosen to seat persons in it 'in a more comely order,' and it was voted to hire the house another year." Their meeting-house, voted 12 December,

1661, and said to be framed, but not raised, 7 November, 1665, seems not to have been completed till 12 January, 1670, "when the town chose the two deacons, the two elders and Mr. Henry Clarke, to order the seating of persons in the meeting-house. Every person seated was to pay a part of the expense for making his seat. 128 seats for 128 persons, male and female, were paid for, at 3s. 3d. each. These 128 persons were heads of families or at least adults."

To check young sinners, the town voted, 11 January, 1672, "that there shall be some sticks set up in the meeting-house in several places, with some fit persons placed by them, and to use them as occasion shall require, to keep the youth from disorder."

For defence against the Indians, it was voted, 19 February, 1676, "that the meeting house shall be fortified — and that every male inhabitant above 16 years of age shall bring their arms and ammunition on Lord's days & Lectures to meeting, and in default of the same to forfeit twelve pence a man for every neglect."

Although there is no recorded agreement with Russell as to salary, at first, "it was apparently 80. pounds, and he received allotments of land in Hadley, according to a 150£ estate, or a homelot of 8 acres, and about 38 acres of interval land. After some years, the town gave him, in addition, the use of the town allotment, so called, which was estimated at 10 pounds, and he thus received annually 90 pounds." His salary "was paid in winter wheat at 3s. 3d., peas at 2s. 6d., Indian corn at 2s., and other things proportionally. The cash price of wheat did not exceed 2s. 6d., peas 2s., and corn 1s. 6d. per bushel at Hadley."

In October, 1664, Edward Whalley and William Goffe, two of the judges of Charles the First, and military officers of high rank under Cromwell, who had come to

America after the Restoration, and had been living for some time in seclusion at and near New Haven, took up their residence at Hadley, in the house of Russell, who concealed and protected them as long as they lived. On or about the first of September, 1675, while the people of Hadley were engaged in public worship, either on Sunday, or on a fast day which they were observing on account of Philip's War, these men, from a window in their private chamber, saw a party of Indians approaching from the north, evidently with the intention of surprising the people while in the meeting-house. Whalley was superannuated. Goffe, at the risk of discovery, hastened to the meeting-house and alarmed the congregation. In the general terror and confusion there seemed to be no one to take the lead. "I will lead, follow me," said the stranger, and they immediately put themselves under his command. Some were armed, but their chief reliance was an old cannon which had been sent there some time before by the government. No one, however, was competent to manage it with much effect. The mysterious stranger directed the loading of it, and they advanced to the attack. The Indians retreated a short distance to a deserted house. The cannon was so directed that the contents knocked down the top of the stone chimney about their heads, and they immediately fled. The commander ordered his men to pursue them. While they were thus engaged, he withdrew, unobserved, and rejoined Whalley in their private chamber. When the pursuers returned, their leader was gone. His venerable form, silvery locks, mysterious appearance, and sudden disappearance, with the disposition of the pious of those days to recognize in any strange event a special providence, led the inhabitants to regard their deliverer as an angel, who, after fulfilling the purpose of his mission, had reascended to heaven. They very likely never knew who he was.

Whalley probably died soon after this event, Goffe surviving him. At the demolition of Russell's house, near the end of the eighteenth century, "the removal of a slab in the cellar discovered human remains of a large size. They were believed to have belonged to the stout frame which swept through Prince Rupert's line at Naseby." This agrees with the tradition at Hadley, that two persons, unknown, were buried in the minister's cellar. According to Savage, "both corpses were buried in his ground close to the foundation of his house, where, to contradict an absurd tradition of the removal of the bones to New Haven, the authentic remains were, a few years since, ascertained by removal of the cellar wall for the railroad."¹

Russell lived harmoniously with his people till the

¹ An anonymous writer in the Columbian Centinel of 16 September, 1829, in remarking upon an article in the same paper of 22 August, respecting the burial-places of the regicides, says: "I beg leave to state what is known to me upon this subject. . . . The main house of Mr. Russell was taken down about the year 1794 or 5. The cellar, which was under the back part of the house, was not disturbed until about 1800. I was familiar with all parts of the house, from my earliest youth, and distinctly recollect a large swell on the west side of the cellar wall. The inhabitants of the town had always been much interested in the house as the reputed burial place of Whalley; and of course were particular in their observations when the building over the cellar was taken down, hoping to ascertain the truth of the report which had prevailed, that Gen. Whalley had been buried in the cellar, and afterwards disinterred. — Upon

removing the wall of the cellar, there was discovered, directly against the above-mentioned *swell*, and about three feet above the bottom of the cellar, a quantity of broken stone, and lime mortar. Directly over this rubbish were found, lying undisturbed, and horizontally, a row of flat stones, which were of suitable length and width to cover a man's coffin. Among this rubbish were found, *not a complete skeleton* but only a *very* few small bones, which were declared by the physicians of the place, who were requested to examine them, to be human bones. — One, I recollect was said to be from the knee, and one was a tooth which I now have in my possession.

"These facts corroborate the opinion that one of the Judges (undoubtedly Whalley) was buried in the cellar of Russell's house, and *afterwards removed*, whether to New Haven or elsewhere, other evidence must determine."

latter part of his life, when some of his friends became alienated from him on account of the active part he took in relation to the Hopkins donation, of which a portion was appropriated to Hadley. The majority of the inhabitants differed from him. After the final decision in 1687, which was in accordance with his views, the town voted him only seventy pounds annually during his life, though, if he retained the use of the town's land, which is not improbable, he received eighty pounds. But no complaint from him, or notice of troubles between him and the town, appears in the records. After his decease, his widow and sons claimed forty pounds "for what was abated in the rate bills, several years, without Mr. Russell's consent"; the town voted thirty-five pounds, and the matter was adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties.

Russell died 10 December, 1692. His successor was Isaac Chauncy, H. U. 1693.

A summary of the inventory of his estate, taken at Hadley 10 January, 1693, is on record in the Probate Office in Suffolk County, at Boston, where his son, the Reverend Jonathan Russell, of Barnstable, was admitted as administrator 17 January. Among the items are a colored man, woman, and child, valued at £60. After paying the debts, funeral charges, expense of tombstones for Russell and a former wife, and delivering to his widow £106, most of which she had when she was married, there remained for his two sons the nominal sum of £830, of which £305 in real estate was subject to the widow's dower. The appraisement, however, was considerably above money prices.

As Whalley and Goffe received remittances from their wives, and presents from friends in New England, Russell was probably benefited by them, and enabled to give a college education to his two sons, Jonathan

and Samuel, who graduated respectively in 1675 and 1681.

June 28, 1649, Russell married, at Hartford, Connecticut, Mary, daughter of John Talcott, and after her death, Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Newberry, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, or of Windsor, Connecticut.

April 18, 1677, he wrote: "I had a very sickly winter my selfe, being weakly and full of sore paine. . . . My wife also grown very crazy, & fallen into a languishing state so that I fear her recovery. . . . My son hath been at home this winter; and beene a comfort to us." The wife having died 21 November, 1688, he married Phebe, born 15 October, 1643, widow and second wife of the Reverend John Whiting, of Hartford, H. U. 1653, and daughter of Thomas Gregson, of New Haven, who was lost at sea in 1646, in the Phantom ship. After her second husband's decease, she went to live with her son Joseph Whiting at New Haven, where she died 19 September, 1730.

WORKS.

1. Manuscript Notes of a Sermon preached in Cambridge in the Afternoon of 28 July, 1651, on Galatians ii. 20. *H.*
2. In 1665 he preached the Massachusetts Election Sermon from Psalm cxii. 6: probably not published.
3. Documents, &c., in S. Judd's History of Hadley.
4. Letters in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxvii.

AUTHORITIES. — J. W. Barber, History and Antiquities of New Haven, 50. A. B. Chapin, Glastenbury for Two Hundred Years, 35, 37, 46. Connecticut Historical Society, Collections, ii. 51. Connecticut Public Records, ed. J. H. Trumbull, i. 288, 319, 363. B. B. Edwards, in the American Quarterly Register, x. 262, 270. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 250; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 37; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 73; American Quarterly Register, viii. 139. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 191, 259, 261–267, 673. N. Goodwin, Foote Family, Introduction, xvi, xvii, xxxix; and Genealogical Notes, 190, 330.

J. G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, i. 54, 58, 101, 128; ii. 216, 221. G. H. Hollister, *History of Connecticut*, i. 245. A. Holmes, *Annals of America*, i. 372. T. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 216. S. Judd, *History of Hadley*, 11, 19, 50-58, 145, 214-220, 336, 559. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, xxxviii. 78, 80, 123, 135, 260. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. 117. J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England*, ii. 489, 507. C. Robbins, *Regicides Sheltered in New England*, 24. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, ii. 268; iii. 591; iv. 518. E. Stiles, *History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I.*, 96, 109, etc. B. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i. 294-309.

SAMUEL STOW.

Born about 1622, died 1704, aged 82.

REV. SAMUEL STOW, M. A., of Middletown, Connecticut, according to Savage, was son of John and Elizabeth Stow, of Roxbury, and, with his parents, arrived in New England 17 May, 1634. He took the freeman's oath in May, 1645, a short time before he graduated. In 1653 he went to Middletown, Connecticut, where he was the first and for many years the only minister, but, as no church was then organized, he was never ordained. November 9, 1659, the General Court chose a committee "to goe downe to Middle Towne, to inquire y^e nature of y^e troublesom differenc fallen out there, and to indeavour a composition thereof"; but "there appeareing such vnsutablenes in their spirits," the Court ordered, 4 October, 1660, that the town should "haue free liberty to provide for themselues another . . . minister," "the said Towne giueing Mr. Stow Testimoniall L^{rs}," such as "Mr. Warham, Mr. Stone, Mr. Whiting, takeing in y^e help of y^e Wor^{ll} Gou^{rn}r and Mr. Willis . . . iudge fit," and in "y^e meane time" allowing him "his vsual stipend, he continueing the exercise of his ministrey, as

formerly." On the fourteenth of March following, the General Court, "haueing heard and considered the differenc twixt y^e Towne of Middle Town and Mr. Stow, and their allegations and answers, doe judg and determine, that y^e people of Middle Town are free from Mr. Stow as their engaged minister," that they shall give him "L^{rs} Testimonial, according as was drawn vp," that he "is not infringed of his liberty to preach in Middle Town to such as will attend him, vntil there be a setled ministrey there," and "that y^e people of Middle Town shal pay vnto Mr. Stow, for his labour in y^e ministrey the year past, 40*l.* w^{ch} is to be paid vnto him by the 10th of April next."

Trumbull says: "A committee of ministers and civilians, appointed by the general court, dismissed him, on account of the evil temper of the people towards him." The dismissal occurred before the excitement caused by the ecclesiastical controversy at Hartford had subsided.

January 26, 1676, by vote of the Council of Connecticut, "Mr. Stoe is allowed twenty shillings a Sabbath for what time he hath been imployed in the supplying the places of those ministers that haue been imployed in the country service, which is twenty-foure Sabbaths."

In 1681 he was invited to preach at Simsbury. In May, 1682, there was addressed to the General Court an "Humble Motion of Simsbury men," who, "having knowledg and tryall of Mr. Samuell Stow in y^e labours of y^e Word & doctrine of y^e Gospel," and desirous of his continuance "to be a Pastor & Watchman over our soules and the soules of ours," asked the countenance of the Court to their settlement in gospel order. Stow was one of the two persons chosen to present the petition. But as his four years' term of service was drawing to a close, he desired to know of the inhabitants "whether

they would continue him in the work of the ministry and settle him in office amongst them." As they did not give an affirmative answer, he declined to be a "teaching" minister longer than his engagement required. He relinquished the profession, and lived in Middletown, a retired and highly respected citizen, till his death.

In a letter to Nathaniel Higginson, H. U. 1670, dated 16 November, 1705, Judge Samuel Sewall, H. U. 1671, writes: "The Rever^d Mr. Samuel Stow of Middletown, went from thence to Heaven upon the 8th of May 1704. being 82 years old. I have rec^d a very good Character of him from Mr. Noadiah Russel Minister of that place."

Stow gave a lot of land to Middletown for the purposes of education, and it still bears his name.

In 1649 he was married to Hope, daughter of William Fletcher, of Chelmsford, Massachusetts. He had seven children, of whom John was born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 16 June, 1650.

WORKS.

1. The Library of Harvard College contains manuscript notes of a sermon preached by him at Cambridge, in the forenoon of August 3, 1651, on 1 Pet. i. 1, 2. *H.*

2. In May, 1695, the General Court of Connecticut voted thanks to him "for his great paynes in preparing a History of the Annalls of New England."

3. March 2, 1703-4, Judge Sewall sent to Nathaniel Higginson, at London, Stow's Ten Essays for Conversion of the Jews, and writes: "I could not always resist y^e Importunity of a Godly Aged Divine just taking leave of us and going to the Court of Heaven. Treatises of greater bulk & less usefull than this, are printed. However if none apear to Multiply & perpetuat it by the Press: Yet the pious Endeavours of a worthy Divine ought to have a decent Burial. These Considerations will I hope prevail with you not to take out against me a Wridd of Intrusion. I knew not to

whom to send it but to you his Countryman." After Stow's death Sewall writes to Higginson: "His Manuscript of the Jews is in your hand to do with it as you see cause; being well assured you will do nothing amiss."

AUTHORITIES. — J. W. Barber, *Statistical Account of the County of Connecticut Historical Collections*, 507. *Connecticut Public Records*, ed. J. H. Trumbull, i. 343, 356, 361, 362; ii. 485; iii. 101; and ed. C. J. Hoadly, iv. 144. *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, 423. J. T. Dickinson, *Genealogies*, 11, 15. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 277; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 41; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 77; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 140. D. D. Field, *Statistical Account of the County of Middlesex*, in *Connecticut*, 43; and *Centennial Address*, 48, 147, 163. N. Goodwin, *Genealogical Notes*, 351. J. Johnston, *Letter*, 1868, September 11, with extracts from *Middletown Records*, i. 22. *New England Historical and Genealog. Register*, xiv. 134; xviii. 69; xxii. 390. N. A. Phelps, *History of Simsbury*, 50. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 217. S. Sewall, *Manuscript Letter Book*. L. Shattuck, *History of Concord*, 240, 384. B. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i. 310, 492.

JAMES WARD.

JAMES WARD, M. A., was son of the Reverend Nathaniel Ward, who was settled at Stondon Massey, in Essex, about twenty-four miles from London, England, and, being suspended, afterward became the minister of Ipswich, Massachusetts. The son probably accompanied his father to New England, where they arrived in June, 1634. While in college, he and Joseph, son of the Reverend Thomas Welde, of Roxbury, robbed in the nighttime the houses of Joshua Hewes and Joseph Weld, the one in March, the other in April, 1644, of eleven pounds in money and about thirty shillings' worth of gunpowder. "Being found out," writes Winthrop, June 5, "they were ordered by the governours of the college to be there whipped, which was performed by the president himself—yet they were about 20 years of age; and after

they were brought into the court and ordered to two fold satisfaction, or to serve so long for it. We had yet no particular punishment for burglary." A document in the office of the Massachusetts Secretary of State says that Ward was "whipp'd publiquely in the Colledge at Cambridge when hee was a scholer and expelled out of y^e said Colledge." As he appears to have obtained his degree, he must have made a confession and been restored.

He probably returned to England with his father in December, 1646. According to Wood, his testimony, dated 3 December, 1646, and "subscribed by Hen. Dunster president, and Sam. Danforth fellow" of Harvard College, was submitted 10 October, 1648, and he became Fellow of Magdalen College at the University of Oxford, where, in the same year, he was also admitted to the degree of Master of Arts. November 14, 1649, by favor of Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament's army, he was created Bachelor of Physic at the same University.

He probably died before the close of the century, as he was starred in Mather's *Magnalia*. It does not appear that he left any issue.

Hutchinson calls him Jacob Ward, and mistakes the college where he had his Fellowship.

WORKS.

Was he the author of a Latin Poem in the "*Musarum Oxoniensium 'Ελαιοφορία*," Oxoniæ, 1654, and of another in the "*Britannia Rediviva*," Oxoniæ, 1660, 4to, both having the signature "J. Ward, A. M., ex Æde Christi"?

AUTHORITIES. — G. W. Chase, *History of Ipswich*, 72, 93, 218. J. B. Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 72, 93, 218. T. Hutchinson, *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 112. J. Coffin, *History of Newbury*, 41. J. W. Dean, *Memoir of Nathaniel Ward*, 29, 118, 195. Massachusetts Manuscript Archives, xxxviii. B. 39. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 304; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 42; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 78. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 408. J. Winthrop, *History of New England*, ii. 166. A. à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses, Fasti*, ed. Bliss, ii. 109, 146.

ROBERT JOHNSON.

Died about 1650.

ROBERT JOHNSON, B. A., was son of Robert Johnson, who came from Kingston upon Hull, in Yorkshire, England, and was one of the early settlers of New Haven. The son went to Rowley, Massachusetts, where he had an uncle, "and was said to be a very promising candidate for the ministry, and was to be settled there, but died young." His will, dated "13 of the 7th mo. 1649," and proved in Court "the 26th of the first mo. [March] 1650," is recorded in the eighty-fifth volume of the Essex Registry of Deeds. He states that he is "sick & weake of Body But of perfect memory." After the payment of his debts, he orders "that out of the remaynder of" his "goods somthing be distributed unto the pore of Rowley according unto the DiscreSSION of" his "Cosen Thomas Barker & Humfrey Reyner," whom he makes his executors. "That which may remayne," he says, "I doe Assigne it to be returned unto my father Robert Johnson of the new haven." The witnesses to his will were his executors and John Brock, H. U. 1646. Other evidence of his early death is found in the fact that his father, who died in 1661, mentions in his will his wife and his three sons, Thomas, John, and William, but makes no allusion to Robert. William, the brother of the graduate, was grandfather of the Reverend Samuel Johnson, D. D., of Stratford, sometimes called the father of Episcopacy in Connecticut.

AUTHORITIES. — E. E. Beardsley, Letters, 1869, July 12, August 30, and 1871, February 14, containing extracts from the Reverend Doctor S. Johnson's Manuscripts and the will of R. Johnson, senior. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 163; and Memori-

als of the Graduates of Harvard University, 42; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 78. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 556, 557. M. A. Stickney, Letters, 1869, July 31, and August 30, containing copy of his will, &c.

CLASS OF 1646.

John Alcock,
John Brock,

George Stirk,
Nathaniel White.

JOHN ALCOCK.

Born 1627, died 1667, aged about 40.

JOHN ALCOCK, M. A., was born in England early in 1627. His father, Deacon George Alcock, whose wife was sister of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, Connecticut, brought this son to Massachusetts on a return voyage from England after he was settled in Roxbury. In his will, dated "22 day 10th, called December, Anno Domini, 1640," he speaks of "my debt of £40 to my Sonne John, w^{ch} I have of his in my hands," and directs that "the halfe of y^e revenue of the farme shall be to eaducate my sone *John* in learninge, together wth the wisest improvement of his £40."

The son, probably through the influence of his uncle Hooker, taught school at Hartford, in 1647-8. He was made freeman of Massachusetts 22 November, 1652. He established himself as a physician in Roxbury, but subsequently removed to Boston, probably before 1657.

In answer to a petition by Alcock, the General Court, 23 May, 1655, "doe order, that eyght hundred forty two acors of land be laid out vnto the petitiono^r, as is de-

sired," etc. This grant, including both "vpland and meadow," and still known as The Farm, or Alcock's Farm, was located in the southeasterly part of Marlborough, "between the two Indian townes of Natick & Wippsupperage." The plan, which was presented to the General Court for confirmation 6 May, 1657, contained two hundred acres more, for all of which he had "compounded wth the native Indjans and nerest inhabitants betwixt Naticke & Wippsufferage"; and the General Court, in accordance with a petition which accompanied the plan, allowed and confirmed to him the whole.

November 12, 1659, the General Court voted to grant him two hundred acres "in leiw of two hundred acres he grattified y^e plantation of Whipsufferage out of his oune." Where this lot was located is not quite certain; it may have been on the western border of Northborough, and subsequently added to that town.

Hudson writes: "He had other grants of land in the neighborhood, one on the Assabet River then within the limits or on the line of Stow, but probably at this day within the limits of Hudson."

In a bill against "the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esquire, Governor of the Corporaticn for the propagation of the gospel in New England," dated at Boston, 10 September, 1662, is the item, "To Mr. John Alcock, for physick to sick Indian scholars, pr. order, £7. 9. 5."

Alcock died in Boston 27 March, 1667, and was buried at Roxbury on the 29th.

His will was dated 10 May, 1666. To Jonathan Mitchel, of Cambridge, H. U. 1647, he left "in charge his books and manuscripts to be kept for his sons, those two that are desirous to be scholars; also the Summe of forty shillings to buy him a ring to wear for my sake; and to the Church of Christ in Roxbury the Summe of three pounds to buy them a good wine bowl."

He owned land on Boston Neck, at Dorchester, on the Assabet River in Stow, and the estate known as The Williams Place in Scituate, near the Harbor. He also had property on Block Island, which was divided among his heirs in 1677.

He married, probably in 1648, Sarah, daughter of Doctor Richard and Anne Palgrave, of Charlestown. She died 29 November, 1665, aged 44: "A virtuous woman of unstained life, very skilful in physique and chirurgery, exceeding active, yea very unwearied in ministering to the necessities of others: her works praise her in y^e gates."

They had nine children, several of the younger of whom were born in Boston, but were carried to Roxbury to be baptized. George graduated in 1673. Sarah, baptized 26 May, 1650, married Zechariah Whitman, H. U. 1668.

In answer to a petition in behalf of the children and the estate, it was ordered by the General Court, 15 May, 1667, "that Capt^t W^m Daus & Left^t Jn^o Hull take the best care they cann of the children & family, in disposing of them to such ffriends, or otherwise providing for them as they may, and preparing all things concerning that estate between this & the next County Court for Suffolke."

AUTHORITIES. — A. B. Alcott, Manuscripts. J. Allen, in Worcester Magazine, ii. 134, 139, 142. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 12; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 43; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 79. C. Hudson, History of Marlborough, 28, 33, 308; and Letter, 1871, February 15. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, i. 218. Massachusetts Bay Records, ed. Shurtleff, iii. 377, 405, 438; iv. (i.) 296, 463; iv. (ii.) 239. A. Morse, Memorial of the Morses, 87; and Appendix, No. lxxvii. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 104. T. Prince, Annals of New England, ii. 4, 29, 64. Roxbury Records. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 21, 22. N. B. Shurtleff, Letters, 1851, April 1, 5.

JOHN BROCK.

Born 1620, died 1688, aged about 68.

REV. JOHN BROCK, M. A., of the Isles of Shoals in New Hampshire, and afterward of Reading, Massachusetts, was son of Henry Brock, of Dedham, Massachusetts, who, in his will, dated "22th of y^e 2^d m^o 1646," says: "I doe ordaine Elizabeth my beloved wife and my sonne *John Brocke* to be executo^{rs}."

He was born in 1620, at Stradbroom, in the County of Suffolk, England, and was distinguished for early piety. He came to New England with his parents at the age of about seventeen, "and here, no sooner was he recovered of the *Small Pox*, wherein he was very nigh unto Death, but another Fit of Sickness held him for no less than Thirty Weeks together; whereby the Hand of Heaven ordering the *Furnace*, prepared him for the Services that he afterwards performed."

He was "received" into the church at Dedham, "giving good satisfaction, 3^d of 2^d mo." 1640; and 18 May, 1642, he took the freeman's oath. In 1643 he entered college, where he studied five years, till, in 1648, "he entred upon the Work of the Evangelical Ministry" at Rowley, where he may have taught school also. He probably continued there several months, as 13 September, 1649, he was witness to the will of Robert Johnson, H. U. 1645, who died at Rowley.

In 1649 Mathew Day, in his will, made on the day of his death, 10 May, says: "I doe give to S^r Brocke (my ould & deare friend) all the Bookes I have which he thinkes may be usefull to him."

Though Brock had taken his two degrees, yet, after concluding his labors at Rowley, he returned to Cambridge, where the early graduates often resided and pur-

sued their studies. He "Entred the Colledg the 3 of June 51," and was charged by the Steward, as "Mr. Brookes," with tuition, board in Commons, and study rent in the College from "13. 4. 51" till December, 1652, or later, the bills being always "Payd by the P^rsident."

It must have been as late as the date of the last of these bills, and not "about 1650," as commonly stated, that he went to preach and teach at the Isles of Shoals.

Henry and Elizabeth Brock both died in 1650, and 18th 8th mo. 1652, "Mr. John Brock" disposes of a house and land, probably the same which he inherited from his father.

In 1659 there was a recommendation to have Brock appointed missionary among the Indians in Maine, as he was said "to be expert in the Indian toungue and fitly quallified for the purpose"; but it does not appear that he ever engaged in that work, or had any inclination for it.

He probably continued at the Isles of Shoals till he removed to Reading, Massachusetts. There he entered the following memorandum in the Book of Church Records, which was apparently begun by him: "John Brocke called by the Church to officiate amongst them after Mr. Sam. Haugh's decease at Boston, and dismissed to them from Dedham Church, was joined to them the Lord's day before y^e Ordination and Nov. 13, 62: he was ordain'd, and y^e Day after he was married to Mrs. Sarah Haugh a widdow indeed."

He continued in the ministry till his death, 18 June, 1688, "after a Sickness of just *Fourteen Days*," having before, according to Cotton Mather, "told One in his Family, that he had besought this Favour of Heaven; *To live but fourteen Days after the Publick Labours of his Ministry should be finished.*"

Jonathan Pierpont, H. U. 1685, who was his successor, states that he went to his funeral on the 19th, and "took notice that the good people much lamented the death of their pastor. He was a man who excelled most men in faith, prayer and private conference."

Judge Sewall, H. U. 1671, writes in his Diary: "1688. Tuesday, June 19. went to y^e Funeral of Mr. Brock of Reding, a worthy good Minister generally lamented. Was very laborious in Catechizing & instructing Youth. Mr. Danforth, Mr. Russel there. Mr. Morton, Wigglesworth, Fisk, Fox, Shepard, Lorie, Pierpont, Lawson, Carter, &c. buried between 2 and 3."

Mather says, his "*Goodness was above his Learning,*" and his "*Chief Learning was his Goodness. . . . He wholly devoted himself, unto his Beloved Employment; preaching on Lord's Days, and on Lectures at Private Church-Meetings, and at Meetings of Young Persons for the Exercises of Religion, which he mightily encouraged, as Great Engines, to render his more Publick Labours effectual on the Rising Generation. His Pastoral Visits, to Water what had been Sown in his Publick Labours, were also very sedulous and assiduous; and in these he managed a peculiar Talent, which he had at Christian Conference, whereby he did more Good, than some Abler Preachers did in the Pulpit. He was herewithal so Exemplary for his Holiness, that our Famous Mr. Mitchel would say of him, He dwelt as near Heaven as any Man upon Earth.*"

Mather also recites several "Remarkables," of the efficacy of his faith in prayer. During his ministry at "the Isle of Sholes, he brought the People into an Agreement, that, besides the *Lord's-Days*, they would spend one Day every Month together in the Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ." On one of these days the fishermen, of whom his society consisted, "ask'd him, that they might *Put by their Meeting*, and go a Fishing, be-

cause they had lost many Days by the Foulness of the Weather. He seeing, that . . . they resolved upon doing what they had asked of him, replied, *If you will go away, I say unto you, catch Fish, if you can! But as for you, that will tarry, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ this Day, I will pray unto Him for you, that you may take Fish till you are weary.*" Thirty men who went caught but four fishes; the five who remained went afterwards and caught five hundred. "The *Fishermen* after this readily attended, whatever Meetings Mr. Brock appointed."

"A Fisher-man, who had with his *Boat*, been very Helpful, to carry a People over a River, for the Worship of God, on the *Lord's-Days*, in the *Isle of Shoales*, lost his *Boat* in a Storm. The poor Man laments his Loss to Mr. Brock; who tells him, *Go home, Honest Man, I'll mention the Matter to the Lord, you'll have your Boat again to Morrow.* Mr. Brock now considering, of what a Consequence this Matter, that seem'd so small otherwise, might be among the untractable Fishermen, made the *Boat* an Article of his Prayers; and behold, on the *Morrow*, the poor Man comes rejoicing to him, That his *Boat* was found, the *Anchor* of another Vessel, that was undesignedly cast upon it, having strangely brought it up, from the Unknown Bottom, where it had been sunk."

"Multitudes of such Passages . . . caused our Mr. *John Allin* of *Dedham*, to say concerning Mr. Brock; *I scarce ever knew any Man so Familiar with the Great God, as His Dear Servant Brock!*"

Though remarkably distinguished for his faith and piety, it does not appear that he preached on either of the great anniversaries. He was one of the seventeen ministers who bore public testimony against the proceedings of the elders of the First Church in Boston in

relation to the settlement of Davenport. His wife, the widow of the Reverend Samuel Hough, his predecessor at Reading, and daughter of the Reverend Zechariah Symmes, died 27 April, 1681.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 43; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 43; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 79; *Farmer and Moore's Collections*, ii. 296; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 140. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, ii. 248, 249. T. Gage, *History of Rowley*, 16. *Harvard College Steward's Account-Books*, i. 17, 18. E. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, consisting of *State Papers*, etc., ii. 403. *Massachusetts Bay Records*, ii. 292. *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, vii. 251, 254; xxii. 312; xxxviii. 571. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iv. 141. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i. 244, 247; iii. 181; iv. 288; v. 124; vi. 74; xiii. 256. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 257. S. Sewall, *Manuscripts*. S. Sewall, in *American Quarterly Register*, xi. 176, 190. C. Slafter, *Letter*, 1871, January 21. W. B. Sprague, *Annals*, i. 134. E. Stone, *Discourse on C. Prentiss*, 15.

GEORGE STIRK.

Died 1665.

GEORGE STIRK, Starkey, or Storkey, M. A., appears to have been son of the Reverend George Stirk, of the Somers or Bermuda Islands, author of the *Musæ Somerenses*, published at London in 1635.

December 4, 1639, Patrick Copeland, an aged minister at the Bermudas, writes from Paget's Tribe to Governor John Winthrop: "I have sent you a small poesie of one of our preachers, whom the Lord hath taken to himselfe: hee hath left behinde him a hopefull sonne of his owne name, who is reasonable well entred in the Latine tongue. If there be any good schole and schole maister with you, I could wish with all my heart that hee might have his education rather with you, then in

old England, where our company there have, by their letters this yeere to our Governo^r Capt Thomas Chad-dock (who desires the continuance of your love), promised after a yeere or two to take charge of his education with them. Hee is a fatherless childe, and of good expectation, if God sanctifie his spirit."

The persons of whom Copeland writes I conclude to be no other than the two George Stirks, father and son.

In a subsequent letter to Winthrop, dated "From George's Prison, Christ's Schole, this last of the 7th m^o. 47," Copeland writes: "I doubt not but you will afford your grave counsel to George Stirke, whom both his father and my selfe dedicated vnto God. I heare hee practises physick. I ever intended divinity should be his maine study."

August 2, 1648, the graduate writes under the signature "Geo: Storkey":—

"To the Wp^{ful} M^r. John Winthrop at his house at the Pequot these.

"I heare you shortly intend to come to the Bay; if by water, if you could spare any ♂¹ and ♀², I should content you for it & rest ingaged. If you could spare one or two of your greater glasses, you would doe me a great pleasure. I wish, if you could find Helmont de Febribus, I might borrow him of you, as also de Lithiasi, also the little booke intituled Encheiridion Philosophiæ restitutæ, wth Arcanū Philos: at the end of it. If your W^p would be pleased to remember the keyes of the cabinets wherein your bookes are, I should count it an extreame felicity once to have the view of chemical bookes, w^{ch} I have not read a long time. Theatrū Chemicū I should chiefly desire. I have built a furnace, very ex-

¹ Antimony.

² Mercury.

quisitely, but want glasses, † & ‡. Mr. Barkly is gone.”

As additional to the evidence afforded by these letters with regard to the parentage of the graduate, and that he was from the Bermudas, it may be remarked, that among the passengers who came to Boston in 1650, in the vessel which carried contributions to the suffering exiles from those islands who had settled at the Bahamas, mention is made of “Mr. Stirk’s sister,” and of Stirk’s classmate, “M^r White’s son Nat: wh:”

That Stirk remained in New England till he became Master of Arts appears not only from the fact of his having received this degree, on which occasion the candidate was expected to be present, but also from the circumstance that the title of “Mr.,” signifying Master of Arts, is prefixed to his name on a record that he received £2 6s. 8d. of the disbursements made by President Dunster. Not long afterward he went to England, where he became eminent as a chemist, and published several treatises in English, “By George Starkey,” and others in Latin, having on the title-page “à G. Starkeio.”

May 20, 1650, his name appears in the records of the General Court of Massachusetts as a party in interest to a petition of Elizabeth Stoughton, of Dorchester, widow of Israel Stoughton, for the confirmation to John Milam, of Boston, of a sale of “certajne lands, which, wth part of the tidemills and other the appurtenances, is mentioned in a deed between hir & Georg Stirke, hir sonne, & John Milam.”¹

In the Interleaved Triennial Catalogue of the Reverend Nicholas Gilman, H. U. 1724, is written against Stirk’s name, “Med. Engld. Died in y^e Great Plague.”

¹ If this “Georg Stirke” be the birth of his son, Governor William Stoughton, H. U. 1650, became a widower, and married the widow of Israel Stoughton subsequently to the the Reverend George Stirk.

In a manuscript lecture on Sir George Downing by Charles Wentworth Upham, it is stated that Stirk "rendered himself famous, by his professional skill, during the dreadful plague in London in 1665. His extraordinary knowledge of chemistry led him to the discovery of a remedy which, if properly applied, was always found effectual. He was the only physician in the city who could cure the plague. As may be well supposed, he was in such constant demand that his constitution became debilitated by fatigue and exposure, and at length the disease fastened upon him. His remedy was required to be administered at a particular stage of the malady when the patient had passed into a delirium. As he felt himself approaching that state, he gave the most minute directions to his attendants in reference to the mode of administering his medicine. When the delirium had passed off he made inquiries as to the treatment he had received, and found that an irremediable and fatal error had been committed. He had scarcely time to declare that he was a dying man. His remedy died with him."¹

A letter of the Reverend John Allin, H. U. 1643, printed in the *Archaeologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and dated at London, 14 September, 1665, states: "Our friend Dr. Starkey is dead of this visitation [the plague], wth about 6 more of them chymicall practitioners, who in an insulting way over other Galenists, and in a sorte over this visitation sicknes, which is more a judgment then a disease, because they could not resist

¹ Upham writes, "For the circumstances in reference to his connection with the plague of London, and his tragical and sudden death, I am indebted to the late venerable and learned Doctor Edward Augustus Holyoke, of Salem. He related

them to me when in his one hundred and first year. They had been brought to his knowledge by tradition, which, when it reached him, however, was so recent as to have a very high degree of authority."

it by their Galenical medicines, w^{ch} they were too confident y^t their chymical medicines could doe, they would give money for the most infected body they could heare of to dissect, which y^ey had, and opened to search the seate of this disease, &c.; upon y^e opening whereof a stinch ascended from the body, and infected them every one, and it is said they are all dead since, the most of them distractedly madd, whereof G. Starkey is one.”

WORKS.

1. Nature's Explication | and | Helmont's Vindication. | Or | A short and sure way to a long | and sound Life: | Being | A necessary and full Apology for Chy- | mical Medicaments, and a Vindication of their | Excellency against those unworthy re- | proaches cast on the Art and its Pro- | fessors (such as were Paracelsus and Helmont) | by Galenists, usually called Methodists. | Whose Method so adored, is examined, and their | Art weighed in the ballance of sound Reason and true | Philosophy, and are found too light in reference to | their promises, and their Patients expectation. | The Remedy of which defects is taught, and | effectual Medicaments discovered for the effectual cure | of all both Acute and Chronical Diseases. | ——— | By George Starkey, a Philosopher made by the | fire, and a professor of that Medicine which | is real and not Histrionical. || London. 1657. 16mo. Pp. (16) The Epistle Dedicatory To the Right Honourable Robert Tichburne, Lord Maior of the famous City of London; pp. (43) The Epistle to the Reader, dated Nov. 20, 1656; and Text pp. 336. *A.*

2. Pyrotechny | Asserted and Illustrated, | To be the surest and safest Means for | Art's Triumph | over | Nature's Infirmities. | Being | A full and free Discovery of the Medi- | cinal Mysteries studiously concealed | by all Artists, and only disco- | verable by Fire. | With | An Appendix concerning the Nature, | Preparation, and Vertue of several Specifick | Medicaments, which are Noble and Succeda- | neous to the Great Arcana. | ——— | By George Starkey, | Who is a Philosopher by Fire. || London, eds. 1658 and 1696. 16mo. Pp. xi An Epistle from a Friend of the Author's to the Reader, signed Philanthropos; pp. iv The Epistle

Dedicatory "To the Honorable, Vertuous, and most Accomplished Gentleman, Robert Boyl, Esq; My very Good Friend," signed George Starkey; and Text pp. 172, ending thus: "*From my Chamber at the White Swan in Foster-lanc. Sir, I am Your real Servant and Friend to my utmost Power, George Starkey.*" A.

3. George Starkey's Pill | Vindicated | From the unlearned Alchymist and all | other pretenders. | With | A brief account of other excellent Specifick | Remedies of extraordinary Virtue, for | the honour and vindication of Pyrotechny. || 8vo. n. p., n. d. pp. 16. A.

4. Royal and innocent Blood crying to Heaven for vengeance. London. 1660. 4to.

5. A smart Scourge for a silly sawcy Fool. 1664. 4to.

6. A brief Censure and Examination of several Medicines of late Years extolled for universal Remedies. Lond. 1664. 4to.

7. An Epistolary Discourse to the learned and deserving author of Galens-pale. Lond. 1665. 4to.

8. Letter to George Thompson. Lond. 1665. 8vo.

9. Geo. Starkey's Liquor Alkahest the Immortal dissolvent of Paracelsus and Helmont. 1675. 8vo.

10. The Admirable | Efficacy, | And almost incredible Virtue of true | Oyl, which is made of | Sulphur-Vive, | Set on fire, and called commonly Oyl | of Sulphur per Campanam, | To distinguish it from that Rascally | Sophisticate Oyl of Sulphur, which | instead of this true Oyl, is unfaithfully | prepared, and sold by Druggists and Apo- | thecaries, to the dishonour of Art, and | unspeakable damage of their deluded Pa- | tients. | Faithfully collected out of the Writings of the | most acute Philosopher, and unparalell'd Doctor | of this last Age, John Baptist Van-Helmont, of a | noble Extraction in Belgia, and confirmed by the | Experience of. | ——— | George Starkey, who is a Philosopher by | the Fire. || London. 1683. 8vo. pp. [13]. A.

This tract, with its title, occupies pages 137 – 151 of the *Collectanea Chymica*. It mentions "George Starkey's House, in St. Thomas Apostles, next door to Black-Lyon-Court"; and the editor, on page 151, states that Starkey lived there when this treatise was written, "*but he dyed (as I have been informed) of the Sickness, Anno. Dom. 1665. by venturing to Anatomize a Corps dead of the Plague (as Mr. Thomson the Chymist had done before him, and lived many Years after) but Mr. Starkey's adventure cost him his Life, however*

the Medicine truly made and prepared from Mineral Sulphur called Sulphur Vive, may now be had of very many Chymists in and about London, nay, the difficulty in making thereof is not so great, but that you may make it your self if you please, and if you do but wait the time, and Opportunity to buy the Mineral Sulphur (not common Brimstone) for the Mineral is not to be had at all times.

“The Process and shape for the Glass Bell, and the manner of making and rectifying this Spirit from Mineral Sulphur or Sulphur Vive as it comes Stone-like out of the Earth, it may be seen in the Chymical Works of *Hartman* and *Crollius* called *Royal Chymistry*, *Charas's Royal Pharmacopœa*, *Lefebure*, *Thibault*, *Lemery*, *Glaser*, *Schroder's Dispensatory*, and many others.”

AUTHORITIES. — Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries of London, xxxvii. 10. J. Belknap, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue. H. Dunster, Manuscripts in the Library of the Mass. Histor. Society. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 275; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 46; Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iv. 82. N. Gilman, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue. Harvard College Corporation Records, iii. 11. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (i.) 15. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxix. 279, 353, 359. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 457. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 172, 197. C. W. Upham, Letter, 1870, July 7; and MS. Lecture on Sir George Downing. W. Winthrop, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue.

NATHANIEL WHITE.

Died before 1700.

REV. NATHANIEL WHITE, M. A., was probably son of the Reverend Nathaniel White of the Bermuda or Somers Islands, and afterward of the Bahamas.

The books of the Steward of Harvard College exhibit an account current with White from 13 September, 1650, till 4 November, 1653, and as it begins with the earliest of the Steward's books now extant, it is probably a con-

tinuation of the account commenced when he was an undergraduate. It contains charges for commons, sizings, study rent, "Lent toward the building the gallery," bedmaking, wood; the last charge, which was for "Commones and Sizeings," being dated "9-7-53." To balance these, he is credited, "21-10-50," with five pounds in silver; "13-1-50-1 Allowed him out of the publick accounts" four pounds, besides two pounds from another source; and, "4-9-53," with "Paye by returne of his study" and "of his gallery rome." These details and dates show that his home was at the College from the summer of 1650, or earlier, till the middle or latter part of 1653, when he relinquished his "study." Later than this I find no satisfactory statements respecting him.

As he is starred in Mather's *Magnalia* and in the *Catalogue of Graduates* published in 1700, he undoubtedly died before the close of the seventeenth century.

William Winthrop, H. U. 1770, in his *Interleaved Triennial Catalogue*, writes "Bermuda" against the graduate's name; and Felt and Savage, probably confounding father and son, represent him as a preacher in that and other places.

From a volume which was printed probably between 1646 and 1648, entitled "A Vindication Of the Practice of the Church of Christ in the Summer-Islands," etc., by Nathaniel White, "Bachelor of Divinity and Pastor of the Church," it appears that the author, with a wife and child or children, went to the Islands about eight years previous to its publication, and that the writer to whom White replies speaks of him as "a man of a turbulent spirit in the place where he was at Kingsbridge near Westminster." The supposition that he was the graduate would imply that, after having been a minister in England, and receiving the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and preaching also some time at the Bermu-

das, he nevertheless, with a family to provide for, entered and went through Harvard College, and continued his connection with this institution seven years or more after graduating, — a supposition that requires no other refutation than the mere statement of it.

Moreover, the church at the Bermuda Islands, which was organized previously to 1646, being banished in 1650 or before, “went to one of the Southern Islands, where,” according to Johnson, “they endured much hardship; and which the Churches of Christ in these parts [New England] understanding, about six or eight of them contributing toward their want, gathered about 800*l.* to supply their necessity.” The vessel containing the contributions sailed from Boston “on y^e 13 of y^e 3^d mo. And on y^e 17th day of the 4th mo: 1650” arrived at one of the Bahama Islands, called Cyguatea or Cigoteo, but known also as Eleutheria, Eleuthera, Ethera, Alabaster, and the Bahama Island. Upon the departure of the vessel for Boston, a committee of three persons, Nathaniel White being one, under date of “17 (5) 1650,” “with godly and gracious expression returned a thankfull acknowledgement,”¹ of which there is a copy in a volume

¹ This contribution was the occasion of a “retaliation,” as Cotton Mather would call it, of which I have never seen any mention except in this letter. I reproduce it, to do justice to the Bahamans by bringing to light and perpetuating the knowledge of a gift which, as coming from these remote, distressed, and destitute people to the College in its infancy and poverty, is peculiarly interesting, and which, but for the record here made of it, might easily pass into oblivion. It is thus stated: —

“Wee wth others y^t received of y^r grace, have sent (as a pledge of o^r thankfulness to God & your selves)

by y^e hands of your faythful messengers M^r James Pen & M^r Abraham Palmore . . . a Moitie of that grace bestowed on us, viz. ten Tuns of Brasiletto wood to bee disposed of by them (wth y^r approbation) as a stock for your Colledges use (reserving so much of it as the ships charges surmounteth the summe designed for that purpose) not that wee would hereby detract from your Care of it but that wee may expresse how sensible wee are of Gods love & tender Care of us manifested in yours; and avoid that foule sin of ingratitude so abhorred of God, so hatefull to all men.”

of President Dunster's manuscripts belonging to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Upon it, in Increase Mather's handwriting, is the following memorandum: "The Messengers of y^e Co. forementioned wth y^e mariners . . . came all in health to Boston y^e 6^t of 6^{mo} or August, & wth y^m M^r Painter M^r White's son Nat: wh: M^r Stirks sister," etc.; thus incidentally establishing the paternity of the graduate, besides suggesting the probability that the son improved the opportunity to visit his father.

In the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is a letter written by Nath: White, from "Ouer plus in Somer Islands the 12 of the 7th mo: 1664," to Michael Wigglesworth, H. U. 1651, who had recently visited the Bermudas for his health; but it contains no such allusions to a residence or to acquaintances in New England as would naturally be expected if the writer were a Harvard graduate.

Calamy, among the ministers ejected or silenced after the Restoration, mentions Nathaniel White, of Lavington, in Wiltshire. Possibly this man was the graduate.

AUTHORITIES.—E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 761. H. Dunster, Manuscript in the Library of the Mass. Historical Society. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 313; and *Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University*, 46; *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, iv. 82; *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 141. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 577; ii. 19. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 13. E. Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 231. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1861, January, 144. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 512. N. White, *Vindication*, etc., 53, 75, 80, 91, 139.

CLASS OF 1647.

Jonathan Mitchel,
Nathaniel Mather,
Comfort Star,

John Birden,
Abraham Walver,
George Hadden,
William Mildmay.

JONATHAN MITCHEL.

Born 1624, died 1668, aged about 44.

REV. JONATHAN MITCHEL, M. A., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, son of Matthew Mitchel, "was born at *Halifax* in *York-shire* in *England*, of pious and wealthy Parents," in 1624. Cotton Mather, who, as the Reverend John Eliot says, "never misses the opportunity of describing" his "wisdom," or his "admirable talents," calls him the "Matchless Mr. *Mitchel*," and says, "while the *Father of his Flesh* was endeavouring to make him *Learned* by a proper Education, the *Father of Spirits* used the Methods of Grace to make him *Serious*; especially by a sore *Feavour*, which had like to have made the *Tenth* Year of his Life the *Last*, but then settled in his *Arm* with such Troublesome Effects, that his *Arm* grew, and kept a little *bent*, and he could never stretch it out Right"; thus "*steeping*," as Mitchel himself says, "*my first Entrance into Years of Understanding, and into the Changes of Life, and my first Motions to New-England, in Eminent and Special Sorrows.*"

When "about Eleven Years of Age, . . . while he was not yet recovered of his Illness," his parents, driven out of England by the "*Unconscionable* Impositions and Persecutions of the English *Hierarchy*," "with much Difficulty and Resolution carried him unto *Bristol* to take Shipping" for New England, and being "delivered from a most Eminent and Amazing Hazard of perishing, in a most *Horrible Tempest*,"¹ at the Isles of Shoals and "*Pascataquack*," they arrived at Boston on the evening of the next day, Sunday, 16 August, 1635, and landed on Monday.

"Although the Good Spirit of God," says Mather, "gave our *Jonathan* to improve much in his Holy Dispositions while he was yet a Youth, by the Calamities" which "befell his Father;² and particularly upon Occasion of a sad thing befalling a Servant of his Father's, who instead of going to the Lecture at *Hartford*, as he had been allowed and Advised, would needs go fell a Tree for himself, but a broken Bough of the Tree struck him dead . . . ; our *Jonathan*, who was then about Fifteen Years old, . . . does Relate, *This Amazing Stroke did much*

¹ It was the storm in which Anthony Thacher was shipwrecked on Thacher's Island near Cape Ann. Thacher said it was "so mighty a Storm, as the like was never known in *New-England* since the *English* came, nor in the memory of any of the *Indians*." — I. Mather, Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences, 5.

² All the "Family, and the *Jonathan* of the Family, with the Rest," says Mather, "were visited with *Sickness*, the Winter after their first Arrival at *Charlstown*, and the *Scarcity* then afflicting the Countrey added unto the Afflictions of their *Sickness*. Removing to the Town of

Concord," the father's "*greater Matters* continually became *smaller* there, his *Beginnings* were there consumed by *Fire*, and some other Losses befel him in the *Latter End* of that Winter. The next Summer he removed unto *Say-brook*, and the next Spring unto *Weathersfield* upon *Connecticut* River, by which he lost yet more of his Possessions, and plunged himself into other Troubles. Towards the Close of that year he had a Son-in-law Slain by the *Pequot Indians*; and the Rest of the Winter they lived in much fear of their Lives from those *Barbarians*, and many of his Cattel were destroyed, and his Estate unto the Value of some Hun-

stirr my Heart, and I spent some time in Endeavouring the work of Repentance according to Mr. Scudder's Directions in his Daily Walk; nevertheless he had this Disadvantage, that he was thereby Diverted from Study and Learning, for the first seven years after his Coming into the Country."

In September, 1642, in "the Eighteenth year of his Age, upon the Earnest Advice of some that had Observed his great Capacity, and especially of Mr. [Richard] Mather,¹ with whom he came into *New-England*, he Resumed" his studies, and in 1645 entered college. "He had a *Clear Head*, a *Copious Fancy*, a *Solid Judgment*, a *Tenacious Memory*, and a certain *Discretion*, without any *Childish Laschete*, or *Levity* in his Behaviour, which commanded Respect: . . . So that . . . *They that knew him from a Child, never knew him any other than a Man.*"

During his collegiate course, he was so religiously impressed by Shepard as afterwards to observe, "*Unless it had been four years living in Heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with Wonder, than for those Four Years.*" From a diary which he kept in Latin,

dreds of Pounds was damnified. A *Shallop*, which he sent unto the River's Mouth was taken, and burned by the *Pequots*, and Three Men in the Vessel slain, in all of whom he was nearly concerned: So that indeed the *Pequot* Scourge fell more on this Family, than on any other in the Land." Unhappy differences arose between him and "some of the *Principal Persons*" with whom he had "*Lived in precious Esteem*, . . . and he met with many other Injuries: For which Causes, he transferred himself, with his Interests, unto *Stamford* in the Colony of *New Haven*. Here his House Barn and Goods were again consumed by *Fire*;

and much *Internal Distress of Mind* accompanied these Humbling Dispensations. At last, that *Most Horrible of Diseases*, the *Stone*, arrested him, and he underwent unspeakable Dolours from it, until the year 1645. when he went unto his Rest about the *Fifty Fifth Year* of his Age."

¹ Increase Mather says: "*After Mr. Mitchel was arrived in New-England, he employed his Son Jonathan in Secular affairs; but the spirit of the Child was strongly set for Learning, and he prayed my Father to perswade his Father that he might have a Learned Education. My Fathers perswasions happily prevailed.*"

Cotton Mather makes extracts to show his humility, his private fasts, prayers, and meditations, and his efforts for the religious improvement of himself and others. While "in the *Colledge*, he would sometimes, on the *Saturday*, Retire into the *Woods*, near the Town, and there spend a great part of the Day, in Examining of his own *Heart* and *Life*, Bewailing the Evils, which made him want the Mercies of God, and Imploring the Mercies which he wanted of the Lord: which Custom of spending *Saturday*, he had formerly attended also at *South-Hampton*, while he was yet, but as a *School-Boy* there." It was from Harvard College, 19 May, 1649, that he "wrote unto his Brother [David] that *Golden Letter*, which was almost Thirty years after, published in *London*, at the End of his *Discourse of Glory*."

His "Extraordinary *Learning, Wisdom, Gravity* and *Piety*" occasioned applications for his services in the ministry from "several of the most Considerable Churches in the Countrey . . . before ever he had, by one Publick Sermon, brought forth any of the *Treasure* wherewith Heaven had Endowed him. The Church of *Hartford* in particular, being therein Countenanced and Encouraged by the Reverend Mr. *Stone*, sent a Man, and Horse, above an Hundred miles, to obtain a visit from him, in expectation to make him the Successor of their ever famous *Hooker*." There "he Preached his First Sermon. *June 24. 1649.*);" and though he "could not speak with any Evidence, or Presence of the Spirit of God; so that when" he had done he "was deeply ashamed . . . and could not but Loath" himself "to think how miserably" he "had behaved . . . in that High Employment . . . , in a Meeting the Day following, they Concluded to give him an Invitation to Settle among them:" adding, that, if he wished "to continue a year longer at the *Colledge*, they would . . . advance a considerable Sum of Money, to

assist him in furnishing himself with a *Library*. . . . But he durst not then Accept of their kind Proposals: For before his Journey . . . *Shepard*, with the Principal Persons in *Cambridge*, had importunately pray'd him" to return free from any engagement, "as he did upon divers Accounts most belong to *Cambridge*, and *Cambridge* did hope, that he would yet more belong unto them."

August 12, 1649, he preached for *Shepard*, who "in the Evening told him, *This was the Place where he should, by right, be all the rest of his Dayes*: and enquiring of some good People, *How Mr. Michel's first Sermon was approved among them*; they told him, *Very well*. Then said he, *My Work is done!*" and died within a fortnight, on the 25th of August. Mitchel received a unanimous invitation to be his successor. Soon afterward he was attacked with the small-pox, with which he was "*Sick nigh unto Death*." He was ordained 21 August, 1650, "by neighboring pastors. . . . The Rev^d John Cotton gave the Right Hand of Fellowship."

Increase Mather states that his brother Samuel Mather, of the class of 1643, "*was the first that was elected a Fellow of Harvard College in Cambridge: Mr. Mitchel was at the same time Elected and Confirmed by the Inspectors of the Society*." His name appears as one of the Fellows of the Corporation of the College in the charter granted on the 30th of May preceding his ordination, and before he took his second degree. The Corporation Records mention a disbursement of twenty-six pounds to him as Fellow, or Tutor, for three years.¹ He seems to have been Tutor during that time, and Fellow while

¹ For more than four years, beginning with "quarter day 15. 1. 49," the books of the College Steward exhibit an account current with "Mr Jonathan mitchell fellow." Among the items with which he is charged are commons, sizings, study-rent, bed-making, and "his Commencement Chardg." He is twice credited with £3 "Alowed him for his fellow-

he lived. "Indeed the *Colledge* was nearer unto his *Heart*, than it was to his *House*, though next adjoining to it. He was himself an Accomplished *Scholar*, and he loved a *Scholar* dearly; but his *Heart* was fervently set upon having the Land all over illuminated with the Fruits of a *Learned Education*. To this End, he became a *Father* to the *Colledge*, which had been his *Mother*, and sought the Prosperity of that Society, with a very singular Sollicitude; but among other Contrivances which he had for the Prosperity of the *Colledge*, One was, *A Model for the Education of Hopeful Students at the Colledge in Cambridge*. His Proposals were, for Septennial *Subscriptions* by the more Worthy and Wealthy Persons, in this poor Wilderness; to be disposed of by *Trustees* (namely, the Magistrates and Ministers of the *six next Towns*, for the time being, with seven other Gentlemen by them chosen out of the said Towns, of which any *Seven* to be a *Quorum*, if three Ministers were among them,) who should single out *Scholars* eminently pregnant and pious, and out of this Bounty support them in such Studies, as they should by these *Trustees* be directed unto, until they had either *performed* such profitable Services, as were Imposed on them in the *Colledge* it self, or *prepared* themselves for other Services abroad in the World. . . . He did with an Accurate and Judicious Pen, shape these *Proposals*. But . . . through the Discouragements of *Pov-erty* and *Selfishness*, the *Proposals* came to *nothing*."

Nathaniel Morton, in his New-Englands Memoriall, says: "It was an eminent favour of God to that Church [in Cambridge], to have their great Breach thus made up,

ship," also with "wheatte," "rye," than this there are no charges except "meatte," "appelles," &c. On quar- for sizings, which, probably for con- ter day, "13-10-50," he is "debitor- venience, he continued occasionally by Commones and Sizings and a for several years. Super on his weedinge night." Later

with a man so much of the Spirit and Principles of their former Pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the Colledge: for, Reason and Prudence requireth, that the Minister of that place be more then ordinarily endowed with Learning, Gravity, Wisdome, Orthodoxness, Ability, sweet and excellent Gifts in Preaching, that so the Scholars which are devoted and set apart in order to be Preachers of the Gospel, might be seasoned with the Spirit of such an *Elijah*: In which regard, this holy Man of God was eminently furnished, and his Labours wonderfully blessed; for very many of the Scholars bred up in his time (as is observed) do savour of his Spirit, for grace and manner of Preaching, which was most attractive. He lived Pastor of the Church about Eighteen years, and was most intense and faithful in declaring much of the Counsel of God. He went through a great part of the Body of Divinity; made a very excellent *Exposition* of the Book of *Genesis*, and part of *Exodus*; and delivered many fruitful and profitable Sermons on the four first Chapters of *John*; and in his *Monethly Lectures*,¹ which were abundantly frequented, he Preached of *Mans Misery by Sin*, and *Recovery by Christ Jesus*; and died in the third part of it, *viz.* concerning *Mans Obedience in Christ*: besides many other excellent Truths by him taught upon divers occasions. In all his Labours God was wonderfully present with him. He was a person that held very near Communion with God; Eminent in Wisdome, Piety, Humility, Love, Self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; surpassing in Publick-spiritedness; a mighty man in Prayer, and Eminent at standing in the Gap; he was zealous for Order, and faithful in asserting the Truth against all Oppugn-

¹ Cotton Mather says: "Vast Assemblies of People from all the Neighbouring Towns reckoned it highly worth their Pains to repair unto that *Lecture*."

ers of it. In a word, he was a man whom God had richly furnished, and eminently fitted for his Work."

According to Cotton Mather: His "*Sermons . . . were admirably Well-Studied. . . . He ordinarily meddled with no Point, but what he managed with such an extraordinary Invention, Curious Disposition, and Copious Application, as if he would leave no material Thing to be said of it, by any that should come after him. And when he came to Utter what he had Prepared, his Utterance had such a becoming Tuneableness, and Vivacity,*" to set it off, as was indeed *Inimitable*; though many of our Eminent Preachers, that were in his Time Students at the *College*, did essay to Imitate him." And "tho' he were all along in his Preaching, *as a very lovely Song of one that hath a pleasant Voice*, yet as he drew near to the Close of his Exercises, his Comely *Fervency* would rise to a marvellous Measure of *Energy*; He would speak with such a *Transcendent Majesty and Liveliness*, that the People (more *Thunderstruck* than they that heard *Cicero's Oration for Ligarius*) would often *Shake* under his *Dispensations*, as if they had Heard the *Sound of the Trumpets* from the *Burning Mountain*, and yet they would *Mourn* to think, that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an *Heaven upon Earth*."

Soon after his settlement he "met with a more than ordinary Trial." Dunster, the President, under whom he had been educated, and a member of his church, "was unaccountably fallen into the *Briars of Antipædobaptism*; and being *briar'd* in the *Scruples* of that Perswasion, he not only forbore to present an *Infant* of his own" for baptism, but preached "some Sermons against the Administration of *Baptism* to any *Infant* whatsoever." There was great excitement. Mitchel "told the Brethren, *That more Light and less Heat would do better*." He opposed the President "with a *Prudence* incomparably beyond

what might have been expected from a *Young Man* managing this *Thorny Business*"; though after one of his visits, 24 December, 1653, he admits that he "*had a strange Experience,*" and "*found Hurrying and Pressing Suggestions against Pædobaptism, and injected Scruples and Thoughts whether the other way might not be right, and Infant-Baptism an Invention of Men; and whether*" he "*might with good Conscience baptise Children, and the like. And these Thoughts were darted in with some Impression, and left a strange Confusion and Sickliness upon*" his Spirit. Yet he "*thought, it was not hard to discern that they were from the EVIL ONE.*"

C. Mather writes that "**Mitchel** continued such an Esteem [for Dunster], that although his Removal from the Government of the *Colledge*, and from his Dwelling place in *Cambridge*, had been procured by these Differences, yet when he dyed, *He* Honoured him with an *Elegy*," from which, "because it very truly points out that Generous, Gracious, *Catholick Spirit*, which adorned that Person, who wrote it," he makes the following extract, which is here printed as a specimen of Mitchel's poetry:—

*"Where Faith in JESUS is Sincere,
That Soul, He Saving, pardoneth;
What Wants, or Errors else be there,
That may and do Consist therewith.*

*"And though we be Imperfect here,
And in One Mind can't often meet,
Who Know in part, in part may Err,
Though Faith be One, All do not see't:*

*"Yet may we once the Rest obtain,
In Everlasting Bliss above,
Where Christ with Perfect Saints doth Reign,
In Perfect Light and Perfect Love:*

*“Then shall we all Like-minded be,
Faith’s Unity is there full-grown;
There One Truth, all both Love and See,
And thence are Perfect made in One.*

*“There Luther both and Zuinglius,
Ridley and Hooper, there agree;
There all the truly Righteous,
Sans Feud live to Eternity.”*

Dunster, in his will, calls Mitchel, as well as Chauncy, who succeeded him in the Presidency, his “reverend and trusty friends,” and nominates them appraisers of his library.

Mitchel treated with hospitality and friendship, and admitted to the Lord’s Supper and to private meetings for devotion, the regicides Whalley and Goffe, who on the day of their arrival in New England, 27 July, 1660, came to Cambridge, where they resided till the following February.

In June, 1661, Mitchel was of the committee appointed to meet immediately after the adjournment of the General Court, “to consider & debate such matter or thing of publicke concernment touching our pattent, lawes, priviledges, & duty to his maj^{ty} as they in their wisdome shall judge most expedient,” and report the esult at the next session.

He was a very influential member of the Synod which met at Boston in 1662 to discuss and settle certain points in relation to church membership and church discipline; and the Result of the Synod was written chiefly by him. The determination of the question relating to the baptism of children of non-communicants, and the support thus given to what was called the Half-Way Covenant, were more owing to him than to any other person.

October 8, 1662, the General Court appointed him

and Captain Daniel Gookin licensers of the press. "Hauing ordered the printing of the result of the Synod," they also recommended, "that M^r Mitchell doe take the ouersight of the same at the presse, for the pventing of any errata^{rs}." August 3, 1664, he, Francis Willoughby, and Major-General John Leverett were appointed a committee to draw up, and present to the General Court for their approbation, a humble "petition to his majesty for the contjnuance" of the "priuiledges granted by charter." He wrote the petition. In ecclesiastical councils to which he was frequently called, and in weighty cases in which the General Court often consulted the clergy, "the *Sense and Hand* of no Man, was relied more upon than *His*, for the *Exact Result* of all."

Richard Baxter said of Mitchel, "*That if there could be Convened an Oecumenical Council of the whole Christian World, that Man would be worthy to be the Moderator of it.*" President Chauncy, though older and opposed to him in the synod, "in the very *Heat and Heighth* of all the Controversie . . . would commonly say of him, *I know no Man in this World, that I could envy so much, as Worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the Great Holiness, Learning, Wisdom and Meekness, and other Qualities of an Excellent Spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him.*"

Increase Mather, who was intimately acquainted with him, says: "*He was blessed with admiral Natural (as well as acquired) Parts. His Judgment was solid, deep, and penetrating; his Memory was strong and vastly Capacious. He wrote his Sermons very largely,*" and then used "*with inlargements to commit all to his Memory without once looking into his Bible after he had named his Text, and yet his Sermons were Scriptural.*"

According to Hubbard, "he was an over hard student, such an *heluo librorum* that he could spare no time for recreation, but only for necessary repast, by which it

was thought he much prejudiced his health." Cotton Mather says, that he "had from a Principle of *Godliness*, used himself to *Bodily Exercise*; nevertheless he found it would not wholly free him from an ill Habit of *Body*. Of extream *Lean*, he soon grew extream *Fat*; and at last, in an extream hot Season, . . . just after he had been Preaching on those Words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and unto the House appointed for all the Living*," a putrid Fever arrested him, at first without seeming to "threaten his Death," but "suddenly assaulting him with a Mortal Malignity," "it pleased God," says Morton, "upon the Ninth of *July*, 1668. in a hot and burning season, (but much more hot in the Heat of Gods Anger to *New-England*) to take him to Rest and Glory, about the 43 year of his Age," — in the words of Hull, "the chief remaining pillar of our ministry."

Increase Mather says he "*never knew any death that caused so great a Mourning and Lamentation generally; He was greatly loved and honoured throughout all the Churches, as well as in Cambridge, and admired by the most competent judges of real worth.*"

The universal sentiment and grief were expressed in several quaint epitaphs like the following:—

"An *Epitaph* upon the deplored Death of that Super-eminent Minister of the Gospel, Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*.

"**H**ere lyes the Darling of his time,
 Mitchell, Expired in his prime;
 Who four years short of Fourty seven
 Was found full Ripe, and pluck'd for Heaven.
 Was full of prudent Zeal, and Love,
 Faith, Patience, Wisdome from above:
 New-England's Stay, next Ages Story;
 The Churches Gemme; the Colledge Glory.
 Angels may speak him; Ah! not I,
 (Whose Worth's above Hyperbole)

*But for our Loss, wer't in my power,
I'de weep an Everlasting Shower.*

“J. S.”

[John Sherman?]

“Epitaphium.

“**H***ere lyes within this Comprehensive Span,
The Churches, Courts, and Countries Jonathan.
He that speaks Mitchell, gives the Schools the Lie;
Friendship in Him gain'd an Ubiquity.*

“Vivet post Funera Virtus.

F. D.”

[F. Drake.]

Mitchel was succeeded in the ministry by Urian Oakes, H. U. 1649.

Mitchel's union with Sarah, daughter of the Reverend John Cotton, having been prevented by her death, “the young Gentlewoman, whom his Predecessor had married a little before his Decease, *He* now also married upon the General Recommendations of that Widow unto him; and the *Epithalamiums*, which the Students of the Colledge then Celebrated that Marriage withal, were expressive of the Satisfaction, which it gave unto all the Good people in the Vicinity.” The marriage took place 19 November, 1650. May 22, 1651, the General Court confirmed a deed “bearinge date the twenty-eighth of the eleuenth last past, wherein is convayed to M^r Jonathan Michell, now husband of Margrett, the relict of the s^d M^r Sheapheard, a dwellinge howse,¹ yards, orchards, & seuen acors of land adjoyninge therevnto, in behalfe of his s^d wife.”

The inventory of his estate was £786. 17. 9.

His sons, of whom Samuel graduated in 1681 and Jonathan in 1687, left no posterity. His daughter Mar-

¹ The house occupied by these two Holyoke Street. The west end of divines was within the limits of the Boylston Hall stands on a part of the present College yard, nearly opposite land.

garet married Major Stephen Sewall, of Salem, 12 June, 1682, and had a numerous offspring.

WORKS.

1. A | Discourse | of the | Glory | To which God hath called | Believers | By Jesus Christ. | Delivered in some Sermons | out of the 1 Pet. 5 Chap. 10 Ver. | Together with an annexed Letter. | — | Both, by that Eminent and Worthy Mi- | nister of the Gospel, Mr. Jonathan | Mitchil, | late Pastor to the Church | at Cambridge in New-England. || London. 1677. 8vo. Pp. (11) To the Reader, signed John Collins; pp. 263 Text; and pp. 21 A Letter written by the Author to his Friend in New-England, dated "From Harvard Colledge in Cambridge. May 19. 1649." *H, W.*

These "Sermons," says Cotton Mather, "(carefully Transcribed, and so Transmitted by Captain *Laurence Hammond* of *Charlstown*, to whose Cares about it the Church is now beholden for this Treasure), were by some surviving Friends printed at *London*."

The same. The Second Edition with a Preface by Increase Mather, D. D. Boston. 1722. 12mo. Pp. viii A Preface, dated Boston. October 15th. 1722; pp. 10 To the Reader, signed John Collins. June 29. 1677; pp. 270 Text; pp. 271-291 A Letter, etc.; p. 1 Advertisement. *A, M, P, W.*

2. Mr. | Mitchel's | Letter | to | his Brother. || Boston. n. d. 12mo. Pp. 17 signed "J. M.," etc.; pp. 17-21 being The Life of Faith, signed "J. E.," Guilford, May 18, 1664; and p. 19 the Rev. Mr. Killinghall's lines on the foregoing Letter. *M.*

The same. n. p., n. d. 12mo. Pp. 18 Text; pp. 19-22 John Eliot's Letter to his Brother, Mr. Benjamin Eliot of Roxbury, Carefully Corrected from Five several Manuscripts: By Thomas Prince. Being an Answer to the Question, How to live in the World, so as to live in Heaven; p. (23) Killinghall's Lines. *A.*

Mitchel's Letter is the same which was first printed with his Discourse on the Glory, etc. Cotton Mather says, "It has been Reckoned one of the most *Consummate Pieces*, in the Methods of Addressing a *Troubled Mind*."

3. Manuscript Notes of Sermons preached by Mitchel in 1651. *H.*

4. The Church of Christ at Cambridge, in N. E., or, the Names of all the Members thereof that are in Full Communion; together with their children who were either baptized in this Church, or (coming from other churches) were in their minority at their parents joyning; taken and registered in the 11. month, 1658. *H, M.*

This document, in the handwriting of Mitchel, was found in 1815, by Abiel Holmes, in the Prince collection of manuscripts, and is printed in W. Newell's Discourse on the Church Gathering in 1636.

5. Elegy on President Henry Dunster, printed in C. Mather's Life of Mitchel, page 70, and in the Magnalia, iv. 175. *H, M, W.*

6. The Epistle "To the Reader, And Especially to the Inhabitants of Cambridge in New England," prefixed to Thomas Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins. *H, M, P, W.*

7. The Great End and Interest of New-England, | Stated by the Memorable Mr. | Jonathan Mitchel, Ex- | tracted from an Instrument of His, | which bears Date, Decemb. 31. 1662. || Boston. 1722. 8vo. *H, M, P.*

This tract constitutes pages 1-5 of Elijah's Mantle.

8. Propositions | concerning the | Subject of Baptism | and | Consociation of Churches, | Collected and Confirmed out of the Word of God, | By a | Synod of Elders | and | Messengers of the Churches | in Massachusets-Colony in New-England. | Assembled at Boston, according to Appointment of the | Honoured General Court, | In the Year 1662. || Cambridge. 1662. 4to. Pp. 14 Preface to the Christian Reader; pp. 32 Text. Anonymous. *P.*

"The Result of the Synod," Mather says, iv. 177, "was chiefly of his [Mitchel's] Composure, and when a most Elaborate Answer to that Result was published by some very worthy Persons, that were then *Dissenters*, the Hardest Service in the *Defence* was assigned unto him." Increase Mather "Surrendered himself a glad Captive" to the "Truth so Victoriously cleared by Mr. Mitchel," and published two "Treatises, in Defence of the *Synodical Propositions*."

9. A | Defence | of the | Answer and Arguments | of the | Synod | Met at Boston in the Year 1662. |

Concerning { The Subject of Baptism, |
 and |
 Consociation of Churches. |

Against the Reply made thereto, by the Reverend | Mr. John Davenport, Pastor of the | Church at New-Haven, in his Treatise Entitled, | Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth, &c. | Together with | An Answer | to the | Apologetical Preface [by Richard Mather] | Set before that Essay. | ——— | By some of the Elders, who were Members of the | Synod above mentioned. || Cambridge. 1664. 4to. pp. 46, 102. P.

Of this work the first 46 pages, designated "Answer," on the title-page, were by Mitchel.

10. Nehemiah | on the | Wall | in | Troublesom Times; | or, | A Serious and Seasonable Improvement of that great | Example of Magistratical Piety and Prudence, Self-denial | and Tenderness, Fearlessness and Fidelity, unto In- | struction and Encouragement of present and | succeeding Rulers in our Israel. | As it was delivered in a Sermon Preached at | Boston in N. E. May 15. 1667. being the | Day of Election | there. || Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1671. 4to. Pp. (2) Christian Reader, signed J. S. [John Sherman]; pp. 34 Text. H, M, P.

11. A Letter concerning the Subject of Baptisme, written by that eminent Minister of Christ Mr. Ionathan Mitchel, late Pastor of the Church in Cambridg in New England. Dated Cambridg. December. 26. 1667. 4to. pp. 2-7. Printed in the Postscript of I. Mather's First Principles of New England. A, P.

AUTHORITIES. — Congregational Quarterly, x. 37. E. A. & G. L. Duyckinck, Cyclopædia of American Literature, i. 46. J. Eliot, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xi. 205. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 197; and Memorials of the Graduates of Harvard University, 47; American Quarterly Register, viii. 142. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 5-6. A. Holmes, History of Cambridge, 27, 30, 47; and Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 27, 30, 47; Annals of America, i. 350. W. Hubbard, General History of New England, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 605. J. Hull, Diary in the Archæologia Americana, iii. 213, 227. J. Josselyn, Account of Two Voyages to New England, 276. Massachusetts Bay Records, iii. 195, 225, 419; iv. (i.) 13, 43, 280; iv. (ii.) 24, 27, 62, 74, 92, 119, 141. C. Mather, Life of Mitchel; and Magnalia, iv. 158, 166; Life of I. Mather, 53. I. Mather, Preface to J. Mitchel's Discourse of the Glory to which God hath called Believers, 2d ed., 1722; and to Oakes's Seasonable Discourse. R. Mather, Journal in Young's Chronicles of the First Planters of Massachusetts Bay, 445. N. Morton, New Englands Memoriall, 190-196. W. Newell, Dedication Sermon, 10, 16; and Church

Gathering, 51. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 18, 22, 119, 129, 456, 589. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 220. S. Sewall, in American Quarterly Register, xi. 174, 179. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 135. C. W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft, i. 434, 437. J. Winthrop, Hist. of New England, i. 142, 165. A. Young, Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 454, 486.

NATHANIEL MATHER.

Born 1630, died 1697, aged 67.

REV. NATHANIEL MATHER, M. A., brother of Samuel Mather, H. U. 1643, was born 20-30 March, 1630, in Lancashire, England. In April, 1635, being then five years old, he was brought in one side of a pannier, and Mary Glover, afterward the second wife of Governor Thomas Hinckley, of Barnstable, in the other side, from Toxteth to Bristol, whence he accompanied his father, the Reverend Richard Mather, to Boston, where he landed 17 August, 1635, after encountering on the coast the terrible storm referred to in the notices of his brother, Samuel Mather, and of his classmate, Jonathan Mitchel, who were his fellow-passengers.

Immediately after he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts he returned to his native country. From London he writes, 23 March, 1650-1, to John Rogers, H. U. 1649, at Ipswich, Massachusetts: "The naked truth is, here is great encouragem^t for any to come over, especially such as designe themselves for the ministry, or whatsoever else they bee, I think they need not much to question living here, for it is with the honestest on both sides a matter of high account to have been a New-Englishman. . . . For inlarging to particulars of encouragem^t I cannot at p^rsent because as yet, I know not

the state of the nation so well as I hope to doe before summer is ended." December 23, 1651(?): "'Tis a notion of mighty great and high respect to have been a New-English man, 'tis enough to gayne a man very much respect yea almost any preferm^t."

In 1655 he was appointed to "the Living of *Harberton* near *Torinnes*," in the southern part of Devonshire, and was some time there as "Assistant to Mr. *George Mortimer*." In 1656 he was presented by Cromwell to the Living of Barnstaple, on the river Taw, in the north part of Devonshire. From this situation he was ejected in 1662 by the same Act which prohibited his brother Samuel from preaching. He then went to Holland, and was employed as minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam. He returned to England, and upon the death, in 1671, of his brother, Samuel Mather, succeeded him as pastor of a congregational church in Dublin.

When New England was devastated by King Philip's War, he was active in procuring the "reliefe sent . . . by the Good ship . . . Katherine of Dublin"; and he is the first of the eight who signed the directions, dated "Dublin Aug't 7th 1676," that, after payment of the freight, "the remainder be given to the poor distressed by the late warr with the Indians; wherein," they say, "wee desire that an equall respect bee had to all godly psons agreeing in fundamentals of faith & order though differing about the subject of some ordinances, & p^ticularly that godly Antipeodobaptists bee not excluded: w^{ch} wee the rather thus p^ticularly insert because sundry reports have come hither suggesting that godly psons of that p^{er}swasion have been severely dealt withall in New

* The contribution amounted to about £1,000. In 1847 a gratifying return from Boston was made by a shipment, in the Jamestown, of provisions valued at \$35,863.53, to the famishing people of Ireland.

England, & also because divers of that persuasion in this City have freely & very Considerably concurred in advancing this reliefe."

In 1683, as stated on page 86, he published his brother Samuel Mather's Sermons on the Types of the Old Testament.

In 1688 he removed to London, to take charge, as successor of John Collins, H. U. 1649, deceased, of a large congregation in Lime Street. He was likewise chosen one of the Merchants' lecturers, at Pinner's-Hall.

According to Wilson, "Mather was tall in stature, and of a mildly majestic aspect. To a penetrating genius, he united solid and extensive learning. But above these advantages, his piety shone with a distinguished lustre. He possessed a most amiable spirit, and gave the most striking proofs of an unaffected modesty. . . . He was a judicious, zealous, and affectionate preacher; his aspect was venerable, his gesture pleasing, and his pronounciation agreeable. In his public discourses, there was neither a lavish display, nor an inelegant penury of oratorical excellence; while the dignity of his subjects superceded the necessity of rhetorical embellishments. In addressing sinners, he possessed an awfulness in his manner, that was greatly calculated to strike the arrows of conviction, and interest the feelings. . . . Nevertheless, he possessed a certain heaviness in the pulpit, which rendered him unpopular. . . . He sustained the attacks of corporal pain, and a tiresome affliction, with invincible fortitude, and, at length, in full assurance of faith," died at London, 26 July, 1697, at the age of sixty-seven, after a ministry of forty-seven years in England, Holland, and Ireland.

He "was interred at Bunhill-Fields," and on his monument was placed a Latin inscription, said to have been written by Isaac Watts, D. D., which has been

printed in the American Quarterly Register, viii. 332, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 2, also by Calamy, and, accompanied by an English translation, in Wilson's History, i. 231-4. A Latin Poetical Epitaph by Watts in his Lyric Poems, which was evidently the basis of Wilson's remarks, is minutely descriptive of Mather's personal appearance, eminent worth, talents, learning, piety, pastoral fidelity, and other characteristics.

There is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, a portrait which possibly may be his, though it has been said to be Samuel Mather's.

His wife appears to have been a daughter of the Reverend William Bonn, of Dorchester, England.

WORKS.

1. To the Reader pp. (6) signed "M. N." and dated May 28, 1672, prefixed to John Davenport's Power of Congregational Churches. London. 1672. 8vo. *H, P.*

2. A | Sermon | Wherein is shewed | That it is the Duty and should be the Care | of Believers on Christ, to Live | in the Constant Exercise of | Grace. || Boston. 1684. 8vo. Text pp. 28; Contents p. (1). *A, M, P, W.*

3. The | Righteousness of God | through | Faith | upon | All without Difference who believe. | — | In two Sermons [preached at Pinner's-Hall] on Romans 3. 22. || London. 1694. 4to. Pp. (2) To the Reader; and Text pp. 76. *H, P, W.*

The same. London. 1718. 12mo. pp. (6), 142. *P.*

The same in MS. 4to. pp. 67. *A.*

4. Sermon in MS. from John xvi. 8. 9.

Bound with the printed copy of The Righteousness of God, etc., ed. 1718, in the Bodleian Library.

5. Two Sermons on Genesis 6. 3. MS. 4to. pp. 69-90. *A.*

These two sermons are in the same beautiful handwriting and in the same volume with the preceding MS. sermons on the Righteousness of God, etc., and are continuous in the paging.

6. Epistle Dedicatory pp. (6) To My Worthy Nephew Mr. Cotton Mather, dated London, Dec. 15, 1693, and pp. (6) To the

Reader, both prefixed to C. Mather's Seven Select Lectures. London. 1695. 8vo. *H.*

7. A | Discussion | Of the Lawfulness of a | Pastor's Acting as an | Officer | In Other | Churches | Besides that which he | is specially Called to | take the Oversight of. || London. 1698. 12mo. Pp. (17) To the Reader; and Text pp. 155. *P.*

The same. Boston. 1730. 12mo. Pp. viii To the Reader; Text pp. 83. *P, W.*

8. Twenty-three | Select Sermons, | Preached at the | Merchants-Lecture, | at | Pinners-Hall, and in Lime-Street. | Wherein Several | Cases of Conscience, | and | Other Weighty Matters, are | propounded, and handled. | ——— | By the Judicious and Learned | Mr. Nathanael Mather. || London. 1701. 8vo. pp. (6), 480.

9. A Fast Sermon on 1 Cor. xi. 30. 1711.

10. Several letters, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii.

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, Ejected or Silenced Ministers, ii. 238; and Continuation, 257, 258. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 191; and American Quarterly Register, viii. 332. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, i. 598; ii. 21, 496, 677. A. Glover, Glover Memorials and Genealogies, 163. T. M. Harris, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Hist. Society, ix. 173, 179. History of Dorchester, 555. A. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 466. Massachusetts Hist. Society, Collec- tions, ix. 173, 179; xxxviii. 1, 3, 4; and Proceedings, 1867, September, p. 45. C. Mather, Magnalia, iv. 152. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 245, 398; iii. 110; vi. 20. S. Palmer, Nonconformist's Memorial, i. 339. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 174. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 80. J. Walker, Sufferings of the Clergy, ii. 216. H. Ware, Jr., Century Discourses, 46. I. Watts, Works, iv. 432. H. Wilson, History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches, i. 231.

COMFORT STAR.

Born about 1624, died 1711, aged 86.

REV. COMFORT STAR, Starr, or Starre, M. A., was born about the year 1624, at Ashford in Kent, England. His father, Comfort Starre, "chirurgion," or physician, with three children and three servants, came in the *Hercules*, from Sandwich, England, to Massachusetts in 1635, and settled at Cambridge, whence he removed to Duxbury, and afterward to Boston, where he died 2 January, 1659, his wife Elizabeth having died there 25 June, 1658, aged sixty-three. In his will he made to his son "Comfort Starr" a conditional bequest of a house and land in Eshitisford [Ashford?] in Kent.

The son received £11 10s. for being "fellow pt of 2 yeers," and is one of the five Fellows whose names appear in the College charter dated 10 May, 1650, before he had taken the degree of Master of Arts. In the same year he went to England, where he became a minister at Carlisle in Cumberland, whence he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Afterwards, according to Calamy, he "perform'd laborious Service in several places in the County of *Kent*; and was at last Pastor of a Church at *Lewes* in *Sussex*, where he died *October* the 30th 1711, In the 87th Year of his Age." He outlived all who graduated before 1650.

AUTHORITIES. — W. Boys, *History of Sandwich in Kent*, 750-752. E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 150. S. G. Drake, *Founders of New England*, 84. J. Farmer, *Genealog. Register*, 272; and *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 333. Harvard College Corporation Records, iii. 11. Massachusetts Hist. Society, *Collections*, xii. 177; xxxviii. 3. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ix. 223; xv. 29. J. Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i. 456. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 169, 170. J. Winsor, *History of Duxbury*, 65, 322, 323.

JOHN BIRDEN.

Died before 1700.

REV. JOHN BIRDEN, B. A., went to England, probably soon after he graduated, as he did not take a second degree. He was a preacher in the county where his friends resided, the name of which is not known. As he was starred in Mather's *Magnalia* and in the Catalogue of Harvard Graduates issued in 1700, he undoubtedly died before the close of the seventeenth century.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 25; and *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 333. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 600. T. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 112. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 183.

ABRAHAM WALVER.

Died before 1700.

REV. ABRAHAM WALVER, B. A., passed a life apparently as free from incident as his classmate Birden, and the little which is known of him may be told in precisely the same words.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 303; and *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 333. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, i. 599. T. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 112. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 405.

GEORGE HADDEN.

Died before 1700.

GEORGE HADDEN, M. A., may have been the son of Jared, Jarett, Jarrett, Jarriett, Jerad, Garrard, Garrett, or Gerard Hadden or Haddon (for the name appears to have been thus variously spelt), who probably came in the Winthrop fleet, in 1630, as he was one of the first hundred members of the Boston Church admitted prior to a second arrival, and who was of Cambridge in 1632, freeman in 1634, a proprietor of Salisbury in 1640, and is found in the Amesbury Records, 19 March, 1654-5, among the "present inhabitanc and comenors heare in the new towne."

The graduate remained at Cambridge to take the degree of Master of Arts. But except the conjecture that he may have gone to England, and the fact that he died before the year 1700, I find nothing further respecting him.

AUTHORITIES. — Essex County New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 55. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 132. D. W. Hoyt, Hoyt Family, 133, 134.

WILLIAM MILDMAY.

Died before 1700.

WILLIAM MILDMAY, M. A., according to Mather, was son of Sir Henry Mildmay, of Graces in Essex, and, with Mr. Richard Lyon as tutor or "Attendant," was

sent over from England to be educated. His grandfather, Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Springfield Barnes, in Essex, Knight, married Alice, sister of the first Governor Winthrop's father. According to Oldmixon, the graduate was "elder Brother to *Henry Mildmay, Esq; of Shawford, in Hampshire, where his posterity, very nearly related to the Author, reside at this Day.*"

From the Steward's Account-Books it appears that he continued at the College till 1651, that Lyon¹ and he boarded in Commons, that their accounts were not kept separate, and that an uncommon proportion of the charges was paid in silver. As the names in the early classes, except in cases of degradation for misdemeanors, purport to be arranged according to family rank, Mildmay's position at the bottom of the class has been the subject of considerable curiosity. Nothing respecting him has been discovered, except that he died before the close of the century.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Belknap, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 195. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 3. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxviii. 297, 315; xxx. 151. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 100. P. Morant, History of Essex, ii. 24. J. Oldmixon, British Empire in America, 2d ed., ii. 215. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 206. R. C. Winthrop, Life and Letters of John Winthrop, i. 16, 20, 28; and Letter, 1871, March 25. B. B. Wisner, Old South, 99.

1648.

There were no Graduates this year.

¹ Lyon resided in the house of President Dunster, and assisted him in the revision of the Bay Psalm Book.

CLASS OF 1649.

John Rogers, Urian Oakes,
Samuel Eaton, John Collins,
 John Bowers.

JOHN ROGERS.

Born about 1630, died 1684, aged about 54.

REV. JOHN ROGERS, M. A., the first on the list of graduates of Harvard College who became its President, was son of the Reverend Nathaniel Rogers, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, whose wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Crane, of Coggeshall, in Essex, England, where John was born, probably in January, 1629-30; Savage says, "early in 1631." In 1636 he came with his father to New England.

I find no record whatever in relation to him while an undergraduate,¹ but subsequently, among other charges,

¹ From a clause in his father's will, dated 3 July, 1655, disallowing him the usual double portion of the eldest son, it has been inferred by some that he was not diligent in his youth, and by others that it was because he had been educated at college that he was thus put on an equality with his brothers. But the true reason appears to have been that they had supported him several years while he was undetermined with regard to a profession. The clause, as cited in the

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 13, and v. 136, is in these words: "To my son John, to prevent expectation of a double portion, I have not so bequeathed; he hath never been by any labor serviceable to his brethren, but hath been upheld by their labor and pain, while he hath been determining his way, therefore I give and bequeath to him an equal portion with his other brethren, viz: y^e sume of one hundred pounds of my estate," etc.

“Sir Rogers” is made “Debitor 15. 1. 49-50 by a pastor for his Cow befor hir apprisall,” 2s.

As was not uncommon in his time, he studied both medicine and divinity. He was invited by Hubbard, H. U. 1642, to preach at Ipswich, and afterward became an assistant to him and Cobbett, and had the title Reverend, though there does not appear to be any record of his ordination. Tradition says that he took the principal charge of the Thursday lecture, while they attended to the other church and parish duties. His salary, which was voted till 1681, was less than theirs, probably because they were expected to perform more ministerial service, and because he was engaged in the practice of medicine. Mather says he was “a Preacher at *Ipswich*, until his Disposition for *Medicinal Studies* caused him to abate of his Labours in the *Pulpit*.”

At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College “14. 3. 77,” present Urian Oakes, President, Thomas Shepard, Daniel Gookin, and Ammi Ruhamah Corlet, he was chosen, “nemine contradicente,” to succeed Leonard Hoar, as President; but he declined, and Oakes was elected. After Oakes’s death, the Corporation, consisting of Captain Richards, Treasurer, Increase Mather, Nehemiah Hobart, Samuel Andrew, and John Cotton, again, 10 April, 1682, elected him “unto that place,” and on the twelfth the choice was confirmed by the Overseers. May 24, 1682, “The Reūend M^r John Rogers being now chosen president of the colledge . . . it is ordered [by the General Court], that his yearly allowance be one hundred pounds in money, and fifty pounds in other pay, during his continuance in that place & imploy”; and May 27, 1684, in accordance with a petition from him, it was voted that his salary should be paid quarterly.

August 12, 1683, Rogers “was solemnly inaugurated”

as the fifth President; but at a meeting of the Overseers on Commencement day, 1 July, 1684, less than a year after his inauguration, on account of his "sudden visitation by sickn.," William Hubbard, with whom he had been associated at Ipswich, was appointed to "manage" the Commencement¹ and confer the Degrees. On the following day, Wednesday, 2 July, 1684, "The Rev^d M^r President Rogers dyed. The sun beginning to emerge out of a Central Ecclippis."

¹ It is remarkable that Rogers, who exerted his influence to have the Commencement Exercises held on Tuesday instead of Wednesday, but for this change would have died on Commencement day. December 9, 1683, he, with Samuel Andrew, H. U. 1675, and John Cotton, H. U. 1678, College officers, wrote to Increase Mather, H. U. 1656, of their "great dissatisfaction with the stated time of the Commencem^t, on the first Wensday in July next; the occasion whereof is, that upon that very day wil fall out a grand Eclipse of the Sun, which was not foreseen, or at least, thought of, upon the last meeting of the Corporation. What reflection wilbee vpon our oversight of it, or upon our persisting, notwithstanding we have still the opportunity of correcting it, before the Almanack come forth; as also how obstructive the Eclipse wilbee as to the busines of the day, is very obvious. Wee are not superstitious in it, but reckon it very inconvenient. If, therefore, yourself shal joyne with us, and improve your interest once more with the Honored Overseers, to alter and confirme the day on the 2d Wensday in July, or for this p^resent turne on the first Tuesday in July, or the forementioned 2^d Wednsday, it shal be most

grateful and obliging to us." The request was granted, and the Almanack altered accordingly, notwithstanding the day had already been changed since the preceding Commencement.

January 3, 1683-4, the Overseers concurred in "the Vote of the Corporation for the change of the Commencem^t day from the time wherein 't was last held to the first Wednesday in July... y^t it be upon s^d day for the future." Previously, the Exercises, I think, were commonly held, or begun, on Tuesday. In 1653, Commencement was on Tuesday, 9 August. According to the almanacs for 1647, 1648, and 1649, by Samuel Danforth, H. U. 1643, and for 1650 by Urian Oakes, H. U. 1649, all of which I have seen, it was on the last Tuesday in July. Thus we are carried back to five years from 1642, in which year Winthrop makes record of the Commencement under date of 5 October, which was Wednesday; but a letter dated 26 September, 1642, accompanying the Theses sent to England, and which may be found in New Englands First Fruits, alludes to the Exercises as having been already held, so that not only the day, but the month also, of the earliest Commencement is matter of doubt.

September 11, 1684, in answer to a petition of his widow, the General "Court, considering the great loss sustejned to his estate by so speedy remoovall from sajd place," ordered the Treasurer to pay "to his execcutrix & widdow his sallery for two full yeares." The Colledge Corporation, "Oct pr^o [1] 1684, Order'd that the Rent of House belonging to the Colledge now Let to Seth Perry shal for this year be disposed of for the Encouragm^t of the Rogers's in case they shall continue to be in Com^ons," and that among the "Schollars of the house for the next year should be Rogers Sen^r and Rogers Jun^r."

Cotton Mather says, Rogers "was One of so sweet a Temper, that the Title of *Deliciæ humani Generis* might have on that Score been given him; and his Real *Piety* set off with the Accomplishments of a *Gentleman*, as a *Gem* set in *Gold*. In his Præsidentship, there fell out one thing particularly, for which the Colledge has cause to remember him. It was his Custom to be somewhat *Long* in his *Daily Prayers* (which our *Presidents* used to make) with the *Scholars* in the Colledge-Hall. But one Day, without being able to give Reason for it, he was not so *Long*, it may be by Half as he used to be. Heaven knew the *Reason!* The *Scholars* returning to their Chambers, found one of them on fire, and the Fire had proceeded so far, that if the Devotions had held three Minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in Ashes, which now was happily preserved."

One of the students, supposed to be Cotton Mather, wrote the following epitaph, which was "engraved on his Tomb, in *God's-Acre*, at *Cambridge*," where he was buried, though there is now nothing to mark the spot.

"Mandatur huic Terræ & Tumulo,
Humanitatis Ærarium,
Theologiæ Horreum,
Optimarum Literarum Bibliotheca,

*Rei Medicinalis Systema,
Integritatis Domicilium,
Fidei Repositorium,
Christianæ Simplicitatis Exemplar,
πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν θήσαυρος.*

*“ Sc. Domini Reverendissimi,
D. JOANNIS ROGERSII,
Rogersij Doctissimi Ipsuicensis in
Nov-Anglicâ, Filij,
Dedhamensis, in Veteri Angliâ, per
Orbem Terrarum Clarissimi, Næpotis,¹
Collegij Harvardini
Lectissimi, ac Meritò dilectissimi Præsidis,
Pars Terrestrior.
Cælestior, à nobis Erepta fuit,
Julij 2°. A. D. M. DC. LXXX. IV.
Ætatis suæ, LIV.*

“ Chara est pars restans nobis, & quando cadaver.”²

Rogers married Elizabeth, who died 13 June, 1723, only daughter of Major-General Daniel Denison, of Ipswich, whose wife, Patience, was daughter of Governor

¹ It is now generally understood that the Rogerses of America are not descendants of John Rogers who was burnt at Smithfield.

² The Benjamin Marston Papers in the possession of George Dean Phippen, of Salem, contain the following modified translation:—

“There is Committed to this Earth & Tomb a treasure (or Exchequer) of Humanity, a Storehouse of Divinity, a Library of Learning, a System of Medicinal art, a Domicile of Integrity. a repository of Trust, an Example of Christian Simplicity, a Magazine of all vertues, & a Superlative object of Just Commendations ;

viz^t the more Earthy part of the most Rev^d M^r John Rogers, Son of the most Learned Rogers of Ipswich in N. E. Grandson of the most famous Rogers of Dedham in Old Eng^l^d a most Choice and deservedly Reverenced Presid^t of Har: Coll: The more heavenly part was Snatched from us July 2^d 1684, of his age 53. The part remaining tho a Corps is yet dear to us. (Or in verse)

Since now that part is from us gone
We yet do prize this left alone.

Or thus,

The part remaining is most dear
To us, Ev'n when no Soul is here.”

Thomas Dudley. They had Elizabeth, born 3 or 26 February, 1662, who, 23 November, 1681, married the Honorable John Appleton, of Ipswich, and died 13 March, 1754; Margaret, 18 February, 1664, married, 28 December, 1686, Captain Thomas Berry, H. U. 1685, and 25 November, 1697, President John Leverett, H. U. 1680, and died 7 June, 1720; John, 7 July, 1666, H. U. 1684; Daniel, 25 September, 1667, H. U. 1686; Nathaniel, 22 February, 1670, H. U. 1687; Patience, 13 or 25 May, 1676, married, 15 April, 1696, Benjamin Marston, and died 22 May, 1731.

WORKS.

1. Verses addressed to Anne Bradstreet, printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, v. 138.
2. Letters, in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, xxxviii. 521.

AUTHORITIES. — J. B. Felt, *History of Ipswich*, 232. Harvard College Corporation Records, i. 55, 58; iii. 68, 74, 83-85; and *Steward's Account-Books*, i. 19, 20. I. A. Jewett, *Memorial of Samuel Appleton, etc.*, 25. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, xxviii. 309; xxx. 165; xxxviii. 505, 521. *Massachusetts Bay Records*, v. 352, 445, 451. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iv. 130. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, iv. 12; v. 136, 137, 144, 224; vii. 54, 345; viii. 19; xi. 70. B. Peirce, *History of Harvard University*, 49. J. Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i. 35, 38, 472. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 562. W. B. Sprague, *Annals*, i. 146, 150. J. Winthrop, *History of New England*, ii. 87.

 SAMUEL EATON.

Born 1630, died 1655, aged about 25.

SAMUEL EATON, M. A., oldest son of Governor Theophilus Eaton, one of the first settlers of New Haven, was born probably at London in 1630, and came to New England with his father in 1637.

Mather says, his father maintained him "at the *Colledge* until he proceeded *Master of Arts*; and he was indeed the son of his *Vows*, and a Son of great *Hopes*." He is charged on the Steward's books, "15-1-49-50," with a "ballance," and, "14-4-50," there was "Alowed him for Instructinge Some Pupells" eleven shillings. Before he had been out of college a year, he was made one of the five original Fellows who constituted the College Corporation according to the present charter, which bears date 10 May, 1650. His account with the College continued till 9 December, 1653, though there is no credit for his fellowship later than 11 March, 1652-3. Dunster makes record of paying to "Mr. Samuel Eaton, fellow 2 yeer & $\frac{1}{2}$ £34. 7s. 6d." He probably went to New Haven to reside in 1653, at or about the time he ceased to draw pay as a teacher at Cambridge. From May, 1654, to his death, he was one of the Magistrates of the Colony of New Haven.

November 17, 1654, he married the widow Mabel Haines, who, in 1635, at the age of twenty-one, accompanied her brother, Roger Harlakenden, to New England, and became the second wife of Governor John Haines, of Hartford.

"A severe *Catarrh* diverted" him "from the Work of the Ministry whereto his Father had once devoted him; and a Malignant Fever then raging in those Parts of the Country, carried off him with his Wife within Two or Three Days of one another," in July of the year after their marriage.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 92. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 9, 10; and Corporation Records, iii. 11. C. Mather, Magnalia, ii. 28. New Haven Records, ed. C. J. Hoadly, ii. 91, 100, 129, 140, etc. J. Quincy, Hist. of Harv. University, i. 457, 589. J. Savage, Letter, 1848, May 17; and Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 97, 389.

URIAN OAKES.

Born about 1631, died 1681, aged 49.

REV. URIAN OAKES, M. A., Fellow and fourth President of Harvard College, son of Edward and Jane Oakes, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was born in England about 1631, and "brought over to *New-England*, by his pious Parents. . . . While he was yet a Child, he was delivered from an Extream Hazard of *Drowning* by a *Mirable*, I had almost said," writes Cotton Mather, "a *Miracle* of Divine Providence; God reserving him to be a *Moses* among his People. And the *sweet Nature*, which accompanied him all his Days, did now so remarkably recommend him, that Observers have made this Reflection, *If good Nature could ever carry One to Heaven, this Youth has enough to carry him thither. . . .* A Lad of *small*, as he never was of *great* Stature, he published a little parcel of *Astronomical Calculations* with the apposite Verse in the Title Page,

Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua Gratia parvis."

After graduating he continued to reside at the College and board in Commons till 1653, and among the articles with which he is credited in payment are a "calfe," a "sheepe," "beaffe," "wheatte," "Indian," "malt," "suger," "lambs," etc. March 25, 1650-1, £2 17s. was "ALowd him for his schollership"; and the Corporation Records, without specifying the purpose, show a subsequent payment to him of £10 16s. 2d.

Oldmixon says, "He returned into his native Country about the Time of the Rump," where, according to Cotton Mather, "after he had been a while Chaplain to One of the most Noted Persons then in the Nation," he settled at Tichfield, in Hampshire, "in the *Charge* of

Souls, which he discharged in such *Lively Preaching* and such *Holy Living*, as became a *Minister of the New Testament*; there 'twas that like a *Silkworm*, he spent his own *Bowels* or *Spirits*, to procure the *Garments of Righteousness for his Hearers*; there 'twas, that he might challenge the *Device* and *Motto* of the famous *Dr. Sibbs*, a wasting *Lamp* with this *Inscription*, *Præluendo pereo*, or, *My Light is my Death.*"

Being silenced, however, in 1662, in common with all the nonconformist ministers, Mather says, the "Worthy and Well-known Collonel *Norton*" gave him "a Residence in his House;" and Oldmixon says, he "was made Master of the School at *Southwark.*" "Nevertheless," adds Mather, "when the Heat of the *Persecution* was a little abated, he returned unto the Exercise of his Ministry, in a Congregation, where *Mr. Symmons* was his Colleague."

After Mitchel's death at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1668, and an unsuccessful attempt to settle William Stoughton, H. U. 1650, the records state that, "after sume time of seeking god by prayer, the lord was pleased to guide the Church to make theare application to M^r Vrian Oakes in old England which to further the same theare was a letter sent from the Church with A mesenger namly m^r William Maning with a letter alsoe sent by seauerall Magistat^s and Ministers to Inuite him to Come ouer and be an Oficer amongst vs which he after Counsill and aduice did Except—but deuine prouidence did hinder him for that yeere by reason of A sickness the lord was pleased to visit his wife withall and after ward tooke her away by death which hindered him for that yeere the Church the next yeere Renewed againe thear Call to him by another letter but then he was hindered by an ague that he was long visited withall in the yeere 1670 thease prouidences

interposing the Church was in doubt whether to wait any longer but after some debate the Church was willing to wait till the spring in the year 1671 and then had an answer early in the year of his purpose to come over that summer which was accomplished by the good providence of God he arriving in New England¹ July the 3 1671 ~ ~ and finding good acceptance both by the Church and town and in the Country and joined a member with our Church and was ordained pastor of our Church November the Eight 1671.”²

“Of the Divine Favour to them, in their Enjoyment of such a *Pastor*,” says Mather, “the Church was now so sensible, that they kept a Day of *Publick Thanksgiving* for it.”

In 1672 he was made freeman.

In May, 1673, he preached the Annual Election Sermon, in which, speaking of Toleration, he says: “I profess I am heartily for all due moderation. I have a real compassion towards the Infirmities of the minds of men, the Ignorance, and weakness, and Errors of their

¹ “August 9th 1671.

“Delivered to William Manning sixty pounds in silver to pay Mr Prout toward the transportation of Mr Urian Oakes his family & goods, & other disbursements and for John Taylor his passage I say paid him the just sum of £60. 00. 00.

“Let it be taken notice of that Mr Prout does demand thirteen pounds more due to him.”

Another item is, “Disbursed for Mr Oakes transportation from old England with his family £73.”

John Taylor went “to accompany our pastor to New England.”

William Adams, H. U. 1671, writes, 12 January, 1671: “J. Taylor set sail for England to fetch Mr. Oakes.”

² Disbursements for his Ordination: —

| | |
|--|----------------|
| “It 3 bushells of wheate | 00 15 00 |
| It 2 bushells $\frac{1}{2}$ of malt | 00 10 00 |
| It 4 gallons of wine | 00 18 00 |
| It for beefe | 01 10 00 |
| It for mutton | 01 04 00 |
| It for 30 ^l of butter | 00 15 00 |
| It for foules | 00 14 09 |
| It for sugar, spice and frute and other small things | 01 00 00 |
| It for labour | 01 08 06 |
| It for washing the table lining | 00 06 00 |
| It for woode 7 ^s | 00 07 00 |
| suit 7 ^{lb} 3s. bread 6 ^s | 00 09 00 |
| | <hr/> 09 17 03 |

understandings, as well as the passions and other distempers of their Wills and Affections. . . . Many a man hath a good Heart and Affections under the bad conduct and ill steeridge of a very weak Head. . . . Nevertheless I must adde (as I have great reason) that I look upon an unbounded Toleration as the first born of all *Abominations*. If this should be once born and brought forth among us, you may call it *Gad*, and give the same Reason that she did of the Name of her Son, *Gen. 30. 11. Behold a Troop cometh, even a Troop of all manner of Abominations*. This would be not only to open the *Wicket*, but to fling open the great *Gate* for the ready Admission and Reception of all *Abominable Heresies*. . . .

“I doubt not but it is the duty of the *Civil Magistrate to tolerate what is tolerable*, and that some Errors are tolerable as to the practice of them. For the *Conscientious perswasion* about them is not *immediately* under the *Magistrates Cognizance*. He can neither be said to *tolerate* or prosecute men for the Errors of Conscience that are no way manifested. And yet no Errour is *tolerable* meerly for *Conscience sake*, or because it is *conscientiously* maintained by the Erroneous person. . . . For then a *Conscientious Papist* or *Socinian*, or *Quaker* (the most *notorious Heretick* in the World) must be connived at and suffered; yea, all manner of *Idolatry* and *Heresy* must be *tolerated* in some persons. The *Tolerableness* therefore of an Errour must be measured & judged either from the nature of the Errour it self, or some other circumstances. Sometimes the Errour is not onely *Extrafundamental*, but so small and *inconsiderable* and the manner of holding it forth so modest and peaceable; and the Condition of the State such, as that the *Magistrate may keep his Sword in the Scabbard, and no hurt done*. Hence that may be *tolerable* in one State, that is not in another. . . . No doubt but it belongs to the *Magistrate*

to judge what is *tolerable in his Dominions* in this respect. And the Eye of the *Civil Magistrate* is to be to the securing of the way of God that is duly established. And if any where, this be the Concern and Duty of Rulers, Surely it is most of all so in *New-England*, which is originally a plantation not for Trade but for Religion."

Speaking "of the neglect of the Encouragement and Advancement of Learning," he refers to the "general, sad, Complaint, that the Schools languish, and are in a low Condition in the Countrey," and says, "Though there are doubtless many Reasons . . . I am very apt to think that the bottom of all is the want of due Encouragement to Scholars when they are come to maturity, and fitted for service in the *Churches*. . . . It is a matter of sorrowful and sad Resentment with me, that the *Nurseries of Piety & Learning, & liberal Education* should languish & dye away, as they do, (in my Apprehension) on this account. If this were well considered and provided for, I doubt not but our Schools would revive & flourish again. You have done wel for the *New Colledge*. Thanks be to God (as Paul speaks in a *Parallel-Case*. 2 Cor. 9. 15.) for his *unspeakable Gift*. Now therefore perform the doing of it, that, as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which you have. 2 Cor. 8. 11. You have done very well for the *Reverend President* [Hoar]. I beseech that the *Fellows* may be remembred also: that there may be a competent, comfortable, and certain allowance made for their *Encouragement*, who are, next to the *President*, the *Props and Pillars of that Society*, and have a careful and *Laborious Life* of it. Think not that the *Common Wealth of Learning* may languish: and yet our *Civil and Ecclesiastical State* be maintained in good plight and Condition. The wisdom and Foresight and Care for future Times of our *first Leaders* was in nothing more *conspicu-*

ous and admirable then in the planting of that *Nursery*: and *New-England* is enjoying the sweet fruit of it. It be comes all our Faithful and Worthy *Patriots* that tread in their steps, to water what they have planted, to superstruct on their Foundations to support and cherish and go forward with what they have begun, and *to carry it on to greater perfection*. Otherwise who sees not what Ignorance, and Rudeness, and Barbarism will come in like a Floud upon us?"

In the trials to which Hoar was called, while President of the College, Oakes bore an important part. "Whether emulation, or hope of preferment, had any influence," says Quincy, "must be a matter of inference." September 15, 1673, Oakes and others resigned their seats in the Corporation, leaving it without a constitutional majority; and, though re-elected, Oakes persisted in not accepting the trust till 15 March, 1675, the day on which Hoar resigned. "It appears also," says Quincy, "that, on some account, Oakes was suffering about this time under a great mental excitement, which, from the connexion in which it is mentioned, seems to have reference to this very subject. Governor Leverett, in a letter written in August, 1674, relating to the troubles of Dr. Hoar, after referring them to the 'animosities and perverse spirit of his opposers,' proceeds to state, that 'Mr. Oakes hath had a distemper hang upon him, which hath much weakened him, *the greatest occasion of which is, I think, some exercise of mind.*'"¹

April 7, 1675, Oakes "was desired to give his Answer to a former motion of the Overseers to accept of the place of the President of the Colledge pro tempore.

¹ The remainder of Leverett's in England. I have been afraid statement, not cited by Quincy, is, least he may be of noe long continuance with us; but a graine of remayne of his sickness long agoe hopes that he may get over it."

“In Answer wherto he declared a deep sence of his unfitness for the work; yet considdering the p^rsent Exigency the Society was now in, & confiding in the Overseers seasonably to endeavo^r the settling a fitt p^rson for y^t work manifesting his willingness to accept of that place for a time God enableing by health & strength, & so far as his church consented.” Thereupon the Legislature ordered an allowance of “one hundred pounds in money by the yeare.” October 13, 1675, “This Court, being informed of the care & paynes of the Reūend M^r Vrjan Oakes . . . in carrying on that worke at the former motion & request of this Court, doe order thankes be returned to the sajd præident in that respect, and that he be desired by this Court to continue his labours as præident of the sajd colledge, which hath binn, by the blessing of God, of so great advantage.”

October 27, 1675, he was “elected Presid^t . . . & by the Overseers importuned to accept s^d place & trust.” May 21, 1678, he was “desired to continue his care ov^r the Colledge & to officiate in the place of President at the next Commencem^t” Cotton Mather says: “He did the Services of a Præident, even, as he did all other Services, Faithfully, Learnedly, Indefatigably.”

June 30, 1679, “Voted, That the Wor^{ll} M^r Stoughton be desired to provide a Presid^t for the colledge, & the ov^rseers consenting, the Rev^d M^r Oakes is desired to write to M^r Stoughton in the name of the Corporation.”

February 2, 1679–80, Oakes was again unanimously chosen President by the Fellows; and 4 February the House of Representatives voted, that, “for the better encouragement of himself and also of the church for prouiding helpe for carrying on that worke, w^{ch} hereby he may be in part diverted from, or need assistance in, this Court doth order, that fiuety pounds pr annū, in country pay, be allowed the Reūnd Mr. Oakes, on the

considerations aforesajd, ouer & aboue the hundred pounds in money already setled, prouided he accept the præsidentship." This time he yielded to the appeal, and was installed "by Govern: Bradstreet in the Colledge Hall on the Commencement Day [in] August, 1680."

The reason assigned by Quincy for his not accepting the office at once and gladly is, that it would have been impolitic, if his opposition to Hoar arose from emulation. It is more charitable, however, to suppose, that, being often sick and nervous, and feeling the solicitude natural to the minister of the College, he may have conscientiously thought the withdrawal of Hoar to be necessary, and acted accordingly, and at the same time have been reluctant to assume the responsibility of the Presidency in the demoralized condition to which the College had been brought. Furthermore, between the time of Hoar's resignation and Oakes's acceptance of the Presidency, his classmate, Rogers, had been elected and declined, and Stoughton had been authorized to procure a President in Europe. It seems improbable, if he really wanted the office, that he should have allowed the opportunity to be lost, perhaps forever, by encouraging these movements, while the electors were importuning him to take it.

After being subject for many years to a quartan ague, which frequently disqualified him for the discharge of his duties, he was at last seized with a malignant fever. "When he had lain sick about a Day or Two, . . . his Chuch coming together with Expectation to haue the *Lord's-Supper* on the *Lord's Day* administered unto them, to their Horror, found the *Pangs of Death* seizing their Pastor, that should have broken to them the *Bread of Life*." He died 25 July, 1681, in the fiftieth year of his age and tenth of his ministry in Cambridge, sustain-

ing at the time the offices of Pastor of the Church and President of the College, in the former of which he was succeeded by Nathaniel Gookin, H. U. 1675, who had been his assistant after he became President, and in the latter by his classmate, Rogers.

On the College Account-Books are charges of £16 16s. 6d. for scarfs and gloves, and £8 14s. for twelve rings, at Mr. Oakes's funeral.

An Elegy on Oakes was written by Daniel Gookin, H. U. 1669.

Oldmixon, in the second edition of his *British Empire in America*, observes: "I have met with no Reason since my first Edition to make any Alterations in his [Oakes's] Character. 'This Man, excepting that he was very religious, does not seem to have had any extraordinary Qualities worthy the Station to which he was advanced.'"

In the Preface to Oakes's *Artillery Election Sermon*, the Reverend John Sherman says: "*The eminent Worth, & rare Accomplishments of the (now blessed) Author, none but such as knew Him not, or envied Him, can, or will deny. The rare Beauties, & Sweets of Nature, Learning, and Grace which the Great God had endowed, & adorned Him with, were such, & so attractive, that nothing but unacquaintance disingenuity, & prejudice could secure from being captivated, and held fast in the pleasant bonds of Love, & Delight. Had all the Art, and Grace He was filled, and furnished with, been tunned up into an ill-sented Cask, tainted with Haughtiness, Peevishness, & Vanity; their Flavour; and delightful Sweetness would have been lost in a nauseous unpleasancy. What He was to myself, I cannot without renewing my grief, express.*"

Increase Mather remarks: "An Age doth seldome produce one so many wayes excelling as this Author did. *If we consider him as a Divine, as a Scholar, as a Christian, it is hard to say in which he did most excell.* I haue

often, in my thoughts, compared him to *Samuel* among the Prophets of old; inasmuch as he did *truly fear God from his youth, and was betimes improved in holy Ministrations, and was at last called to be the head of the Sons of the Prophets in their New-English Israel, as Samuel was President of the Colledge at Najoth. . . . It may without reflection, upon any, be truly said, that He was one of the greatest Lights that ever shone in this part of the World, or that is ever like to arise in this Horizon.*"

Cotton Mather says: "He was upon all Accounts truly, an Admirable Person. Consider'd as a *Christian*, he was *Full of all Goodness* . . . though he were *Low* in his own Opinion of himself, yet he was *High* in his Attainments; *High* in his Principles. He carried *Heaven* in his *Name Urianus q. spavios.*] but much more in his *Heavenly Mind*. Considered as a *Scholar*, he was a *Notable Critick* in all the Points of Learning." "America never had a greater master of the true, pure, Ciceronian Latin & Language."

"The Rest of the Report that we will give of this *Memorable Person*," adds Cotton Mather, by way of conclusion, "shall be but a Transcript of the *Epitaph* on the Tomb-stone in the *Sleeping-place* at *Cambridge*, dedicated unto his *Memory*. And know, Reader, that though the *Stones* in this *Wilderness* are already grown so *Witty* as to *Speak*, they never yet, that I could hear of, grew so *Wicked* as to *Lye*."

"VRIANI OAKESII,
CVJVS QVOD RELIQVVM EST
CLAVDITVR HOC TVMVLO;
EXPLORATA INTEGRITATE, SVMMA MORVM
GRAVITATE,
OMNIVMQVE MELIORVM ARTIVM INSIGNI PERITIA,
SPECTATISSIMI CLARISSIMIQVE OMNIBVS MODIS

VIRI,
 THEOLOGI MERITO SVO CELEBERRIMI,
 CONCIONATORIS VERE MELLIFLVI,
 CANTAB. ECCLESIAE DOCTISSIMI ET ORTHODOXI
 PASTORIS,
 IN COLLEGIO HARV. PRÆSIDIS VIGILANTISSIMI,
 MAXIMAM PIETATIS, ERVDITIONIS, FACVNDIÆ,
 LAVDEM ADEPTI;
 QVI, REPENTINA MORTE SVBITO CORREPTVS,
 IN JESV SINVM EFFLAVIT ANIMAM,
 JVLII XXV. A. D. M.DC.LXXXI.
 MEMORIAE;
 ÆTATIS SVÆ L.

PLVRIMA QVID REFERAM, SATIS EST SI DIXERIS VNVM
 HOC DICTV SATIS EST — HIC JACET OAKESIVS.”

According to Savage, Oakes “married, as is said, Ruth, daughter of famous William Ames,” and sister of William Ames, H. U. 1645. They had Urian, H. U. 1678, and probably Edward, H. U. 1679. Their only daughter, Hannah, married, 2 September, 1680, Samuel Angier, H. U. 1673. Lemuel Shaw, H. U. 1800, was a descendant.

WORKS.

1. MDCL. | An | Almanack | for the Year of | Our Lord |
 1650. | Being the third after Leap year | and from the Creation
 5582. | — | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | degr. and
 Elevation of the Pole Ar- | ctick 42 degr. & 30 min. | & may
 ge- | nerally serve for the most part of | New-England. | — |
 Parvum parva decent: sed inest sua | gratia parvis. | — | Printed
 at Cambridge. | 1650. || Anonymous.

2. New-England | Pleaded with, | And pressed to consider the
 things which | concern her | Peace, | at least in this her Day: |
 or, | A Seasonable and Serious Word of faithful Advice to the
 Churches | and People of God (primarily those) in the Massa-
 chusets Colony; | musingly to Ponder, and bethink themselves,
 what is the Tendency, | and will certainly be the sad Issue, of
 sundry unchristian and crooked | wayes, which too too many have

been turning aside unto if persisted | and gone on in. | Delivered in a Sermon Preached at Boston in New-England, | May. 7. 1673. being the Day of Election there. || Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green. 1673. 4to. Pp. (4) Address to the Christian Reader signed "John Sherman. Thomas Shepard"; and Text pp. 64.

A, H, M, P.

3. With John Sherman he signed the *Imprimatur* of T. Shepard's Eye-Salve, taking occasion to commend it. Cambridge. 1673. 4to. *A, H, M, P.*

4. The | Unconquerable, | All-conquering, | & | more-then-Conquering | Souldier: | Or, | The successful Warre which a Believer Wageth with the Enemies of his Soul: | As also the Absolute and Unparalleld Victory that he obtains finally over them through the love of God in Jesus Christ, | As it was Discoursed in a | Sermon | Preached at Boston in New-England, on the Day of the | Artillery-Election there, | June 3d. 1672. || Cambridge. 1674. 4to. Pp. (4) Christian Reader, signed Thomas Shepard; and Text pp. 40. *M, P.*

5. Address to the Christian Reader, signed by John Sherman, Urian Oakes, Thomas Shepard, pp. (2) prefixed to S. Danforth's Cry of Sodom, etc. Cambridge. 1674. 4to. *P.*

6. Address to the Christian Reader, pp. (2), prefixed to I. Mather's Day of Trouble is near. Cambridge. 1674. 4to. *P.*

7. An Elegie | upon | The Death of the Reverend | Mr. Thomas Shepard, | Late Teacher of the Church at | Charlestown in New-England: | ——— | By a great Admirer of his Worth, and true Mourner for | his Death. || Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green. 1677. 4to. pp. 16. Author's name at the End. *M.*

A. Holmes says, Oakes "appears to have had a poetical genius"; this "Elegy, of considerable length . . . rises, in my judgment, far above the poetry of his day. It is of Pindaric measure, and is plaintive, pathetic, and replete with imagery."

8. Latin Eulogy at Commencement in 1678, on Thomas Shepard, H. U. 1653, in Mather's Magnalia, iv. 190.

9. To the Christian Reader, pp. 5, dated Cambridge Febru. 21. 1679-80. 4to. Prefixed to I. Mather's Divine Right of Infant-Baptisme. *M.*

10. The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine | Providence; | Overruling and Omnipotently Disposing and Ordering all | Humane Counsels and Affairs, Asserted, Demonstrated | and Improved, in

a Discourse Evincing, | That (not any Arm of Flesh, but) the
Right Hand of the | Most High is it, that Swayeth the Universal
Scepter of | this Lower World's Government. | Oft Wheeling
about the Prudentest Management of the | Profoundest Plotts, of
the Greatest on Earth; unto | such, Issues and Events, as are
Amazingly contrary | to all Humane Probabilities, and cross to
the | Confident Expectation of Lookers on. | As Delivered in a |
Sermon | Preached in Cambridge, on Sept. 10. 1677. Being the
Day of | Artillery Election there | ——— | Boston in New-Eng-
land: Printed for Samuel Sewall. 1682. 4to. Pp. (3) To the
Reader, signed John Sherman; and Text pp. 40. *H, M, P.*

11. A | Seasonable Discourse | Wherein | Sincerity & Delight |
in the Service of God | is earnestly pressed upon | Professors of
Religion. | Delivered on a Publick Fast, at Cambridge in | New-
England. || Cambridge, Printed by Samuel Green. 1682. 4to.
Pp. 33 preceded by pp. (4) To the Reader, by Increase Mather, who
says: "This Sermon was not by the Reverend Author designed
for publication. . . . But it *is* here presented as found written with
his own hand among his Sermon notes." *P.*

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JOHN COLLINS.

Died 1687.

REV. JOHN COLLINS, M. A., was son of Deacon Edward Collins, who was of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638, freeman 13 May, 1640, Representative from Cambridge 1654 to 1670, and who, after living many years on Governor Cradock's farm at Medford, bought it, sold sixteen hundred acres to Richard Russell, besides what he disposed of to others, and died at Charlestown, 9 April, 1689, aged about eighty-six.

The graduate probably came from England with his father. Cotton Mather says that in his youth he received a "Wound by a *Fall*, which had like to have cost him his Life; but whilst he lay gasping, the Renowned Mr. *Thomas Shepard* came to him with this Consolation; *I have just now been wrestling with the Lord for thy Life, and God hath granted me my Desire; Young Man, thou shalt not dye but live; but remember, that now the Lord says, Surely, thou wilt now fear Him, and receive Instruction.*"

After graduating, he was admitted to full communion with the church in Cambridge, became a preacher, received £18 for services as Tutor or "Fellow 1½ year," and remained in Cambridge till the spring of 1653, or later, when he went to London.

"In the latter end of 1655," says Gumble, "*Oliver* sent down a pretended Council for the Government of *Scotland*, which consisted of some noble Persons, . . . as the Earl of *Orrery*, and the Earl of *Carlisle*; with these and some others the General [Monck] was joyned, to whom I was appointed Preacher with another worthy Gentleman, Mr. *John Collins*." March 27, 1658, Sir George Downing's mother writes from Edinburgh: "I

think without disparagement, both for the civill government and the ministry, wee never enjoyed more. M^r Collins is a man very precious, and of eminent parts, and wee haue him and two more excellent men, allowed by his Highness for the Councill. They all preach by tours, before the Councill at the English church."

Calamy states that Collins "was Chaplain to General *Monk*, when he came out of *Scotland* into *England*," though Gumble, speaking of the preferments with which Monck's officers were rewarded, says, "The Chaplains that were then in the Army (the rest declined) were but two, Dr. *John Price*" and himself. It is probable, however, that Collins went to London about this time.

"At the Restoration," Wilson says, Collins "was not in possession of any benefice, and therefore, not ejected; but he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He, afterwards, succeeded" Thomas Mallory "as Pastor of a considerable Independent church in London. Upon the establishment of the Merchant's Lecture, at Pinners'-Hall, in 1672, Mr. Collins was chosen one of the first six lecturers. And it is observable, that he, and Dr. Owen, were the only Independents selected for this purpose; the other preachers being chosen from the Presbyterian denomination. In these situations Mr. Collins continued till his death."

Cotton Mather says he "proved so very Considerable among the *Congregational Divines* of *Great Britain*, and especially in the *Great City of London*; where he mostly spent his Days of publick Service, that [he] well deserves a Room in our Account of *Worthies*. . . . Such was the *Life* and *Charm*, which accompanied his Exercises in the Pulpit; that none but Persons of the same Humour with him, who wrote certain Things like *Books*, to prove, *That Cicero wanted Eloquence*, went away *Unmoved* or *Unpleased* from them."

Collins appears to have cherished through life a strong attachment to the College and to New England. He wrote a letter to Governor Leverett respecting Hoar, which must have had considerable weight in effecting his appointment as President; though when he heard of the "concussions . . . at the colledge," he said, referring to this letter, and to one from several English divines, "You will not find that wee did recommend him to bee your president, wee judged that too much for us to undertake, . . . all wee sayd was, that since hee was prepared to come wee thought him one that might bee helpfull in your colledge worke and left it with you to judge how. . . . I hope that noe recommendation of ours will cause you to continue him, if you find him unfitt; better hee suffer than the glory of the college bee mined."

For several years, during which Massachusetts appears not to have had an official agent at London, Collins communicated important information, and rendered such valuable services that the General Court, 16 May, 1683, for his "good will, freindship, & vnwearied paines, vpon all occasions, . . . to promote the welfare & prosperity" of the Colony, granted him "fue hundred acres of land in the Nipmuck country, to be lajd out to him, or his order, wth all reasonable convenienc."¹

¹ December 13, 1726. "*Whereas Settling the Colony Line between the General Court of the late Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay, Anno 1683, granted to the Reverend Mr. John Collins of London 500 Acres of Land, which was laid out near a Place called Quenetusset; and afterwards, the first Survey and Grant falling on the South of the said Line, and for which an Equivalent has been allowed the said Colony of Connecticut; and the said Five Hundred Acres of Right belonging to this Province: Voted, That Maj. Chandler, and Maj. Leonard, be a Committee . . . to apply to the Government of Connecticut, for any further or other Confirmation of the said Lands.*" June 16, 1727, £13 17s. 10d. was voted to the Committee for their services.

Nathaniel Mather, H. U. 1647, writes, 2 August, 1687: "M^r Collins is in a weak & wasted condiçon as to his bodily health (by a scorbuticall diarrhœa as the physicians agree, which hath hung upon him these many years.) Hee is now at Tunbridg, by which waters he hath formerly had reviving many times. Hee is one of the best p^rchers in or about London as most agree, s^oe say the best."

He died 3 December, 1687. The following epitaph, which is given by Wilson with a translation, is here printed *literatim*, as it appears in the *Magnalia*:—

"JOHANNES COLLINS.

*Indolis Optimæ Puerulus, Patrem Pietate Insignem,
Castiorem Dei Cultum, et Limatiorem
Ecclesiæ Disciplinam, anhelantem,
In Americanum Anglorum, secutus est Colonium,
Ubi, quæ Gymnasiis, quæ Cantabrigiensi isthic Collegio,
(Deo indefessis adspirante Studiis)
Scriba factus ad Regnum Coelorum Instructissimus,
Antiquæ cum fœnore, rependitur Angliæ.
Scotiæ etiam celebrium Ministrorum Gens fertilis,
Et audivit, & mirata est Concionantem.
Utrobique; multos Christo lucrifecit;
Plures in Christo ædificavit.
Præsertim hac in Metropoli, Gregis gratissimi Pastor;
Nil segnis Otii Gnævo indulgens Animo;
Nec Laboribus, Morbisq; fracto, parcens Corpori;
Meditando, Prædicando, Conferendo, Votaq; faciendo,
Vitam insumpsit fragilem,
Ut æternæ aliorum Vitæ consuleret;
Quo Ecclesiarum itaq; nulla Pastorem Optimum,
Aut Vivum magis Venerata est,
Aut magis indoluit morienti.*

M. D^{ris} Die III^o. Anno Ære Christianæ
M DC LXXXVII."

Collins's sister Sybil married John Whiting, H. U. 1653. His son John "was educated for the Ministry at *Utrecht*," says Calamy, "and was Fellow-labourer with Mr. *Bragg*, in this City [London], and one of the Lecturers at *Pinner's-Hall*, who died a few years since," having been "chosen co-pastor," says Palmer, with "*Robert Bragg*, upon Mr. *Mather's* death in 1698"; Mather himself having been the successor of his father, John Collins the graduate. In a letter to Governor Leverett dated 10 April, 1674, Collins mentions the recent death of his only daughter, and alludes to his wife, then living.

WORKS.

1. Sermon on Jude 3, in the Farewell Sermons of some of the most eminent Non-Conformist Ministers, delivered at the Period of their Ejectment in the Year 1662. *A, W.*

2. Four Letters to Governor Leverett, dated May 10, 1672, April 10 and July 28, 1674, and March 19, 1674-5, in T. Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, 435, 442, 451, 471.

3. With Mr. Baron he wrote a Prefatory Epistle before Mr. Venning's Remains.

4. Strength | in | Weakness. | A | Sermon | Preached at the Funeral of | Mrs. Martha Brooks, | Late Wife to | Mr. Tho. Brooks Minister of the Gospel in London; | Who departed this Life June 20. 1676. | To which are Added | Some Experiences of the Grace and Dealings of | God, Observed and Gathered by a near Relation of | the said Mrs. Brooks. | By J. C. a Friend of the Deceased, and her Surviving Husband. || London. 1676. 4to. pp. 39. *M.*

5. To the Reader, pp. (11), dated June 29, 1677, prefixed to J. Mitchel's Discourse of the Glory, etc. London. 1677. 8vo, and pp. 10, ed. 1722. 12mo. *A, H, M, P, W.*

6. How the Religions of a Nation are the Strength of it. Isa. 6. 13. *A, H.*

This is Sermon XXX, pages 959-998 [1093-1122], of [S. Annesley's] Continuation of Morning-Exercise Questions and Cases of Conscience. Practically Resolved by Sundry Ministers, In October, 1682. London. 1683. 4to. It is anonymous, but

"Mr. N. N." is written against the title in the copy which probably belonged to William Stoughton, H. U. 1650, and is now in the College Library. J. Darling, in his *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, page 2114, mentions John Collins, and on page 599 of his "Subjects" J. Collinges, D. D., as the author, though in his *Alphabetical Catalogue* he does not enter the sermon under either name. Cotton Mather, however, makes mention of the sermon and of "N. N.," and says, "the author of that Sermon was this Mr. *John Collins*."

7. What Advantage may we Expect from Christ's Prayer for Union with Himself, and the Blessings relating to it? John 17. 20, 21. *A, H.*

The fact that this sermon, "XXVII for XXV," pages 965-977, of Annesley, is anonymous and has "Mr. N. N." written against it in the same old chirography as the preceding, leads to the inference that it is by the same author. Darling, however, on page 2114, ascribes it to David Clarkson, and on page 1150 of his "Subjects" to John Barker; though he does not enter it among Clarkson's works, neither does the title appear under the name of Barker, who, indeed, it is not certain was even born when the sermon was preached.

AUTHORITIES.—E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 837; and *Continuation*, ii. 962. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 66; and *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 335. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, ii. 13. T. Gumble, *Life of Monck*, 91, 191. Harvard College Steward's *Account-Books*, i. 21; and *Corporation Records*, iii. 11. E. C. Herrick, *Letter*, 1847, September 25. T. Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 435, 442, 451, 471. Massachusetts Bay Records, vi. 409. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, xxxviii. 67; xxxix. 46. Massachusetts House of Representatives, *Journal*, 1726, December 13; 1727, June 16. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iv. 200. D. Neal, *History of the Puritans*, iv. 58. W. Newell, *Church Gathering*, 53. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 634. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 435. W. Wilson, *Dissenting Churches*, i. 225.

JOHN BOWERS.

Died 1687.

REV. JOHN BOWERS, B. A., of Derby, Connecticut, was son of George Bowers, who was of Plymouth in 1637, and removed about 1642 to Cambridge, where he died late in 1656, leaving a widow and children, his former wife, Barbara, having died 25 March, 1644.

As the graduate's name is not found on the Steward's Account-Books, the earliest of which begins with 1650, he probably did not continue his connection with the College, as graduates frequently did, after taking the first degree, but left Cambridge immediately.

"In Nov. 1652," writes Judd, "Governor Eaton, of New Haven," whose son was Bowers's classmate, "wrote to 'Mr. Bowers, schoolmaster at Plymouth,' to invite him to New Haven, or to see on what terms he would come."

At a General Court holden at Plymouth, the first of March, 1652-3, "M^r John Bower complained against M^{is} Joane Barnes, in an action of slaunder and defamaçon, to the dammage of an hundred pounds. The jury find for the plaintiffe, and assesse fieve pound dammage, and the cost of the suite. John Barnes complaineth against M^r John Bower, in an action of trespass on the case, to the dammage of an hundred and ten pounds. The jury find for the defendant the charges of Court."

Bowers "came to New Haven," says Judd, "in June, 1653, and taught their school until 1660. He taught school in other towns in that vicinity."

After the removal of John Higginson from Guilford, in 1659, Ruggles states, "There were Several persons who ministred to them in the word and Doctrine, as Teacher^s

as they Called them, Especialy M^r Bower^s who had a house and Land in the town and afterward^s Remov^d to New: Haven.”

In 1667, when the Reverend Abraham Pierson with a majority of his church removed to Newark, New Jersey, Bowers succeeded him as preacher at Branford, Connecticut, where, though no church was organized, he received an invitation to settle. He continued to preach there till 1673, when he gave the town liberty “to provide a minister for themselves, which liberty they accepted.” He then went to Derby, where he was ordained the first minister, the agreement between him and the people, which is entered on the records, being dated 18 November, 1673. There he continued till his death, 14 June, 1687.

His wife, Bridget, daughter of Anthony Thompson, of New Haven, survived him.

AUTHORITIES. — Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, 354, 372, 398. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 37; and *American Quarterly Register*, viii. 335. S. Judd, Letter, 1850, March 25. J. L. Kingsley, Letter, 1848, June 20. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, iv. 187. New Plymouth Colony Records, vii. 63. T. Ruggles, in *Historical Magazine*, xv. 229. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 223; iv. 283.

CLASS OF 1650.

William Stoughton,
John Glover,
Joshua Hobart,
Jeremiah Hobart,

Edmund Weld,
Samuel Phillips,
Leonard Hoar,
Isaac Allerton,

Jonathan Ince.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

Born about 1631, died 1701, aged 70.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, M. A., of Dorchester, said to have been born in 1631 or 1632, and, what is not probable, at Dorchester, was second son of Israel Stoughton,¹ who bequeathed to him "halfe" of his library "for his encourag^t to apply himself to studies, especially to the holy Scriptures; vnto w^{ch} they are mostly helpfull."

¹ Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, admitted freeman in November, 1633, was Deputy in 1634. It appears that he wrote "a certain booke w^{ch} . . . occa^õned much trouble & offence to the Court," and, though he "did desire of the Court that the s^d booke might forthwith be burnt, as being weake and offensiue," it was nevertheless ordered, 4 March, 1634-5, that he "shalbe disenabled for beareing any pub^l office in the co^monwealth, within this jurisdic^õn, for the space of three yeares, for affirmeing the Assistants were noe magistrates." In May, 1636, the disability was removed, and in May, 1637, he was chosen by lot to "go fourth in the expedition against the Pecoits." He was member of the Artillery Company in 1637, its captain in 1642, an Assistant from 1637 to 1642, went, in 1643, to England, where he became intimate with some of the leaders in the Rebellion, then returned to Dorchester, and, having persuaded others to go back with him in 1644, served as lieutenant-colonel under Rainsborow

In his Senior year in college he is credited "by 4 bush of rye 16^s two bush on half of Indian 7^s-6^d on bush half of wheatt 7^s-6^d 9 bush of rye malt att 4^s-6^d pr bush £2, 00. 6d., . . . 30 pound of butter 15s, 3 bush and 3 peckes of appelles 15s," etc., and is charged, besides other items, with "Commones & Sizinges," tuition, study-rent, bedmaking, and "by want of measure of the Indian." He remained at the College about a year after graduating.

Having studied divinity, he went to England, where he preached with much acceptance in Sussex. He received at Oxford the degree of Master of Arts, and had a Fellowship, from which he was ejected at the Restoration, as appears by the following extract made by Savage from the New College records: "Gul. Stoughton A. Mr. antehac Acad. Nov. Angliæ graduatus, hic positus auth. Parl. rege reduci discessit 1660."

In 1662 he returned to New England, and 3 May, 1665, was made freeman of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

It is stated, that, as early as the removal of Richard Mather's "co-adjutor," John Wilson, H. U. 1642, from Dorchester to Medfield, in 1651, Stoughton declined two invitations to become his successor. In December, 1665, he was again asked to settle at Dorchester, but he re-

in the Parliamentary Army, and died in 1645 at London.

In his will, from which there is an extract in the College records, he says: I give "vnto Harvard Colledge . . . two hundred Acres of Land out of my purchased Lands on the Northeast side of Naponset, about Mother Brookes, that is on the utmost bounds of my ffarm next to Dorchester Town. . . . So some meadow & some upland about Mother Brookes, may in time be something

worth towards the advance of Learning, & one hundred acres more I give to the same use out of my dues on the Blew Hill side, provided the Towne will allow it to lye in due opposition to the former Two hundred, that the River only may pt them; that is three hundred acres to the use aforesaid, to remayne to the Colledge use forever." Mother Brook flows from Charles River in Dedham along the southwest part of Dorchester into Neponset River.

plied "that he had some objections within himself against the motion," and, though the invitation was renewed on the last day of the same month, and was six times repeated, even down to the year 1670, and an appeal was made to the elders of other churches to influence him, he nevertheless remained inflexible.

In 1668, after the death of Mitchel, H. U. 1647, he also received an invitation to Cambridge.

In 1671 and the three following years he was annually chosen Selectman of Dorchester. In 1671, writes Hull, "Mr. William Stoughton, an able preacher and very pious, but not yet persuadable to take any office charge in any church, was chosen into the magistracy, and accepted the same," an office in which he was continued by annual election till Joseph Dudley, H. U. 1665, became President in 1686.

From 1674 to 1676, and from 1680 to 1686, he was Commissioner for the United Colonies, and for the years 1673 and 1677 he was Commissioner in reserve.

May 27, 1674, "In ans^r to the motion & request of the deputjes for the county of Norfolke, it is ordered" by the General Court, "that W^m Staughton, Esq., shalbe and hereby is appointed to keepe the County Courts in that sheire wth the associates there for the yeare ensuing," and 5 May, 1676, a similar order was passed for him "to keepe the County Courts in Portsmouth or Douer, and also at Wells, in Yorkshire, for this yeare."

August 9, 1676, he was put on a committee to prepare a reply to a complaint coming through the King, from Mason and Gorges, that the Colony had usurped authority over territory of which they were the proprietors. September 6, he and Peter Bulkley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, were chosen agents to carry the reply to the King. The mission was important, perplexing, and delicate. Not only were the complaints

of Mason and Gorges to be met, but likewise the representations of the "odious and rapacious" Edward Randolph respecting the opposition to the navigation laws, besides the complaints in relation to the persecution of the Quakers. A hearing was had before the Lords of Trade and Plantations and the Lords Chief Justices, subsequently before the Chief Justices alone, and finally before the Privy Council; but the government became so engrossed with the Popish Plot, that but little attention was given to plantation affairs, and, after repeated applications, the agents were allowed to return to Boston, where they arrived 23 December, 1679, having "obtained nothing but time, a further opportunity for the colony to comply with the requisitions made by the crown." Though many persons were dissatisfied, especially with Stoughton, whom "they thought to have been too compliant," the General Court, 4 February, 1679-80, acknowledging their "long & faithfull service," voted "to each of them," in addition to former grants, "one hundred and fiuety pounds in money, . . . as a smale retribution for such their service, & an expression of" their "good affection."

On the subject of this charter there were two parties in the Colony, who, while they agreed as to the importance of the charter privileges, differed as to their extent and the proper measures for preserving them. Stoughton belonged to the moderate party. "From the observations he made in his agency, he was convinced it was to no purpose to oppose the demands of king Charles; and from the example of the corporations in England, he was for surrendering the charter rather than to suffer a judgment or decree against it. In such case, a more favorable administration might be expected to succeed it, and in better times there would be a greater chance for re-assuming it." Notwithstanding the dissat-

isfaction which had been expressed on his return from England, he was twice afterward, at intervals of a year, chosen colonial agent, but, though strongly and repeatedly urged, he positively declined the office.

June 1, 1677, he was appointed Captain "to the foot company in Dorchester," and 3 October, 1680, "Major of" the "regiment" of troops of the Suffolk County towns except Boston.

February 18, 1681-2, Stoughton and Dudley made report of their transactions in the purchase of the Nipmuck territory, and "as an acknowledgment of" their "great care & pajnes," the General Court granted to each of them one thousand acres of land in that country. It was laid out at a place called Marichouge, and the "platt" was accepted by the Legislature 4 June, 1685.

Stoughton and Dudley were warm friends, and commonly co-operated. When Dudley was "left out" of the magistracy, at the election, 12 May, 1686, the last which was held in Massachusetts according to the provisions of the charter, Stoughton, "from complaisance to him, refused to serve." May 15, three days after Dudley's defeat, a commission, dated 27 September, 1685, was received, and published 25 May, making Dudley President of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Narragansett country, and Stoughton Deputy President. July 26, 1686, Dudley, with the concurrence of the Council, placed Stoughton at the head of the courts,¹ where he remained during the Presidency of the former. He was Dudley's chief confidant. "He was not suspected, by the body of the people, of being unfriendly, or of want of strong attachment to the re-

¹ Under the date of 27 July, 1686, ble speech at the opening of the Judge Sewall writes, "Mr. Stoughton court."
prays excellently and makes a nota-

ligious principles and to the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, and his compliance, in taking a share in the administration, was charitably supposed to be, at least in part, for the sake of keeping out oppressors and tyrants."

In the commission to Andros, who landed in Boston 20 December, 1686, Stoughton was named as one of his Council. He consented to act, "in hopes, by that means, to render the new form of government more easy. By this step he lost the favour of the people, and yet did not obtain the confidence of the governor, who would willingly have been rid of him, seldom consulted him, and by the influence he had over the majority of the council, generally carried the votes against his mind."

At the new organization of the courts, according to the order of 3 March, 1687, Stoughton was made Judge Assistant, Dudley being appointed Chief Justice. Notices of several of the trials, and of the mode of conducting them, while these persons were on the bench, may be found in Washburn's Judicial History of Massachusetts, and are worthy of careful perusal.

In the rising of the people against the government of Andros, Stoughton took no part; but he joined the popular party in signing the message to Andros, 18 April, 1689, to deliver up the fort, in order to prevent the bloodshed which would attend an attempt to take it by storm; and he was the first person who spoke to Andros, when brought to the council house, "telling him, He might thank himself for the present disaster that had befallen him, &c." His name, however, is not in the list of those who the next day assumed the government for the time being as "A Council for the Safety of the People, and Conservation of the Peace." In "the election afterwards made by the people he did not obtain one vote," nor does he appear to have had

any office again till the arrival of the charter of William and Mary in 1692.

When Increase Mather was in England, his son Cotton Mather wrote to him: "Mr. Stoughton is a real friend to New-England, and willing to make any amendment for the miscarriages of the late government. I wish that you might be able to do anything to restore him to the favor of his country"; and it was through the elder Mather's influence, that, when Sir William Phips arrived in Boston, 14 May, 1692, with the commission of Governor, he was enabled to bring one for Stoughton as Lieutenant-Governor.

The Witchcraft excitement was then raging. Phips did not wait for the assembling of the Legislature, to whom the charter gave the exclusive power of constituting courts; but, 2 June, 1692, less than twenty days after his arrival, appointed Stoughton Chief Justice of a special tribunal to try cases of witchcraft, and by virtue of this illegal authority he acted.

Stoughton, "upon whose judgment," says Hutchinson, "great stress was laid, had taken up this notion, that although the devil might appear in the shape of a guilty person, yet he would never be permitted to assume the shape of an innocent person." He went upon the bench with a bigoted zeal akin to animosity, and proceeded with such alacrity that the first victim was executed on the tenth of June, only eight days after the tribunal was constituted; and before the ensuing October there was a series of judicial murders which has no parallel in American history. Notwithstanding the excitement of the time, there can be no doubt, that, if Stoughton had been as zealous to procure the acquittal as he was to bring about the conviction of the accused, this black page in the history of New England and of humanity could never have been written. His conduct

during the trials, if conscientious, was heartless, unjust, atrocious.¹

Upon the reorganization of the Superior Court, Stoughton was nominated, and unanimously confirmed by the

¹ Upham goes so far as to say: "The Judges made no concealment of a foregone conclusion against the Prisoners at the Bar. No Counsel was allowed them. . . . The Chief-justice absolutely absorbed into his own person the whole Government. His rulings swayed the Court, in which he acted the part of prosecutor of the Prisoners, and overbore the Jury. He sat in judgment upon the sentences of his own Court; and heard and refused, applications and supplications for pardon or reprieve. The three grand divisions of all constitutional or well-ordered Governments were, for the time, obliterated in Massachusetts. In the absence of Phips, the Executive functions were exercised by Stoughton. While presiding over the Council, he also held a seat as an elected ordinary member, thus participating in, as well as directing, its proceedings, sharing, as a leader, in legislation, acting on Committees, and framing laws. As Chief-justice he was at the head of the Judicial department. He was Commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces and forts within the Province proper. All administrative, legislative, judicial, and military powers were concentrated in his person and wielded by his hand. No more shameful tyranny or shocking despotism was ever endured in America, than in 'the dark and awful day,' as it was called, while the Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was scattering destruction, ruin, terror,

misery and death over the country. It is a disgrace to that generation, that it was so long suffered; and, instead of trying to invent excuses, it becomes all subsequent generations to feel—as was deeply felt by enlightened and candid men, as soon as the storm had blown over and a prostrate people again stood erect, in possession of their senses—that all ought, by humble and heart-felt prayer, to implore the divine forgiveness."

"Chief-justice Stoughton appears to have kept his mind chained to his dogma to the last. . . . During a session of the Court at Charlestown, in January, 1692-3, 'word was brought in, that a reprieve was sent to Salem, and had prevented the execution of seven of those that were there condemned, which so moved the chief judge that he said to this effect: We were in a way to have cleared the land of them; who it is that obstructs the cause of justice, I know not: the Lord be merciful to the country!' and so went off the bench, and came no more into that Court."

According to Hutchinson, when Stoughton was informed of Judge Sewall's public confession of his error, "it is said," he "observed for himself that, when he sat in judgment he had the fear of God before his eyes and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding; and although it may appear afterwards, that he had been in error, yet he saw no necessity of a public acknowledgment of it."

Council, as Chief Justice. His commission, dated 22 December, 1692, was renewed in 1695, and he held the office until a short time before his death.

Hutchinson says, "The government falling into Mr. Stoughton's hands upon Sir William's leaving the province [in 1694], seems to have been administered by him to good acceptance in England, and to the general satisfaction of the people of the province." In 1698 he "had held the reins four years, and had kept free from controversy with the other branches of the legislature." He "now stood so well in the esteem of the people, that they chose him, at every election, one of the council; although, at the same time, he was commander in chief. Before the year expired a new governor might arrive, in which case he would take his place as a councillor."

Lord Bellomont, after being detained more than a year in New York, arrived at Boston 26 May, 1699, to assume the government. Dudley's conduct in regard to Leisler, "together with the interest which had been made for" him "in England in opposition to his lordship, seems to have prejudiced him in favor of all Dudley's enemies in New-England. Whilst he was at New-York, he kept a constant correspondence with Mr. Cooke, one of the council for the Massachusetts, who was a principal man of that party; and seems to have placed more confidence in him than in Mr. Stoughton, who ever remained, in his heart, attached to the Dudley party."

Bellomont returned to New York "soon after the session of the general court" of Massachusetts "in May, 1700. . . . Stoughton took the chair again, with reluctance. His advanced age and declining state of health made him fond of ease and retirement."

Stoughton died, a bachelor, 7 July, 1701, at his house, the site of which was on the northeast corner of Pleasant Street and Savin Hill Avenue, in Dorchester. He

was entombed on the 15th, "with great honor and solemnity, and with him much of New England's glory." The funeral sermon was preached at the lecture in Boston, 17 July, 1701, by Samuel Willard, afterward President of the College.

Hutchinson says, Stoughton "was nine years lieutenant governor, and six of them commander in chief; had experienced the two extremes of popular and absolute government; and not only himself approved of a mean between both, but was better qualified to recommend it, by a discreet administration, to the people of the province." Washburn says, he "seems to have been a sort of 'Vicar of Bray' politician, whereby, 'whoever the King might be,' he contrived to be in office."

He was an extensive landholder by inheritance and by purchase, and left an estate which was large for the time. He bequeathed to the church in Dorchester £50, and two pieces of plate of £6 value each, and to the selectmen of the town £50, of which the income was to be given to the poor. He also left, with a conditional reversion to Harvard College, £150 "towards the advancement of the salary of the schoolmaster" at Dorchester; and so well has it been taken care of that the Stoughton school fund now amounts to about four thousand dollars.

To the church in Milton he left a piece of communion plate of £6 value, and to the town a wood-lot of forty acres for the benefit of the poor.

He was a zealous friend of education, and especially of the College. He had great influence in the Corporation. When he was in England, they voted, 30 June, 1679, "that y^e Worsh^d. Mr Stoughton bee desired & Empowered, to Provide a President."

His benefactions to this Institution exceeded those of any other person during the century. At a cost of £1,000, he erected the brick edifice, called, in honor of

him, Stoughton Hall. It was situated at a right angle with the present Massachusetts Hall, a little back of its northeast corner, and facing to the west. The foundation was laid 9 May, 1698, and the building was completed in 1699. It was one hundred feet long and twenty broad, and "contained sixteen chambers for students, but no public apartments." On it was placed the inscription: —

"DEO OPT. MAX. BONISQ. LITERIS S.
GULIELMUS STOUGHTON ARMIGER PROVINCIAE
MASSACHUSET. NOV-ANGLORUM VICE-GUBERNATOR
COLLEGII HARVARDINI OLIM ALUMNUS
SEMPER PATRONUS FECIT
ANNO DOMINI 1699."

In his will he ordered that for five years £20 of the income from this building should be annually appropriated for the support of Elijah Danforth, H. U. 1703, at college; after which, "a minister's son to have the preference to others," £10 of the income was annually to go to "some poor scholar," — his own relatives to be preferred, "and next to them any poor scholar that shall come from the town of Dorchester," but no one to receive it who did not "actually reside at the College, nor for any longer than that he shall receive the degree of A. M."

"Being originally an unsubstantial piece of masonry, it grew weak by age," and having been injured, it is said, by the earthquake of 1755, after undergoing many repairs it was finally taken down in 1780. In 1804–1805, by the addition of \$5,300 of the College funds to the sum of \$18,400 derived from lotteries, another edifice was erected, which was likewise called Stoughton Hall, as a "suitable acknowledgment" for Stoughton's "bounty and proved affection for the institution."

He also bequeathed to the College a "pasture¹ in Dorchester," and a "parcel of salt meadow," "willing and appointing the clear profits and income of both to be exhibited in the first place to a scholar of the town of Dorchester, and if there be none such, then to a scholar of the town of Milton, and in want of such, to any Indian student, and in want of such, to any other well-deserving scholar that may be most needy."

Stoughton likewise gave to the College a silver bowl with a cover weighing $48\frac{1}{2}$ ounces, and Eliot thinks he probably gave also "a goblet, 21 oz."

The College Picture-Gallery contains a portrait of him, with a view of the first Stoughton Hall in the background.

The monument over Stoughton's grave in the Dorchester burial ground having fallen, the Corporation of the College, in 1828, caused it to be repaired, and the tablet, which was "cracked in two," to be cemented. The elegant epitaph on it, adapted, it is said, by Mather, corresponds nearly word for word with the one by Aimonius Proust de Chambourg, Professor of Law in the University of Orleans, which is inscribed on the tomb of Blaise Pascal, who died in 1662.

"GULIELMUS STOUGHTONUS, Armiger,
Provinciae Massachusettensis in Nova Anglia Legatus,
deinde Gubernator;
Nec-non Curiae in eadem Provincia Superioris

¹ This land, "known by the name of Stoughton or College-pasture," "elevated and dry, excellent for building purposes," is situated between Norfolk and Washington Streets, about a quarter of a mile southwest from the town hall in Dorchester. April 1, 1797, it was leased for one hundred years, "in consideration of the sum of eight hundred and thirty-five dollars." In 1870, land contiguous to it was sold for \$1,500 and \$2,000 an acre. It is estimated, that, when the lease expires, the "twenty acres and three quarters and twenty-two rods" belonging to the College will be worth at least \$100,000, and not improbably \$140,000.

Iusticiarius Capitalis,
 Hic Iacet.
 Vir Conjugij Nescius,
 Religione Sanctus,
 Virtute Clarus,
 Doctrina Celebris,
 Ingenio Acutus,
 Sanguine et Animo pariter Illustris,
 Æquitatis Amator,
 Legum Propugnator,
 Collegij Stoughtoniani Fundator,
 Literarum et Literatorum Fautor Celeberrimus,
 Impietatis et Vitij Hostis Acerrimus.
 Hunc Rhetores amant Facundum,
 Hunc Scriptores nôrunt Elegantem,
 Hunc Philosophi quærunt Sapientem,
 Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,
 Hunc Pij venerantur Austerum,
 Hunc Omnes Mirantur; Omnibus Ignotum,
 Omnibus licet Notum.
 Quid Plura, Viator! Quem perdidimus
 STOUGHTONUM!
 Heu!
 Satis dixi, urgent Lachrymæ,
 Sileo.
 Vixit Annos Septuaginta;
 Septimo Die Julij, Anno Salutis 1701,
 Cecidit.
 Heu! Heu! Qualis Luctus!"

WORKS.

1. New-Englands | True Interest; | Not to Lie: | Or, | A
 Treatise declaring from the Word of Truth the | Terms on which
 we stand, and the Tenure by which | we hold our hitherto-con-
 tinued | Precious and Pleasant Things. | Shewing | What the
 blessed God expecteth from his People, and what | they may ra-
 tionally look for from him. | Delivered in a Sermon Preached in
 Boston | in New-England, April 29. 1668. being the | Day of
 Election | there. || Cambridge: Printed by S.[amuel] G.[reen]

and M.[armaduke] J.[ohnson]. 1670. 4to. Pp. (2) An Advertisement to the Reader, signed J. S., probably John Sherman; pp. 1–38 Text; and p. (1) Texts of Scripture. *H.*

The same. P. (1) An Advertisement, etc.; pp. 4–40 Text, pp. 39–40 being, in smaller type, what is contained on pp. 36–38 of the other edition, thus, when paper was imported and scarce, saving a signature by compressing the matter. *A, H, M, P.*

The title-pages of these two editions are precisely the same, being printed from the same form; but for all the other pages the types were set up twice.

This sermon contains the famous sentence, “God sifted a whole Nation that he might send choice Grain over into this Wilderness.”

An abridgment of this sermon, with extracts, occupies pages 10–13 of *Elijah’s Mantle*. A few passages of it are printed as an Appendix to T. Prince’s Annual Election Sermon preached in 1730. *H, M, P.*

2. A | Narrative | of | The Proceedings | of | Sir Edmond Androsse | and his Complices, | Who Acted by an Illegal and Arbitrary Com- | mission from the Late K. James, during | his Government in | New England. | ——— | By several Gentlemen who were of his Council. | ——— | n. p. Printed in the Year 1691. 4to. pp. 48. *A, M.*

The same. Boston. 1773. 8vo, being pp. 51–59 appended to *The Revolution in New England Justified*. Also in the *Andros Tracts*. Boston. 1868. 4to. i. 51–59. *H, M.*

Hutchinson says: “At the desire of the council and representatives he [Stoughton] drew up a narrative of the proceedings of Sir Edmund and his accomplices, signed by him and several others of the council; in which they modestly take exception to many things in the administration, and exculpate themselves from any share in them.”

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tions of the Massachusetts Historical Society, ix. 175, 180; and Second Century Discourse, 17; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 276. W. T. Harris, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 117. Harvard College Corporation Records, i. 35, 55; and Steward's Account-Books, i. 23, 24. History of Dorchester, 83, 107, 271. A. Holmes, Century Sermon, 15; and Annals i. 481; History of Cambridge, 30; Collections of the Mass. Historical Society, vii. 30. J. Hull, Diary in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 231. T. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, i. 351; ii. 23, 61, 81, 121, 125, 127. E. Jarvis, Letter, 1871, February 4. H. Mann, Historical Annals of Dedham, 127. Massachusetts Bay Records, i., ii., iv., v. Massachusetts Histor. Society, Collections, ii. 10; v. 74, 221, 235, 245; vii. 30; ix. 175, 180; xvi. 614; xxvi. 239; xxviii. 251; xxxi. 13, 21. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 117; iv. 52, 275; v. 465; xxiii. 25. J. G. Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 293, 342, 362, 481, etc. B. Peirce, History of Harvard University, 64, 70, 77. J. Pierce, Second Century Discourse at Dorchester, 19, 29. F. W. Poole, Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft, 29, 35. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 215. W. B. Sprague, Annals, i. 140. W. Sullivan, Address to Suffolk Bar, March, 1824, 23. W. B. Trask, Letter, 1871, May 22. C. W. Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, 2d ed., 85; and Salem Witchcraft, ii. 157, 250, 301, 349, 356, 358; Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather, 15-18, 45; and in Historical Magazine, xvi. 143-146, 173. E. Washburn, Judicial History of Massachusetts, 126, 132, 141, 145, 152, 241, 242, etc. Z. G. Whitman, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 2d ed., 46. E. Worthington, History of Dedham, 12.

JOHN GLOVER.

Died about 1668.

JOHN GLOVER, B. A., of London, fifth and youngest child of the Reverend Jose, Josse, or Joseph¹ Glover, and second of his second wife, Elizabeth Harris, was probably born at Sutton, in Surrey, England, where, according to the Glover Memorials, his father was rector

¹ According to the Glover Memorials and Genealogies, the Christian name is Joseph on the church records at Sutton, and wherever it occurs in English Records and in the English County Histories.

from 1628 till 1636, when he tendered his resignation, with the design, it is said, of emigrating to New England. Having provided at his own expense a fount of type, and procured funds in England and Holland for a printing establishment, he made an agreement, 7 June, 1638, with Stephen Daye to superintend it, and took passage on board the *John of London*, with his family, together with Daye, and three persons to work at the printing, besides others, among whom are said to have been Ezekiel Rogers and the emigrants who settled at Rowley. His wife and children took up their residence at Cambridge, where, in March, 1638-9, according to Winthrop, "A printing house was begun" by "Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on sea hitherward,"—or, as Bradford states, "when he was prepared for the viage, he fell sick of a feaver and dyed,"—and the first printing-press on the continent, if we except one at Mexico, and another at Lima, in South America, was put in operation.

June 22, 1641, the Widow Glover was married to President Dunster, and young Glover became a member of his family.

Stephen Daye's son, Matthew Daye, Steward of the College, in his nuncupative will, 10 May, 1649, says, "I give unto John Glover my lookeing Glasse."

Glover must have returned to England soon after graduating, as Dunster's charges for his support nine years and four months from the time of his own marriage to Glover's mother would extend no farther than to the latter part of the October after his graduation, and as early as 23 December, 1651 (?), Nathaniel Mather, H. U. 1647, writes from London: "Our Glover is like, yea more than like, sure I think, of a fellowship in Oxford with £60 pr annum."

William Cutter writes from Newcastle to Dunster,

19 May, 1654: "Your sone M^r John Glouer cald att our house as he went into Scotland to be ouer the hospitall with Coll fenwicks Bro: I hope he will proue honest."

In a letter from London, dated 5 March, 1655, Glover writes to his brother-in-law, John Appleton, of Ipswich: "'I am now come out of Scotland, my grandmother being dead.' 'My desire is that my sister, your wife, should have all that I have.' 'I have taken my degrees of Doctor of Physic in Scotland.' 'Direct your letter to Dr. Genndaires, Thread Needle street.' He names 'My father Dunster' in the letter, and signs himself 'Your loving brother, J. Glover.'"

He took his degree of Doctor in Medicine at Aberdeen, and, from this letter, it would seem, as early as 1655.

April 1, 1656, he commenced an action against Dunster, to obtain a settlement for property which he alleged belonged to his father or mother, or to both, or was bequeathed to him by his uncle Richard Harris, but was held by Dunster. With some of the Glover children the controversy began as early as 1652. Dunster filed in Court an account for diet, clothing, and other expenses of the children, from the time of his marriage with their mother till they or any of them were married or ceased to be members of his family. Among the numerous charges which were finally allowed, and are found in Thomas's History of Printing, are £143 3s. 4d. for "Jn^o. Glover's liberall education for diet, apparell and schooleing mostly at the Colledge for seven years and two months at £20 pr an^m;" and £6 15s. "paid for extraordinary expences by M^r Jn^o. Glover, as by note of particulars."

The case was continued from time to time till 15 May, 1657, when it was ordered, that "Capt. Daniell

Gookin, Major Atherton, Major Willard, & Capt. Edward Johnson" be "appointed and heereby authorized as a committee wth full power, as the Generall Court might doe, to heare and determine all differences between M^r Henry Dunster and M^r Thomas Danforth [who had been appointed one of the attorneys for the Glovers], in behalfe of the children of M^r Josse Glover." After examining in detail the accounts of both parties, they came to the conclusion, that, besides several things in kind, there was due from Dunster to Glover £117 8s. 2d., leaving debts to the amount of £57 11s. 4d. to be further cleared by Dunster before being allowed, and that Dunster was entitled to the real estate which he bought in Sudbury.

Glover established himself in London. In a letter dated Edinburgh, 23 February, 1658-9, Lucy Downing writes of "Doctor Glover now being at London."

He died, unmarried, as early as 1668, in which year Thomas Danforth administered on his estate in New England.

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JOSHUA HOBART.

Born about 1629, died 1717, aged 88.

REV. JOSHUA HOBART, M. A., of Southold, Long Island, brother of Jeremiah Hobart, his classmate, and of the Hobarts of the class of 1667, came to Charlestown, Massachusetts, 8 June, 1635, with his father, the

Reverend Peter Hobart,¹ who was born at Hingham, England, and soon after his arrival here was settled at Hingham, Massachusetts.

The two brothers, Joshua and Jeremiah, probably continued at the College till December, 1651, when the Steward's accounts with the "Sirs hubbarts" terminated, there being no items of a later date, except "ther Commencement Chardges," "9. 6. 53." Besides bed-making, commons, sizings, "Lent by them both toward building a gallery," etc., are "Candell and wood for the publicke fyer," a charge not previously occurring on the College books.

May 18, 1653, both the brothers, designated as belonging to Hingham, were made freemen. They were also employed successively as preachers at Bass River, now Beverly, Massachusetts.

July 16, 1655, Joshua Hobart sailed for Barbadoes, whence, having married, 16 April, 1656, Margaret, daughter of William and Ann Vassall, he went to London, where he arrived on the fifth of July following.

July 18, 1657, the deed of sale of the estate of his father-in-law, in Scituate, Massachusetts, was "signed by Joshua Hubbard, in behalf of his late wife." If, as may be inferred, he was at that time in New England, he must have again gone abroad and been married, for, according to Stiles, the graduate returned, 5 September, 1669, and "his wife died four days after, leaving (I think) three children."

January 16, 1671-2, he married, at Boston, John Sunderland's daughter Mary, widow of Jonathan Rainsford, and had, continues Stiles, "two Daughters Octo. 5 1672, one died, the other was called Alithea — Irene born at Boston in Apr^{ll} 1674 — Peter born Febr^y 28

¹ The names of the early settlers of New England were often spelt with reference to sound rather than to correctness. The name of the members of this family, for instance, was variously written Hobart, Hobard, Hobbard, Hubart, Hubbard, Hubbert, Hubert, etc.

1675-6 at Southold on Nassau Island," now Long Island. Another son, John, was in 1715-6 and in 1733 living at New London, Connecticut.

In 1672, after the death of John Youngs, the first minister of Southold, previously minister at Hingham in England, the inhabitants sent an agent to Boston for "an honest & godly minister"; whereupon Joshua Hobart went to them, and was ordained 7 October, 1674.

August 19, 1694, Benjamin Wadsworth, H. U. 1690, who accompanied the Massachusetts and Connecticut Commissioners to Albany to treat with the Five Nations, mentions the preaching of a sermon by "Mr. Joshuah Hubbard, (who came to Albany to see his son, who was a Livetenant there)."

Hobart died at Southold, 28 February, 1716-7, "near ninety years of age and yet preached publickly within a few months before his decease." He survived all who graduated before Increase Mather, H. U. 1656, and probably, with the exception of Thomas Cheever, H. U. 1677, attained to a greater age than any Harvard graduate of the seventeenth century.

Stiles writes: "He was an eminent physician, civilian & divine, & every way a great learned pious man."

His successor in the ministry was Benjamin Woolsey, Y. C. 1709.

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JEREMIAH HOBART.

Born about 1631, died 1715, aged 84.

REV. JEREMIAH HOBART, M. A., of Topsfield, in Massachusetts, of Hempstead, on Long Island, and of Haddam, in Connecticut, has already received some notice on page 212, in the account of his brother and classmate, Joshua Hobart, with whom he came to New England.

After preaching some time at Bass River, now Beverly, and at other places, he was ordained, 2 October, 1672, at Topsfield, Massachusetts, where the Reverend Thomas Gilbert had been preaching; the church in Rowley, "for several reasons," declining to take part in the ordination: one reason being, "that they had prosecuted their late pastor, Mr. Gilbert, at Court"; and another, "that it was too soon to settle Mr. Hobart, who had been among them 'scarcely a year.'"

Hobart's ministry "was far from being a smooth one. His people accused him of immoralities, and withheld his pay. He, in his turn, sued the people, and obtained judgment." He was dismissed 21 September, 1680, and was succeeded in 1684 by Joseph Capen, H. U. 1677.

April 26, 1683, "Vpon Representation made by the Constable and Overseers in the Behalfe of the Towne of Hempsted [Long Island] that M^r Jeremia^h hubbart was and is by the Major Parte of the Inhabitants of the said Towne Chosen and Appointed to be Minister there," Major Anthony Brockolls, the "Commander in Chiefe," signified his assent. May 6, 1683, he received a call to be formally settled, on a salary of sixty-six pounds fourteen shillings payable in corn and cattle, besides "a three acre (home) lot, where it should be most conven-

ient, and fifty acres of woodland, to be taken up where he thought proper—his cattle to have liberty of commons, and himself to have the use of all the parsonage land and meadows, as long as he should continue their minister.” There was also a vote to build a parsonage house, thirty-six feet by eighteen, with “10 feet between the joints,” to revert to the town when he should leave it.

He was installed 17 October, 1683, “and so satisfactory were his labors, that the town made him a further donation of 100 acres of land; but the process of collecting his salary of £70, by voluntary contributions, was so ineffectual,” that, 9 December, 1686, he petitioned Governor Dongan and Council for relief; stating that he “hath for almost five years since been lawfully called, and after that legally approved by . . . Brockolls, to be minister of sayd Hempst’d, yet allthough a full agreement was mutually had . . . as to house building & comfortable finishing, & as to annuall Sallary &c, neither is by the parish performed to my great damage and almost insupportable inconvenience.”

July 3, 1691, he writes to Governor Henry Slough-ter, that, “haueing for these last eight years, & upwards,” labored in Hempstead, and being “much afflicted for want of that Stipend annually promised, and not duly payd, whereby” he and his “family sustaynes great sufferings & wants,” he craves his “Excellency^s Succour & Relief”; whereupon the Governor issues an order “for y^e Collection & paym^t of what is Due” to him.

August 24, 1691, “the proprietors and inhabitants of Haddam, Connecticut, ‘taking into consideration the good providence of the Lord in sending Mr. Jeremy Hobbard, Minister of the gospel, to this Town, in some hopes to settle him as their pastor,’ make him these proposals: a salary of sixty pounds in provision pay,” his firewood, the use of the parsonage improved land on

both sides of the river, and a town grant of four acres and a half with an orchard, on which a dwelling-house, forty feet by eighteen, should be built for him "with all convenient diligence." If he removes from Haddam, the house and lot are to revert to the town; but to belong to him and his heirs, if he remains. September 1 ("or on the first week"), 1691, Hobart, being then in Haddam, accepts the proposals, declares his "intent and purpose to come with [his] family before winter," and wishes a vessel to be sent by the town for their transportation. "Before him," says B. Trumbull, "Nicholas Noyes, H. U. 1667, preached thirteen years in the town; but during this time no church was formed."

Edwards says, Hobart "removed from *Hempstead* (by Reason of Numbers turning Quakers, and many others being so Irreligious, that they would do nothing towards the support of the Ministry) and came and settled in the Work of the Ministry at *Haddam*."

December 28, 1691, at a town "meting it was uoated that thees men under righten doe ingage to cutt heaw and frame a dwelling hows for mr huburt acording to the townes a Grement and to haue the frame rady to raies by the middle of March next."

"Janeuryth: 25. 1692 [1692-3], Jt was voatted att a Lawfulle towne meeting that Mr Hubertt should bee paid his whole years Ratte"; also that "he was Lawfully calld to bee ouer Pastor and a free Jnhabitant of our towne acording to ouer Call on the 24 of August: 91; and the agreement between the towne acording to their Propositions one 24 of Aug^t afores^d and Mr. Hubrts answer to the townes comite one the beginne of Sept folowing Stand good and are binding to boath Parties for futer to trew Jntents, and Purposes what soe euer and that Jt be fourth wth Recorded."

October 25, 1692, Hobart appears to have had an

invitation to Jamaica, Long Island, with an offer of sixty pounds a year, and one load of wood from "every inhabitant within the township."

December 8, 1693, Haddam granted him ten acres of land, and "agreed to cutt seauenty load of wood for Mr hubert for this year."

April 22, 1695, controversies and dissatisfaction having arisen, the town unanimously voted, that "they doe not esteame and acompt themselves under his charge as pastore." "At the same meting it was uoated and the towne hath agreed: with the consent and apribation of naighboring chourches to imbody in chourch way"; and 9 May permission was granted by the General Assembly.

The difficulties appear to have originated in part from the desire of the inhabitants on the east side of the river to become a separate parish. In consequence of an appeal to the General Court, a committee, consisting of ministers and laymen, was appointed "to inquire into the cause of the divisions and controversies between the people of Haddum, and to indeavour a friendly agreement and accomodation between them if it can be obtained." Field says, they met at Haddam, 25 November, 1698, and, "after passing various resolves with a view to the restoration of harmony, declared upon deliberate consideration, that the agreement between [Hobart and] them, was, both in point of law and equity, valid and binding to each party, and they advised the people to call Mr. Hobart to the full execution of the office of pastor among them."

At the May session in 1700 the General Court adopted, as a final settlement of the disputes, a report, signed by "Abrahā Pierson. T. Woodbridg. G. Saltonstall." "that if the town of Haddum shall unanimously raise one hundred pounds annually for the maintenance of the ministrye in the said town fiftie of it for the mainte-

nance of the Reverent M^r Hobart on the west side of the river, and fiftie of it for the maintenance of the minister on the east side and also if the said M^r Hobart shall release the said town of the aggreement formerly made with him, the said town confirming and making good to the said M^r Hobart the house and land in said town formerly given unto him, and the town on the west side finding the said M^r Hobart with his wood annually it will be a hopeful expedient to issue the unhappy differences that have been and still remain in said town."

This decision seems to have been acquiesced in; for in June it was voted to call a council, and 14 November, 1700, when Hobart was in the seventieth year of his age, he was installed.

His salary of fifty pounds and firewood being insufficient for his maintenance, and not regularly paid, in May, 1702, he petitioned the General Court for relief, to "an ancient, dejected, and despised minister . . . now in the 72^d year" of his age. The petition is long and somewhat curious. The extent of his salary was now forty pounds a year. His work was more and his income less, and he was unable to support himself. The people had not complied with the recommendation of the committee in 1698, and he trusts, as "this case is still depending upon [the Court's] issue and healing," God may assist them "to find out *theraputicks*, I mean healing expedients more sovereign than those" formerly recommended.

In September, 1714, Phineas Fisk, Y. C. 1704, was settled as his colleague.

Field says: Of Hobart's "talents and character very little is known. He became the subject of infirmities some years before his death, and was unable to perform official services. Nov. 6, 1715, being the Lord's day,

he attended public worship in the forenoon, and received the sacrament; and during the intermission expired, sitting in his chair."

The inventory of his estate is dated 22 November, 1715.

April 6, 1659, he married Dorothy, daughter of the Reverend Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, Massachusetts. January 31, 1682-3, a "Lycence of Marriage was Granted to Jeremiah Hubbard of Jemeca on Long Island and Rebecca Brush of Huntington." Yet his wife Elizabeth witnessed a deed in Haddam, 19 September, 1698; and further, 22 January, 1716-7, Elizabeth Hobart, formerly of Haddam, now of Hartford, deeded the lot of her deceased husband, Jeremiah Hobart, to her "loving son," Hezekiah Brainerd, who married Dorothy Hobart, and was father of the eminent missionary, David Brainerd. One of Hobart's daughters married Hezekiah Wyllis, Secretary of Connecticut; and an only son, "a freeman," was residing at Boston in August, 1686.

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EDMUND WELD.

Born 1631, died 1668, aged 38.

REV. EDMUND WELD, B. A., second son of the Reverend Thomas and Margaret Welde, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, born 8 July, 1631, and baptized in his father's parish, Terling, County of Essex, England, sailed from London, 9 March, 1632, with his father, mother, and two brothers, in the William and Francis, and arrived at Boston 5 June.

As the College Steward's books, which were begun in 1650, contain no account with him, he probably did not remain at Cambridge after graduating. He went to Ireland and was settled in the ministry at Inniskean, where, Alden says, he died "2 March, 1668, in the 39 year of his age."

"Contemplating his dissolution as nigh at hand," he wrote a "dialogue, a little before his decease, between Death, the Soul, the Body, the World, and Jesus Christ, which his widow sent to his relatives in New-England." Death begins the dialogue thus:—

"Ho ho, prepare to go with me,
For I am sent to summon thee,
See my commission seal'd with blood;
Who sent me He will make it good.
The life of man
Is like a span,
Whose slender thread I must divide.
My name is death,
I'll stop thy breath;
From my arrests thou canst not hide."

The whole Dialogue, consisting of three hundred lines in nineteen stanzas, is printed by Alden.

AUTHORITIES.—T. Alden, *American Epitaphs, etc.*, iii. 42. J. Farmer, *American Epitaphs, etc.*, iii. 42. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, and J. B. Moore, *Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous*, ii. 265. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 456, 458.

SAMUEL PHILLIPS.

Born 1625, died 1696, aged 71.

REV. SAMUEL PHILLIPS, M. A., of Rowley, Massachusetts, oldest son of the Reverend George Phillips, first minister of Watertown, was born at Boxted, County of Suffolk, England, in 1625, and at the age of five years came with his father's family to America; being of the company which, 20 April, 1630, embarked on board the *Arbella*, with Governor Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall, and arrived at Salem 12 June.

Phillips's mother, probably half-sister of John Hayward, an early settler of Watertown, died in Salem soon after her arrival, "and was very solemnly interr^d near the Right Honourable Lady *Arabella*" Johnson. His father, "*Vir Incomparabilis, nisi SAMUELEM genuisset,*" died 1 July, 1644, leaving a considerable family by his second wife, Elizabeth, who was probably widow of Captain Robert Welden. "Presently after" signing his will, "his wife putting him in mind of the bond in *Elder Howes* hand, he called *Samuel* to him and tould him he had given him a double portion, and bade him let the bond alone & give it in to yo^r mother when you come to age, but if yow take that yow shall haue no more." The widow died 27 January, 1681, leaving by her will, dated 20 October, 1674, to "son Samuel all Latin, Greek, and Hebrew books now in the house."

Cotton Mather says, the Watertown church "testified their Affection to their Deceased *Pastor*, by a Special Care to promote and perfect the Education of his Eldest *Son*, whereof all the Country, but especially the Town of *Rowly*, have since reaped the Benefit."

March 15, 1649-50, while a member of the Senior

class, Phillips is credited "by wages for his stewardship for 5 weekes, 15s," "by 6^{lb} of butter toward his Commencement-Charge, 3s"; and 23-5-50 "by 4 quarters of a weather £1." He graduated at the age of twenty-five years, after which he continued at the College nearly a year, being charged in the mean time with commons, sizings, study-rent, bedmaking, and "Lent toward building the gallery"; and credited, twice, by "A lowance for his scollership," "15. 1. 50-1 by the return of the gallery," and at other times, "paid by Deacken Stone of watter towne by a bush of appells," "mor by him 3 quarter^s of a lamb," "payd by Goodman Cloyes of watter towne by a lamb," etc.

In June, 1651, the year after his graduation, he was settled on a salary varying from fifty to ninety pounds, according to the expense of living, as teacher of the church at Rowley, of which Ezekiel Rogers, an important benefactor of Harvard College, who died 23 January, 1660-1, in the seventieth year of his age, was pastor.

Soon after Rogers's death his widow accused Phillips of receiving and retaining five pounds which she claimed as her due, but which the Selectmen had ordered to be paid to him in consideration of his carrying on the entire work of the ministry during Rogers's illness. The controversy, in which Philip Nelson, H. U. 1654, was the leader of the opposition to Phillips, continued till the death of the widow, 12 February, 1678-9, more than eighteen years. In her will, dated 22 July, 1678, and proved 1 April, 1679, after stating that she has not received the five pounds, etc., she says, "Therefore I would earnestly desire Mr. Sammuell Phillips and Deacon Jewet that they would not ronge me in this particular, least it be a greefe to them at the apearance of Jesus Christ."

May 26, 1679, "The church petition the General Court

on the subject, and ask to be heard before them; saying, 'their Rev. Teacher hath been accused of committing an unjust and felonious act, by wronging Mrs. Rogers, deceased, of her due, which stands upon record in Ipswich Court, by Mr. Nelson's doings.'"

May 30, 1679, the General Court, having considered the petition "referring to accusations against M^r Samuell Phillips, . . . at the last Court, held at Ipsuich, Aprill the first, . . . doe reuerse the judgment of Ipsuich Court against the sajd M^r Phillips in the case, and doe judge meete, that those persons who gaue in testimony against him, & were the occasion of his trouble, be admonished by our honno'd Goũno^r for such their offences, & pay costs of Courts.

"And further, as to that case wherein the sajd M^r Phillips & the deacons are chardged wth wrong by M^r Phillip Nelson, referring to M^{rs} Rogers her estate, the Court found they were innocent in that matter, and doe order, that the paper presented to this Court as M^{rs} Rogers her last will shallbe annexed to hir will that is vpon file in Ipsuich Court, the sajd M^r Nelson bearing his proportion in costs of Courts, and be also admonished for his vnjust charge by our honored Gouverno^r."

While Phillips was thus annoyed, the church in Barnstable invited him to succeed the Reverend Thomas Walley as their pastor. In reply to Governor Thomas Hinckley's letter on the subject, Phillips writes: "Yours of the 6th of June [1679] came to hand on the 15th instant, and was read before the church in Rowley the same day, and the result is, that almost the whole church did show their dissent as to parting with their minister, and not one would show any consent to it: so that, at present, the holy providence of God doth seem to fasten me where by his mercy I have had so long continuance. The brethren that have dissented from me, and the

major part of the church, as to some late transactions amongst us (which ere long are to be looked into by a council of our honored General Court's sending), they will yield no consent to any motion of my going from them; and did express themselves, some of them, to be utterly against my removal: and a great part of the town are of the same mind with the church. Some brethren did express themselves somewhat troubled that a letter upon such an account should come from your worship; but they did withal acknowledge that your motion to our church was so piously, wisely, and with good cautions, expressed, that there was no just matter of offence. Moreover, it seems not unworthy noting, that your godly letter, though it prevails not as to the obtaining what your worship and your good people desire (according to God) with reference to my worthless self, yet it has (so far as I can discern) been beneficial to unite our hearts more together, wherein your worship has obtained one gracious end of your writing. There has been and still is love in the body of the church, both brethren and sisters, to their weak earthen vessel; and speeches about parting has drawn it forth. . . .

“But that your worship and good people should have any thoughts towards myself (a poor shrub to have made up that breach where so fruitful a tree lately stood) is matter of wonderment to me, especially when I consider what great ground I have to look upon myself as less than the least of all God's saints, and also at this time under a cloud of obloquy; yet such was your charity, that you would not admit any alienating impressions upon your spirits, but even at such a time express your abundant love to me. My God and my fathers' God reward it to you; for you have been a comfort to me, and, as it were, companions with me in my trials. And, indeed, so affecting is your undeserved kindness

herein, that the thankful sense of it will (by God's help) abide with me whilst I live. And, did Providence open a door for my leaving the place where I am, I know no other place that my heart is so much endeared to as to yourselves; and the rather that I might have the help and comfort of your worship's society, as well as of the rest of God's dear people with you."

"As to matters depending in our honored General Court when your worship left Boston, the issue is, that the Lord has rolled off those unjust reproaches that were cast upon me, blessed be his holy name! The sentence at Ipswich Court is reversed; the complainers admonished, and to bear the charges of our brethren at both courts: and I hope the Lord will yet farther appear to heal our church differences, when the Reverend Council of Churches shall come, by the advice of the honored General Court."

The "Council of Churches" met 19 November, 1679; "Nelson, who had been an occasion of the said differences in the church at Rowley, . . . acknowledged his offence in all the particulars for which the church had proceeded with him to excommunication," the church "with much unanimity received him" into fellowship again, and both parties "declared that they do mutually forgive and forget whatever offences have fallen out amongst them in these hours of temptation."

This reconciliation could not have been as sincere as it purported to be; for in "September, 1687, an information was filed by one Philip Nelson against the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Rowley, for calling Randolph 'a wicked man' and for this crime he was sent to prison."

Washburn says, "The reason given by this Nelson for making this complaint was, partly, because he was a Justice of the Peace, and partly 'because that Christian rules do teach us not to speak evil of the rulers of our

people, but to honor those that are in place and do bear rule in our Commonwealth.' Accompanying this information was the testimony of Ensign Platt, who was their witness to the speaking of the words charged, and which, if the truth could ever justify the uttering, could never have rendered any one amenable to punishment."

Samuel Shepard, H. U. 1658, was ordained pastor of the church at Rowley, 15 November, 1665, Phillips continuing to be teacher. Shepard having died 7 April, 1668, Edward Payson, H. U. 1677, was ordained teacher 25 October, 1682, Phillips taking the office of pastor, in which he continued fourteen years, till his death at Rowley, 22 April, 1696, at the age of about seventy-one, after a ministry of forty-five years, at which time the office of teacher in the church seems to have ceased. During the last thirty years of his life, "*ninety-three* persons were added to the church; *fifty-four* of them in four several years, viz. in 1669, 1684, 1685, and 1695."

Phillips was married in the autumn after his ordination. "Att the request of M^r Phillipps, of Rowley, who hath been published accordinge to law, M^r W^m Hubbard, of Ipswich, in the absence of a magist^r, is [by the General Court, at its session 14 October, 1651] hereby empowered to marry him." His wife, Sarah, who died 15 July, 1714, aged eighty-six, having outlived him more than eighteen years, was daughter of "Mr." Samuel and Mary (Everhard) Appleton.

In November, 1839, "Hon. Jonathan Phillips, of Boston, a descendant in the sixth generation," placed over their remains "a chaste and handsome marble monument," bearing an inscription which is printed by Gage.

Of their children were George Phillips, H. U. 1686, of Brookhaven, Long Island, and Elizabeth Phillips, who married Edward Payson, H. U. 1677. Samuel Phillips, H. U. 1708, minister at Andover; Samuel Phillips,

H. U. 1734, one of the founders of Phillips Academy at Andover; John Phillips, H. U. 1735, who, besides contributing bountifully to the academy at Andover, was the founder of Phillips Exeter Academy; Samuel Phillips, H. U. 1771, and William Phillips, Lieutenant-Governors of Massachusetts; John Phillips, President of the Senate of Massachusetts and first Mayor of Boston; Wendell Phillips, H. U. 1832; besides many other eminent men, both in the male and female line, trace back their genealogy to the worthy minister of Rowley.

According to Whitman, Phillips preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1675, but according to Felt, who gives the text, the subject, and extracts, the sermon that year was preached by John Richardson. In the Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County, Massachusetts, it is stated that Phillips "was known publicly, by a Sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, in 1679"; but Whitman says the sermon that year was preached by Edward Bulkley, of Concord. In 1678 Phillips preached the Massachusetts Annual Election Sermon.

In 1684, during Governor Cranfield's administration in New Hampshire, he preached at Portsmouth "two Lord's days, viz. 13 and 20th" April, to the church and society of Joshua Moody, H. U. 1653, they "having been nine Lord's days without a sermon," while Moody was in prison and prohibited from officiating.

WORKS.

1. Letters in J. Coffin's History of Newbury, pp. 103-109.
2. "A small [Poetical] Contribution to the Memorial" of Phillips, written by Payson, his colleague, son-in-law, and successor, is printed in Gage's History.

AUTHORITIES. — American Quarterly Register, xiii. 10. J. Belknap, History of New Hampshire, Farmer's ed., 485. H. Bond, Family Memorials, 404, 872-886. Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Essex County, Mass., 367-369. J. Farmer, Genealogical Reg., 225; and American Quarterly Register, viii. 340. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 567; and in American Quart. Reg., vii. 253. T. Gage, Hist. of Rowley, 16, 67-74. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 29. Massachusetts Bay Records, iii. 249; v. 233. I. A. Jewett, Memorial of Samuel Appleton, of Ipswich, etc., 22. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxv. 26-28. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 82, 84. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 78; vi. 76. W. Phillips, Letter, 1850, July, containing a manuscript genealogy. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 414; iv. 474. J. L. Taylor, Memoir of Samuel Phillips, 5, 338. E. Washburn, Judicial History of Massachusetts, 101. Z. G. Whitman, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 197, 212. B. B. Wisner Sermon on W. Phillips, 37.

LEONARD HOAR.

Born about 1630, died 1675, aged 45.

REV. LEONARD HOAR, B. A., M. D., third President of Harvard College, and successor of Charles Chauncy, held the office earlier than any other graduate.

There is a tradition that his father was a wealthy London banker, who died soon after arriving at Boston; but, as nothing can be found respecting him, it is more probable that he never crossed the Atlantic, and that Leonard, with two brothers, John and Daniel, and two sisters, Margery and Joanna, came to New England with their mother, Joanna, who died at Braintree, Massachusetts, 21 December, 1664.

After graduating, Leonard Hoar continued at the College till the autumn of 1651; silver, wheat, malt, butter, and "a younge stearre," being among the items put to his credit in the Steward's accounts.

In 1653 he "travelled over into *England*," where he

was "a Preacher of the Gospel in divers Places." Oldmixon says he was "beneficed at *Wanstead* in *Essex*, I suppose by the Presentation or Interest of Sir *Henry Mildmay*, then Lord of that Manor, which he held in Right of his Wife, Daughter of Sir *Leonard Holyday*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and born in *Gloucestershire*, as was this Dr. *Hoar*, and perhaps a Relation as well as Namesake. He was turned out at *Wanstead* by the *Uniformity Act*," in 1662.

March 27, 1661, while Hoar was settled at *Wanstead*, and before he could have anticipated an appointment to the Presidency, he wrote to his nephew, Josiah Flint, H. U. 1664, then in the Freshman class, a letter, which discloses more of his character and views of duty, and foreshadows more of what he would be likely to do as President, than can be derived from all other sources.

After upbraiding Flint in very severe language for remissness, he says: "By all things that you can either revere or desire, I adjure you, that you do not emulate those unhappy youths, that reckon it a high point of their wisdom to elude the expectations of their friends, for a little while; whereby they indeed not only delude, but destroy themselves for ever.

"Your account of the course of your studies, as now ordered, under the worthy Mr. Chauncy, is far short of my desire." You should not "content yourself with doing that only, which you are tasked to; nor to do that merely as much as needs must, and is expected of you; but daily something more than your task: and that task, also, something better than ordinary. Thus, when the classes study only logick or nature, you may spend some one or two spare hours in languages, rhetorick, history, or mathematics, or the like. And when they recite only the text of an author, read you some other of the same subject, or some commentator upon it, at

the same time. Also, in your accustomed disputations, do not satisfy yourself only to thieve an argument, but study the question before hand, and, if possible, draw, in a book on purpose, a summary of the arguments and answers on all hands; unto which you may briefly subjoin any thing choice and accurate, which you have heard in the hall, upon the debate of it in public.

“Nextly. As you must read much, that your head may be stored with notion, so you must be free and much in all kinds of discourse of what you read, that your tongue may be apt to a good expression of what you do understand. And further; of most things you must write too; whereby you may render yourself exact in judging of what you hear or read; and faithful in remembering of what you once have known. Touching your writing, . . . let it not be in loose papers . . . nor in a fortuitous vagrant way; but in distinct” paper “books, designed for every several purpose, and the heads of all, wrote aforehand, in every page, with intermediate spaces left (as well as you can guess) proportionable to the matter they are like to contain.”

“As to the authors you should distil into your paper books in general; let them not be such as are already methodical, concise, and pithy as possible; for it would be but to transcribe them. . . . But let them be such as are voluminous, intricate, and more jejune; or else those tractabuli, that touch only on some smaller tendrills of any science; especially, if they be books that you do only borrow, or hire, to read. By this mean I have kept my library in a little compass, (scarce yet having more books than myself can carry in my arms at once, my paper books only excepted) and yet I have not quite lost any thing, that did occur in my multifarious wandering readings. Were a man sure of a stable abode in a place for the whole time of his life, and had an

estate also to expend, then, indeed, the books themselves in specie were the better way, and only an index to be made of them all."

"One paper book more add," for "such fragments as shall occur . . . to you by the by, in your reading, and would for most part be lost, if not thus laid up."

"Be forward and frequent in the use of all those things which you have read, and which you have collected; judiciously moulding them up with others of your own fancy and memory, according to the proposed occasions; whether it be in the penning of epistles, orations, theses or antitheses, or determinations upon a question, analysis of any part of an author, or imitations of him, *per modum geneseos*. For so much only have you profited in your studies, as you are able to do these. — And all the contemplations and collections, in the world, will but only fit you for these. It is practice, and only your own practice, that will be able to perfect you. My charge of your choice of company, I need not inculcate; nor I hope that for your constant use of the Latin tongue in all your converse together, and that in the purest phrase of Terence and Erasmus. Music I had almost forgot. I suspect you seek it both too soon and too much. This be assured of, that if you be not excellent at it, it is nothing at all; and if you be excellent, it will take up so much of your time and mind, that you will be worth little else. And when all that excellence is attained, your acqurest will prove little or nothing of real profit to you, unless you intend to take up the trade of fiddling."

"I shall add but one thing more, for a conclusion; but that the crown and perfection of all the rest, which only can make all your endeavours successful and your end blessed. And that is something of the daily practice of piety, and the study of the true and highest

wisdom. And for God's sake, and your own both present and eternal welfare's sake, let me not only intreat, but enjoin and obtain of you that you do not neglect it: no, not a day. For it must be constancy, constancy, as well as labour, that completes any such work. And if you will take me for an admonitor, do it thus: Read every morning a chapter in the old testament, and every evening, one in the new.... And as you read, note lightly with your pen in the margin the several places of remark.... Secondly, out of these... sentences cull one or two for to expatiate upon in your own thoughts, half a quarter of an hour, by way of meditation. There use your rhetorick, your utmost ratiocination, or rather your sanctified affections, love, faith, fear, hope, joy, &c.... Those two being premised, close with prayer; for this I prescribe, not whether it should be lingual or mental, longer or briefer, only let it, as well as its preparatives, be most solemn and secret.... Do but seriously try these three last things for some good while; and reckon me a liar in all the rest, if you find not their most sensible sweet effects, yea, as that christian Seneca, Bishop Hall, said before one, so I boldly say again, do you curse me from your death-bed, if you do not reckon these among your best spent hours.

“Touching the other items about your studies, either mind them or mend them and follow better, so we shall be friends and rejoice in each other; but if you will neither, then, though I am no prophet, yet I will foretel you the certain issue of all, viz. that in a very few years be over, with inconceivable indignation you will call yourself fool and caitiff; and then, when it is to no purpose, me, what I now subscribe myself, your faithful friend and loving uncle.”

In 1671 Hoar received “the Degree of *A Doctor of Physick*” at the University of Cambridge, England.

“Upon some Invitations, relating to a Settlement, in the Pastoral Charge with the South Church at *Boston*,” “Hoar came over with his Lady,” and landing 8 July, 1672, sojourned with his kinsman, John Hull, mint-master, and “preached as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Thacher.”

He brought “To the Magistrates and Ministers in Massachusetts-Bay” a letter dated 5 February, 1671-2, from thirteen “dissenting Ministers in and about London,” friends of the Colony, and efficient agents in raising funds for a new college edifice, who, after alluding to the expected vacancy in the Presidency of the College, say: “We cannot find persons whose hearts God hath touched to goe over to you, in order to a supply of that expected losse; . . . yet, if our advice herein be worth attending to, we would suggest, that it having pleased God to stirre up the heart of our beloved friend Dr. Hoar to intend a voyage towards you by this shipping, we do suppose a speaking providence in it, and doe judge that God hath so farr furnished him with the gifts of learning and the grace of his spirit, as that if your judgments concurre with ours and his inclinations, . . . he may in some measure supply that want and help to make up this breach.”

One of these thirteen ministers, John Collins, H. U. 1649, of whom there is an account on pages 186-191, also wrote, 10 May, 1672, to Governor Leverett a “recommendation of . . . Dr. Hoar, who is in fellowship with us, and yet more yours than ours, through his ardent desire to serve God in what worke hee will allot to him in your parts, where hee hath had his education, which in the judgment of wiser men than myselfe is thought to bee in your colledge employment, to which hee is very well qualified in many things. I know whatever countenance or encouragement yourselfe can give

him or the magistracy he shall not want it, for I believe hee will deserve and continue so. to doe."

Hull says Hoar was "sent for by the third church in Boston: but, the President of the Colledge being dead, it was the earnest desire of the ministers and magistrates that they would spare him for that work; and, upon Nov. 15, they did yield him up to that service."

According to Cotton Mather, "Quickly after his Arrival here, his Invitation to *Præside* over the Colledge at *Cambridge*, superseded those from the Church in *Boston*." "The Fellows of the Colledge with the Approbation of the Overseers, *July* 13. 1672. elected Mr. *Leonard Hoar*, unto that Office."

October 8, 1672, the General Court added fifty pounds to the one hundred usually granted for the President's salary, "provided Doctor Hoare be the man for a supply of that place, nowe vacant, & that he accept thereof." Moreover, "In ans^r to a proposall made by Dr Hoare, . . . for the better repaire necessary to be donne to his lodging, by addition of a kitchen, &c, & making of fences for orchards & gardens, meet for such a place & society, it is by this Court comitted to the care & prudence of the sajd doctor to effect what yet is necessary to be donn therein; and the sajd doctor is ordered to take of the moneys now to be brought in for the reëdifying the buildings of the sajd colledge, and to take of such materials as shallbe brought to the place, not exceeding three hundred pounds."

At the same time, probably in conformity with Hoar's wishes, the General Court granted to the Colledge a new charter, by which, among several changes, the "Corporation, or any three of them, the præside being one, in all crimes by the lawes of this country punishable by one magistrate, shall haue the ffull power of sconsing, fineing, or otherwise correcting all inferiour officers or

members to the said society belonging, as the lawes of the country provide in such cases, or the lawes of the colledge not repugnant vnto them; and for that end any of the said corporation shall and heereby haue power personally, wth such ayde of the society as they shall thinke meete, taking the constable along wth them, to enter into any houses licenced for publicke enterteynment where they shall be informed, or may be suspicious, of any enormitjes to be plotting or acting by any members of their society." This charter, however, never went into effect.

With very flattering prospects of success, Hoar "was installed in the College Hall [10] December 1672. Gov. Bellingham lay dead in his House, and Dep. Gov. Leverett was the Chief Civil Magistrat present at that Solemnity."

January 20, 1672-3, "The Overseers ordered the Treasurer to pay to Dr Leonard Hoar one hundred pounds towards his transportation from England hither."

Only a few months had passed, however, when Hull wrote: "Some troubles this summer arose in the College, so that Dr. Leonard Hoar, their new president, who was last year highly courted to accept the place, was now by some wished out of it again. I cannot say there was any apparent cause for it, more than that God seems to threaten to make division in all orders our punishment, as we too readily do make them our sin." "26th, 12th [1673-4]. Difficulties began again in the College. Overseers meet." "1674, 2d, 1st. Committee meet at Cambridge."

July 16, 1674, Increase Mather writes: "Cotton having received some discouragement at the college by reason that some of the scholars threatened him, &c. as apprehending that he had told me of their miscarriages, he returned home to me."

August 24, 1674, Governor Leverett writes to Collins: "For the busines of the colledg with us wee have cause to be humbled, that through animosityes wee should cause discouragement to those at so great distance that wish us well, that they are hindred in their freedom in the forwarding of that worke, I must freely say it to you I see not the reason, but that a perverse spirit seems to be our judgment. The Lord humble us in the sence of it; yet I hope we are groweing over it. The Doctor's opposers loose ground, and I hope the worke will yet be carryed an end. The not effecting the disappointment of the last commencement, and the Lord's helping the Doctor in that act to pass with general acceptance gives some hopes that he may gett over the check given him in his beginning, which may make him more cautious for time to come; who is, I doubt, not so cautious in his comeing off from former engagement as he ought before he enters upon new; his not concerneing you in his relateing himselfe in church fellowship here, I cannot looke at as independently congregacionall, I mean in a good sence. I have not had opportunity to speake to him, but intend it; he hath lately had an ague and since a flux, but in a hopeful way of recovery."

Collins wrote back to the Governor, 19 March, 1674-5: "For Dr. Hoare's concerne as to the colledge, I am very sorry that matters are soe ill that nothing can heal that breach but his laying downe, and more that hee should put the overseers to the utmost wayting for it, which I think very little prudence in him; by comparing report with report, letter with letter, I am almost confounded in makeing a judgment of this matter; some soe severe as to lay all the blame on him and that not only of unmeetness for the place but severall moral miscarriages; others again wholly in charging

one Mr. Graves and others of the fellows, and adding the emulation of several expecting the preferment; yourse, with others most judicious, parting it betwixt both. I chuse the medium to judge by; onely methinks a passage in your letter, more direct against him than any thing formerly, doth a little startle mee, at least soe far as to beg, in your next, a true account of it, namely his want of truth in words."

At the session 7 October, 1674, the General Court, "by good information, vnderstanding that, notwithstanding all former endeavo's, the colledge yet remajnes in a languishing & decaying condition," orders all persons concerned to appear before them, and the secretary to summon "the præident, & former and present fellowes, graduate & student, that were then in the colledg, whither resident or non resident," and desires the attendance of the Overseers, that "this Court may, if possible, take further effectuall course for y^e revivall of that great worke, and its future flourishing & establishment amongst us.

"After the Court had a full hearing of both the docto^r, y^e præident, fellowes, and seuerall students, . . . the president, vpon his oune voluntary motion, in consideration of the paucity of schollars, doth freely lay doune fifty pounds of his sallery, & rests satisfied in one hundred pounds money p annū. Vpon the same consideration of fewness of schollars, this Court doeth judge meet to dismisse all the officers of sallery, vntill Court and overseers take further order; that the præident continue his place vntill next Election Court; in the meane time, the reuerend ouerseers are intreated to vse vtmost endeavo's for remooveall of all obstructions therein against the sajd Courts session, when, if the colledge be found in the same languishing condition, the president is concluded to be dismissed wthout further hearing of the case."

According to Increase Mather's Diary, 13 October, "The issue" of the hearing "was that the Deputies voted to dismiss the President from his place; the Magistrates not so fully assenting it was voted," etc., as in the preceding extract from the records.

Hull says, "At this General Court, the President of the College was charged as formerly, but with more vehemency, as the only hinderer of the college welfare; when, as by most indifferent hearers of the case, it was thought, that, would those that accused him had but countenanced and encouraged him in his work, he would have proved the best president that ever yet the college had."

Sewall writes, 16 October: "By Mr. Richardson's means I was called upon to speak. Y^e summe of my speech was, y^t the causes of the lownes of the colledge were external as well as internal."

November 15, the scholars, encouraged by the opposition, and by the action of the General Court, all but three whose friends lived in Cambridge, left the College.

Cotton Mather, who was an undergraduate at the time, says: "Considered either as a *Scholar*, or as a *Christian*," Hoar "was truly a *Worthy Man*; and he was generally reputed such, until happening, I can scarce tell *how*, to fall under the Displeasure of *some* that made a Figure in the Neighbourhood, the *Young Men* in the Colledge, took Advantage therefrom, to ruine his Reputation, as far as they were able. . . . The *young Plants* turned *Cud-weeds*, and . . . set themselves to *Travestie* whatever he *did* and *said*, and aggravate everything in his Behaviour disagreeable to them, with a Design to make him *Odious*; and in a *Day of Temptation*, which was now upon them, several very *Good Men* did unhappily countenance the *Ungoverned Youths*, in their Ungovernableness. Things

were at length driven to such a pass, that the Students deserted the *Colledge*, and the *Doctor* . . . resigned his Præsidentship."

As Quincy says, "There is a studied obscurity thrown over the defects, if there were really any, in the character of Dr. Hoar." Commenting on expressions in the preceding citation, he observes: "It is not difficult, from the records of the College, to gather to whom Cotton Mather here alludes; and it is due to the memory of Dr. Hoar to say, that the conduct of 'those good men, who made a figure in that neighbourhood,' and thus encouraged the discontented youth, greatly exceeded, in dereliction of incumbent duty, any thing that appears, or was ever suggested, against him."

His election to the Presidency, "it was asserted at the time, had occasioned a disappointment to '*the emulation of some expecting the preferment.*' This, probably, is the clue to all the difficulties which assailed and overcame President Hoar. . . . A year had not elapsed before the students began '*to strive to make him odious.*' In the midst of these difficulties, Urian Oakes [H. U. 1649], Thomas Shepard [H. U. 1653], Joseph Brown [H. U. 1666], and John Richardson [H. U. 1666], members of the Corporation, all resigned their seats at that Board,¹

¹ According to a manuscript, of comparatively modern date, in the first volume of the Harvard College Papers, "In 1673 wⁿ y^e difficulties of y^e Coll: in M^r Hoar's time were coming on, for help thereof it was propounded by y^e Overseers y^t there might be Fellows chosen to Supply y^e Stud^{ts} wth Tutors. Accordingly M^r Dan^l Gookin, M^r Dan^l Russell, & M^r Joseph Taylor, being Nominated & proposed by the Corp: were chosen Fellows.

"And upon it M^r Urian Oaks, M^r Tho: Shepard, M^r Joseph Brown, &

M^r Jn^o Richardson, declared y^t they resign'd up their places of Fellows in y^e Coll:

"Wⁿ by reason of those difficulties M^r Russell, & M^r Taylor declin'd y^e business of y^e Coll: y^e Overseers did indeed desire y^t M^r Oaks, & M^r Shepard would continue to Assist in y^e business of y^e Coll: as Fellows, but upon D^r Hoars Death, M^r Oaks was made Presid^t & wⁿ M^r Shepard dyed in 1677 y^e Overseers recommended it to y^e Corp: to choose a Fellow y^t might be resid^t & officiate, on y^e place, w^{ch} they did."

leaving it without a constitutional majority, and with no *quorum* to act, and the President without support. They all fall within the description of '*good men, who made a figure in that neighbourhood, and who, in a day of temptation, encouraged*' the contumacious. Whether emulation, or hope of preferment, had any influence in this course of conduct, must be a matter of inference. It is certain, that no conduct of Dr. Hoar could justify, or even apologize, for such a resignation of a majority of the Corporation in the actual state of disorderly combination in the College. Their resignation occasioned an alarm in the Board of Overseers; who petitioned them to continue, or at least assist at the meetings of the Corporation, and finally warned the remaining members, that, unless their numbers were filled up, they would endanger their charter privileges. Oakes, Shepard, and the rest persisted in their resignation. The Corporation reëlect Oakes and Shepard, and they persist in not accepting the trust, until the 15th of March 1675. On this day, Dr. Hoar sent in his resignation of the presidency. On the same day, Oakes and Shepard took their seats as members of the Corporation, and the seat Dr. Hoar had quitted was given to the Rev. Mr. Oakes. . . . Being importuned to accept the presidency, he refused, but took the superintendence of the College, with the rank and duties of President, which he held four years."

Oakes, "being settled in Cambridge, and a fellow of the Corporation, before the arrival of Dr. Hoar, and possessing qualities suited to the appointment, had probably ingratiated himself with the students and with persons of influence in the immediate vicinity of the College, and had been regarded by them as the natural successor of President Chauncy; an expectation which it is not unlikely his own heart fostered. The strong

recommendations brought by Dr. Hoar, and the efficient declaration in his favor by the General Court, in a manner compelled his election. The event disappointed both the students and Mr. Oakes, and led the former . . . to 'turn cudweeds and travestie whatever he did and said, with a design to make him odious,' and the latter to countenance these proceedings, by relinquishing his seat in the Corporation until Dr. Hoar had resigned. 'The emulation of some seeking the preferment,' to which Mather attributes the difficulties of Hoar, is applicable to no one except Oakes."

Quincy dwells long on this view of the origin and progress of Hoar's troubles, attaching to it more importance than it seems to deserve, without even alluding to Thomas Graves, H. U. 1656, who also has been supposed to have been Hoar's rival. The part taken by Oakes has already been noticed, on pages 178-180.¹

¹ The following extracts, now printed for the first time, are chiefly from Belknap's copy of the Diary of Increase Mather, who, 11 March, 1674-5, in the midst of the difficulties, "did by the unanimous desire of the Overseers of the College then assembled accept of a fellowship."

March 15, 1675, The Overseers of the College "with the Corporation desired Mr. Oakes to be President *pro tempore* till after the Commencements."

April 19, "We restored the salary officers of the College to places again."

"April 26, 1675, The Corporation met at Cambridge to consider about choosing fellow, &c. Mr. Richards & I voted for Mr. Corlet, Mr. Oakes, Mr. Shepard & Thacher voted for Mr. S. Danforth, Mr. Gookin was neuter. I told the Corporation that

Mr. Danforth would meet with opposition among the Overseers because of his subscribing against the former President, & I thought it was no prudence to revive those matters, but studiously to avoid temptations of that. But Mr. Shepard's spirit was raised, and he said that now he was resolved more for Mr. D. and against Mr. C. than before. And if the Overseers did object that against him he would take that as to himself. Mr. Oakes also said, that except the Overseers would declare an absolute amnesty as to what was done against the former president he would not accept of the Presidentship *pro temp.*, & so he desired there might be an Overseers meeting to clear that matter.

"At night I went to the Governor's & acquainted him with proceedings & mentioned that of another Over-

What Quincy regards as "the clue to all the difficulties" was no doubt an important element in them. So also was Hoar's act in joining a church in Boston before receiving a dismissal and recommendation from the one to which he belonged in England.

There is, however, another view of this subject, which does not appear to have received the consideration it may deserve.

It is obvious from the letter to Flint, which has been

seers meeting. He was not free that there should be any meeting before the General Court.

"I desired of the Corporation that the scholars might have their studies as formerly, viz., that they might have them who last possessed them, but it was objected that that would be to put more respect upon those scholars that continued in the College till the last than upon those who opposed the Dr., &c., and so it would not be granted, except my urgency did cause a concession, but I was not willing that it should be on my account, & said that I would not urge it only propound it.

"By these (in my weake judgment) wilful and selfish motives the hopes of the College's reviving are at present dashed. It may be the sin for which this desolation is come upon the College is not seen & lamented as ought to be & so the Lord is pleased to frown still. I believe that the violence of the Conduct is one special cause of this Calamity but (Mr. Oakes &c.) better men than myself will not believe that there is such guilt."

"Sept. 30 [1675]. The Overseers meet to consider of the state of the College. It was a very uncomfortable meeting. Sad hearts and reflections. This time the Lord kept me that I

did not speak one passionate word (that I remember) but expressed my dissatisfaction in some particulars (especially that of abusing freshmen as they come into the college) modestly and lovingly. Yet Mr. T. [Thacher?] did strangely turn upon me (though none heard but myself what he said) that he wondered at my great against his son. I asked him what he meant, told him he was & in a passion & grieved the spirit of God by such words.

"At evening I went to his house to know what he intended, he told me these words were suddenly spoken, he was sorry for them, &c., only he was troubled that I had deprived his son of two of his pupils. I told him I had only taken my own son, & gave my reasons for it, at which he seemed to think I had just cause for what I did.

"Ah poor N. E. thou art sick in the head and in the heart and not like to live long."

May not one of the elements in Hoar's difficulties have been a determination to put an end to the "abusing Freshmen," which is mentioned by Mather, whose son, Cotton Mather, had been driven from College by intimidation?

cited, that Hoar's standard of scholarship was very high, and that the spirit with which he administered censures would be far from conciliatory. Flattered by an invitation to a settlement in Boston, and by his reception on arriving there from London, elated by his speedy and enthusiastic election to the Presidency, with self-assurance increased by prompt concessions to his constant demands, fortified by additional privileges and powers conferred by a new charter, the community apparently ready to co-operate in every measure proposed by him, he undoubtedly entered upon his duties with the conscientious determination to bring the College up to his very high idea of what it ought to be. Urging his views with pertinacity, and thoroughly convinced he was right, he would naturally with the students be very strict and exacting, while he would not be likely to yield graciously to his comparatively young associates in office when they differed from him, and might be overbearing and rough when they opposed him. Herein, perhaps, lay the cause of his failure. Officers indignant and averse to associating with a man disinclined to regard their opinions, and students humbled and smarting under corporal punishment inflicted by the prison-keeper at the instance of the College Government, would be likely to make common cause against the administration. As soon as the tide of his popularity began to ebb, it would take with it not only the disaffected, but all who felt that the College could never flourish while a man towards whom there was a general, bitter, and apparently irreconcilable hostility was at the head of it, and that the only remedy was to bring to an end a presidency, from which the incumbent, conscious of being ill-treated, and stung with mortification, seems to have been very unwilling to retire. Even his friend Collins, as mentioned on page 188, when he heard of

the "concussions . . . at the colledge," endeavored to restrict to the most literal interpretation the language of the letters which Hoar brought from England, and to neutralize their effect by adding: "I hope that noe recommendation of ours will cause you to continue him, if you find him unfitt; better hee suffer than the glory of the college bee mined."

Eliot, in speaking of the beginning of the difficulties, says: "It is left quite uncertain . . . to what all this uneasiness is to be ascribed. One can hardly avoid the suspicion, that some part of it must be attributed to a feeling of rivalry; and yet it may easily have been the case that Dr. Hoar was one of those not uncommon persons, who, though excellent, and even wise, in many relations, have yet mistaken their vocation; and thus that the dissatisfaction was justified by his unfitness, in some respect or other, for the place he had assumed."

"But the *Hard and Ill Usage*," says Mather, which Hoar "met withal made so deep an Impression upon his Mind, that his Grief threw him into a *Consumption*, whereof he dyed *Novem. 28. [1675]* the Winter following [his resignation of the Presidency], in *Boston*; and he lies now interr'd at *Braintree*."

The history of Hoar's wife and her relations is not less remarkable than his own. He married Bridget, daughter of John Lisle, the regicide, a lawyer of distinction, who enjoyed great favor and authority under Cromwell, by whom he was made one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal. At the Restoration his property was confiscated, and he fled to Lausanne, where, as he was going to church, he was assassinated by three Irish ruffians, who hoped by this service to make their fortunes.

Hoar's wife's mother, the widow Alice or Alicia Lisle,

was arraigned before Jeffries on the charge of high treason, for receiving into her house, from motives of humanity, a lawyer and a clergyman who were suspected of having been concerned in Monmouth's Insurrection. She was about seventy years old, and so feeble as to fall asleep from exhaustion during the trial, but was nevertheless denied the aid of counsel, treated brutally by Jeffries, convicted, and sentenced, 28 August, 1685, "to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution" and "to be burnt alive" the same afternoon. The execution, however, was deferred till 2 September, when, upon her petition, it was "altered from burning to beheading," and the head and body were delivered "to her relatives to be privately and decently interred." A long account of her trial and cruel treatment, together with her defence and dying speech, is contained in the State Trials, xi. 298-382. In the first year of William and Mary, upon the petition of her daughters, Tryphena Lloyd and Bridget Usher, the conviction, judgment, and attainder of Alicia Lisle were repealed and reversed.

November 29, 1676, Hoar's widow married Hezekiah Usher, of Boston, merchant. The connection was not a happy one. She left him, and with her daughter Bridget sailed for England, where she remained till after his death at Lynn, 11 July, 1697. Sewall writes: "1687, Tuesday, July 12. I go to Mr. Usher's about 5. mane. . . . About 7 or Eight we goe on Board, the Ship being under Sail, Go with them to Alderton's Point. Mr. Usher wept at taking leave of 's Wife and Daughter. Before went from Mr. Usher's, Mr. Moodey went to Prayer in behalf of those going to sea, & those staying behind in a very heavenly mañer." But in Usher's will, dated at Nonacowcos Farme, 17 August, 1689, and published in *The Historical Magazine*, the language in relation to his wife is almost savage, and he cuts her off from all his property except "what the law doth allow."

Wadsworth says: "I never heard to the contrary, but that from her Youth up, her Life was Sober, Virtuous, Religious. Ever since I have known her (which has been many Years) she has had (and I think justly) the Character of an holy, blameless, close Walker with God. She was firm and stedfast in the Faith, even to the end. She so walked, as to adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour. She was watchful not only over her *Actions*, but over her *Words* too; far from that *backbiting, reviling* temper, which too shamefully and commonly appears in many. . . . She was a wonderful Example of Christian *Patience* under great Pains and Bodily Afflictions. . . . Her great Sollicitude was (as appear'd from Discourse and Conference) to *be a Christian indeed*, to have *Faith Unfeigned*, to have Integrity and Uprightness of Soul *before God that trieth the Hearts*."

When Increase Mather lost a part of his library by fire in 1676, she requested him "to take what he Pleased from the Library of her Deceased Husband," Doctor Hoar. Among the Mather manuscripts I have seen a catalogue of the books which "by y^e great bounty of Madam Usher" he selected.

She died at Boston on Saturday, 25 May, 1723, writes Sewall, "after about a fortnight's Indisposition; & according to her express desire was Interr'd at Braintry May 30th in the Grave of D^r Leonard Hoar her first Husband, and her youngest Daughter Tryphena, & The Doc^{tr}s Mother & Sisters. The Corps was attended about half a mile in y^e Streets leading thitherward by the Bearers being the Honb^{le} W^m Dummer, Esq^r L^t Gov^r & Comd^r in Cheif, Sam^l Sewall, Penn Townsend, Edward Bromfield, Simeon Stoddard, Edmund Quincey Esq^{rs} & many other principal Gentlemen & Gentlewomen of y^e Town M^r Leonard Cotton being the principal Mourner — It pleased God to afford us a very

comfortable day for the Solemnity, wherein the Executors Col^o Quincey, M^r Flynt & other Gent. with several Gentlewomen of her cheif Acquaintance proceeded to Brantry on Horse back & in Coaches. The Distance is very little above ten Miles.”

“Epitaph wrote for the Tomb of
Leonard Hoar, Doctour of
Phisicke who departed this life
In Boston the 28 November,
Was interred here the 6 December
And was aged 45 years,
Anno Dom, 1675.

“Three precious friends under this tomb-stone lie,
Patterns to aged, youth, and infancy.
A great mother, her learned son, with child ;
The first and least went free, he was exil'd.
In love to Christ, this country, and dear friends
He left his own, cross'd seas, and for amends,
Was here extoll'd, envy'd, all in a breath,
His noble consort leaves, is drawn to death.
Strange changes may befall us ere we die,
Blest they who well arrive eternity.
God grant some names, O thou New-England's friend,
Don't sooner fade than thine, if times don't mend.”

S. Deane gives the following abstract of Hoar's will, dated 1675: “To daughter Bridget 200£ at 21, or marriage with her mother's consent. To my brother Daniel, whose zeal and perpetual kindness I can never remunerate, my stone signet and my watch. To my dear brother John a black suit. To my dear sisters Flint and Quinsey, each a black serge gown. To cousin Josiah Flint, out of my Library, Rouanelli [Ravanelli] Bibliotheca. To my cousin Noah Newman, Aquinas' Sermons, and to them both the use of any books and manuscripts of mine on Divinity, they giving a note to

return them on demand. My medical writings to my wife's custody, till some of my kindred addicted to those studies, shall desire them, and especially John Hoar's or any other of my brothers' or sisters' sons or grandsons."

According to the Boston News Letter, "after some Legacies to her Grand Children and others," Mrs. Hoar (at her decease Mrs. Usher) "bequeathed the Residue of her Estate to Mrs. *Bridget Cotton*, Wife of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Cotton*, of *London*, being the Daughter and Heir" of Doctor Leonard Hoar, and born at Cambridge, 13 March, 1673. She was married to Cotton, 21 June, 1689. To this marriage, and to the husband's acquaintance with Colman, H. U. 1692, when in England, is probably to be traced the interest felt by Cotton in the College. In 1724, with the prospect that Colman would accept the office of President, he sent one hundred pounds sterling to augment the President's salary, and three hundred pounds more for books or charity; and in 1726 he added another hundred pounds sterling from himself and his wife Bridget, the daughter of the persecuted Hoar, directing that the income of it should be appropriated to the augmentation of the President's salary.

WORKS.

1. Letter to Josiah Flint, March 27, 1661. Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 100-108.
2. Index Biblicus: | Or, | The Historical Books | of the Holy | Scripture | Abridged. | With each Book, Chapter, and Sum | of diverse matter Distinguished. | And a Chronology to every eminent Epocha | of Time Superadded. | With an Harmony of the Four Evan- | gelists: and a Table thereunto. | A singular help for all Persons of what age, | rank, or ability soever; for their better knowledge, | remembrance, and observation: of that only sure, | and perfect Fountain of Divine Light: Rule of | Christian Life: & Foundation of Everlasting Hope. || London. Printed by Thomas

Leach. 1668. 12mo. Pp. (71) without being numbered. Anonymous. *P.*

The same. London. 1669. 12mo. pp. 71. *P.*

Apparently, with the exception of the title-page, identical with the preceding. A copy in the Prince Library has the pages bordered with ruled red lines, contains in manuscript "For my very valued freind & kinsman Mr John Hull, at Boston in New England," and has "I. H." stamped in gilt letters on the sides. At the end "Mary Sewall" is written twice.

This work was afterward published with the title: —

Index Biblicus Multijugus: | Or, | A Table | to the | Holy Scripture: | Wherein each of its Books, Chapters, and | divers matters are distinguished | and epitomised. | Together with some eminent Synchronisms, | Parallelisms, Reconciliations of places seemingly contradictory, Comparations of Prophecies, and their fulfillings, a Chronology to | every eminent Epocha of time, and a Harmony | of the Evangelists, with a Table referring each | verse in them to its due place in the Harmony, &c. | All which, and their respective uses, are explained | in the Epistle to the Reader. || The Second Edition Corrected and Enlarged. London. Printed for John Wilkins. 1672. sq. 8vo. or 16to. pp. (12), 144, 54, (34). Under the L. H. at the end of the Dedication, Thomas Prince wrote "Leonard Hoar." *P.*

3. The first of the series of catalogues which, since 1700, has, with perhaps a single exception, appeared every three years, and is familiarly called the Triennial, was published in 1674, while Hoar was President. The only copy known to exist was found in 1842 by James Savage, H. U. 1803, in the State-Paper Office in London, and has been printed in the Proceedings of the Historical Society of Massachusetts for October, 1864, page 11; a limited number of copies with a title-page being issued separately. It was undoubtedly prepared by Hoar. It is distinguished from modern Triennials by the absence of italics to designate ordained ministers, of stars designating deaths, and of obituary dates. The surnames as well as the Christian names are Latinized; and the Catalogue has, what does not appear in modern Triennials, a Dedication, somewhat like the dedications prefixed to the modern programmes for Commencement, but with this difference, that in the latter these dedications are by the members of the graduating classes, and in the former by the President.

“*JOHANNI LEVERETTO Armigero,*
MASSACHUSETTENSIS COLONIÆ GUBERNATORI :

Cæterisque Coloniarum Nov-Anglicæ gentis Dicæarchis Colendissimis ;
Ac Earundem Vice-Gubernatoribus & MAGISTRATIBUS ASSISTENTIBUS ;

Authoritate, Prudentia, & vera Religione non min's ornatis quam Honoratis Viris :
Et Collegii Harvardini Curatoribus Perbenignè Vigilantissimis,

Patronis & Benefactoribus Munificentissimis :

Nec Non

Omnibus Ecclesiarum Presbyteris, Doctrina, dignitate, & sincera Pie-
tate Meritissimè Reverendis :

Omnibus etiam in eodem Inelyto Lycao dextrè & fideliter Docentibus atque Regentibus
Hunc Sobolis Harvardinæ, per trium & triginta Annorum spatium ad Gradum aliquem
in Artibus admissæ Catalogum

Tanquam Memorialem & votivam Tabulam :

Honoris, Gratitudinis, & Amoris Erg'ò, Devotissimè Consecrat
L. H.”

At the end of the Catalogue are the following Latin verses, apparently prepared by Hoar for the occasion: —

“*E*N regis magni diploma insigne *Jacobi!*
 Quo data in *Hesperiiis*, terra colenda piis.
 Regum illustre decus, premat ut vestigia patris
Carolus innumeris regibus ortus avis,
 Supplicibus diploma novis dedit: unde Coloni
 Protenus arva colunt, & fata læta metunt.
 Sed neque cura minor juvenum cultura: & alumnis
 Musarum *Harvardi* est munere structa domus,
 Patroni, patres, & cum rectoribus almis,
 Curâ, consiliis, muneribusque fovent.
 Unde favente Deo, in sylvis Academia surgit;
 Heu quàm non similis matribus Anglicolis
 Non matrona potens, ut vos: sed sedula nutrix:
 Vivet in obsequiis matribus usque suis.
 Si nos amplecti, prolemque agnoscere vultis. [,]
 Quæ vestræ soboli gaudia! quantus honos!
 Pingitur his tabulis studiorum messis, honores
 Pro merito juvenum munere, more dati.
 Inter victrices lauros tibi *Carole* serpat,
 Quæ spica est segetis, quam tibi sevit Avus.
 Macti estote pii juvenes; atque edite fructus
 Condignos vestro semine, Rege, Deo.”

[The following translation, which is almost word for word, is furnished by a graduate, who has taken a special interest in the Catalogues : —

“Lo the famed charter of the great king *James!*
By which here in the *West* was given a land
To pious men, by their hands to be tilled.

Charles, too, bright honor of the royal name,
Descended from innumerable kings,
That he might press the footsteps of his sire
Another charter to new suppliants gave :
Hence do the Colonists go on to till
Their arable fields, and joyful reap their crops.

But the due culture of our rising youth,
The Muses' nurslings, is no less a care :
And, by the noble gift of *Harvard*, here
There has for them been built a fitting home ;
Patrons and fathers and kind governors
Foster it with care, with counsels, and with gifts.

Thus, by God's favor, rises in these woods
A young Academy. Ah ! how unlike
Her mothers, dwelling on the soil of England !
No powerful matron is she, such as ye ;
But yet, a faithful and a sedulous nurse,
She in all reverence towards you will live.
If you embrace us and your offspring own,
What joy, what honor, to your progeny !

Upon this tablet there is painted out
The gathered harvest of our studious youth,
Honors conferred as their deserved reward.

'Mong thy victorious laurels let there twine
This spike, O *Charles*, culled from the ripened growth
Of a fair field thy Grandsire sowed for thee.

*Go on, then, pious youth ; and bring forth fruits
Worthy your origin, your King, your God.”]*

4. The Sting of Death | and | Death Unstving | delivered in
two | Sermons | In which is shewed | The Misery of the Death
of those that dye in their Sins, & out | of Christ, and the Blessed-
ness of theirs that Dye in the Lord. | Preached on the occasion of
the Death of the truly noble and virtuous | The Lady Mildmay. |
— | By Leonard Hoar, M. D. | Sometime Preacher of Gods
Word in Wanstead. || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1680.

4to. Pp. (6) The Epistle Dedicatory to Mrs. Bridget Usher my ever honoured Aunt, signed Josiah Flint; and Text pp. 24. *M.*

In the Epistle Dedicatory of this sermon, which was printed after the author's death, Flint, having spoken of friends receiving deadly wounds in the house of their friends, says: "I am very sensible, in the Sufferings and Death of your deservedly honoured Companion, and guide of youth, there was that, which except God give your self, and all other friends, much Wisdom, and Grace to ballance their spirits, the Devil may improve it to work a Prejudice of spirit against the Civil Government, Churches, Schools of Learning, against the holy wayes, and the Servants and Saints of God."

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ISAAC ALLERTON.

Died after 1682 and before 1700.

ISAAC ALLERTON, B. A., born at Plymouth about 1630, was son of Isaac Allerton, the Pilgrim, who in 1620 came over in the Mayflower, and married in 1626, for his second wife, Elder William Brewster's daughter, Faith, who died in 1633, having probably had no other child but this son.

The leaf of the Steward's Account-Book containing the items charged against Allerton having been cut out, there is no way of definitely settling the question whether he was one of the many graduates who remained at the College after taking their degrees. But among the payments by him while an undergraduate, of which the records are preserved, are, "27-4-50" and "9-5-50," sums in silver, and "17-10-51 Pay^d by sack that he brought into the Colledge att his Commencement and was Chardged vpon the rest of the Commence^{rs} accordinge to ther Proportion £1. 8s."; and as this item, pertaining to the time when he graduated, is the last in the accounts, the probability is that his connection with the College terminated when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Except indirectly, in the record of the births of his children at New Haven, I find no further allusion to him till he appears in connection with the settlement of the estate of his father, who, having been engaged in commerce, in which he experienced many reverses, died insolvent, early in 1659, at New Haven. When the inventory was brought into Court, 5 April, 1659, it is recorded that the son "was now gone from home." July 5, having returned, he presented in person what

purported to be his father's will, it being "little else than a few hasty memoranda of debts due to him, which he desired his son Isaac, and his wife to receive and pay out to his creditors 'as far as it will go.'" This document, informal and without date, but sworn to by subscribing witnesses, mentions debts in Barbadoes, Delaware Bay, and in Virginia; and it would have been natural for the son to spend at least a part of the interval after his graduation at some of the places where his father was trading.

He "p̄fessed his discouragment to proceed in that trust" of settling the estate, and all that was said "p̄e-vailed not to hinder him fr̄o renouncing & refusing to vndertake the matter"; but he bought of the creditors "the dwelling house, orchard & barne, wth 2 acres of meadow," etc., and by deed dated 4 October, 1660, "not naming any place to which he belonged, or at which he was, at the time of executing the instrument," he alienated to "his 'mother-in-law, Mrs. Johanna Allerton, the house that she now dwells in at New Haven New England,' with all the furniture in it, and the lands and appurtenances belonging to it, and also some other personal property, to hold and enjoy during the term of her life, and afterwards to return into the possession of his daughter, Elizabeth Allerton and her heirs, and in case of her dying without issue, then to return to him, the first donor, and his heirs and executors, without intermission."

Hutchinson says the elder Isaac Allerton's "male posterity settled in Maryland." This is confirmed by a quotation made by Meade, that "John Lee, Henry Corbin, Thomas Gerrard, and Isaac Allerton, entered into a compact, dated 30th of March, 1670, (recorded 27th March, 1774 [1674?],) to build a banqueting-house at or near the corner of their respective lands."

Allerton's residence was in Northumberland County, or Northern Neck, in Virginia. He was living 10 March, 1682-3, as he on that day confirmed the deed to his mother-in-law, previously to which it had not been "authentically witnessed."

His daughter Elizabeth, born 27 September, 1653, was married, 23 December, 1675, to Benjamin Starr, who died in 1678, having had a son, Allerton Starr, born 6 January, 1676-7. The widow married, 22 July, 1679, Simon Heyers, afterwards written Eyre, and had Isaac Eyre, born 23 February, 1683-4. In May, 1684, "Elizabeth Eyre, formerly Elizabeth Allerton," conveys by deed to her "dear and loving husband, Simon Eyre," the reversion of a house, etc., which her "grandmother, Mrs. Johanna Allerton now dwells in." At the October session, 1696, the General Court of Connecticut authorized Elizabeth Eyre of New Haven "to make sale of a parcell of land about eight miles distant from the said town of Newhaven in a tract of land called the third division, which parcell of land descended to her by gift from her granmother, M^{rs} Allerton deceased."

The graduate had also a son Isaac, born 11 June, 1655. It is not improbable that this son, if he lived, accompanied his father, when he removed from New Haven, and that the daughter remained with her grandmother.

A Miss Allerton became the second wife of Hancock Lee, of Ditchley, who was seventh son of Richard Lee, of Northumberland County, the ancestor of the Lee family in Virginia. As the name Allerton is nowhere else to be met with in Virginia, there can hardly be a doubt that she was daughter of the graduate, and probably an ancestor of some of the Lees who are identified with the history of the country.

As the graduate is starred in Mather's *Magnalia*, he probably died before the end of the seventeenth century.

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JONATHAN INCE.

Died 1657.

JONATHAN INCE, M. A., was probably son of Jonathan Ince, an original proprietor of Hartford, Connecticut, who before 1640 removed to Boston, where he died.

After the son took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he continued at the College more than three years, during which he was regularly charged, like an undergraduate, for "Commones and Sizinges," "study rente," and "Lente towards the gallery," besides 13-10-50, "by Sacke^e allowed Sir allerton 2s. 4d."; the latest charge being "9-10-53."

The first recorded payment from him is "by his wages by his buttlershippe," an office which he appears to have held till December, 1652, or later. He is also credited, among other items, "by Admition of bred y^t was longe and mouldy," "by wrytinge sundry laws order^s and petitione^s for the Colledg," "by wrytting seuerall thinge^s for the Psedent for which he is debtior," "Payd for

mendinge a greatt Cann,” “A lowed him by making vp the Colledge accounts,” etc.; and subsequently to 9-4-54, “Payd by returne of his gallery 12s,” and “Payd by M^r Samuell hooker, £5 4s. 9d.”

The services here mentioned imply an early confidence in Ince’s integrity and capacity.

Though what he wrote may never be ascertained, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it consisted in part at least of the documents connected with the College Charter, which was granted the year he graduated.

In the mean time he was also employed in another responsible and very important trust.

June 1, 1652, “for the better discoũie of the north lyne” of the Massachusetts patent, “Cap^t Symon Willard,” one of the principal men in the Colony, “& Cap^t Edward Johnson,” of Woburn, author of “The Wonder-working Providence of Sion’s Saviour,” were appointed by the General Court “coĩmissioners to p^urcure such artists & other assistants as they shall judge meete to goe wth them, to finde out the most northerly p^te of Merimacke Riuer,” being instructed to “vse their vttmost skill and abillitie to take a true observation of the latitude of the place.” The expedition was carried through, at a cost of about eighty-five pounds, in nineteen days of the months of July and August, to the point now called The Weares, where about a hundred and seventy-five years afterward was discovered a rock “with its surface but little above the water, and about twenty feet in circumference, on which,” affording evidence of the survey, was an inscription, of which Carrigain has published a particular account.

The Commissioners, in their report made 19 October, 1652, state that they “procured Sarjeant John Sherman, of Water Toune, & Jonathan Ince, student at Harvard Colledge, as artists, to goe along wth them”; and Sherman and Ince, who appear to have done the scientific

work, "on their oathes say, that at Aquedahtan [Aquedahcan], the name of the head of Merremack, where it issues out of the lake called Winnapuscahit [Winnapusseahit], vppon the first day of August," they found by observation "that the lattitude of the place was fourty three degrees fourty minutes and twelve seconds, besides those minutes which are to be allowed for the three miles more north which runn into the lake." For this service Sherman and Ince were allowed "a daily stipend of ten shillings in the best pay of the country."

It was Ince's intention to become a permanent resident of New Haven; but in November, 1657, accompanied by Pelham and Davis, graduates in 1651, "he took his passage for England," says Gookin, "in the best of two ships then bound for London, whereof one James Garrett was master, . . . and was never heard of more."

October 8, before the sailing of the ship, the Apostle Eliot, according to Felt, wrote "to the Treasurer of the Missionary Corporation," recommending Ince "as a godly young man, a scholar who hath a singular faculty to learn and pronounce the Indian tongue," and desiring that on his return he may assist him in teaching the Indians.

Ince married, 12 December, 1654, Mary, daughter of Richard Miles, of New Haven, and had Jonathan, born 27 June, 1656. His widow, 22 October, 1661, became second wife of Thomas Hanford, and died 12 September, 1730.

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CLASS OF 1651.

Michael Wigglesworth,
Seaborn Cotton,
Thomas Dudley,
John Glover,
Henry Butler,

Nathaniel Pelham,
John Davis,
Isaac Chauncy,
Ichabod Chauncy,
Jonathan Burr.

MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

Born 1631, died 1705, aged 73.

REV. MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH,¹ M. A., of Malden, Massachusetts, son of Edward Wigglesworth, "was born" 18-28 October, 1631, in England, probably in

¹ John Ward Dean, in his elaborate Memoir of Wigglesworth, gives reasons for doubting "whether social position was adopted so early as this, at college, as the standard of rank at graduation. Among the classmates of young Wigglesworth were some whose parents evidently held a higher position in society than his. Thomas Dudley was a son of Rev. Samuel Dudley, and the grandson of two governors of the colony; Seaborn Cotton was a son of Rev. John Cotton, teacher of the first church in Boston; and Isaac and Ichabod Chauncy were sons of Rev. Charles Chauncy, afterwards presi-

dent of the college. Here are four students whose parents held positions of honor among the colonists and were descended from the gentry of England; and they are placed on the catalogue of the college below the son of one whose name on the *New Haven Colonial Records*, where it frequently occurs, is never found with the honorary prefix of 'Mr.' Is it likely that all these young men forfeited their rank by misconduct?"

The question, so far as Michael Wigglesworth is concerned, cannot be settled without ascertaining the standing of his father, whose infirmities became so great not long after

Yorkshire, "of Godly Parents, that feared y^e Lord greatly, even from their youth, but in an ungodly Place, . . . where, to my knowledge," he says, the "children had Learnt wickedness betimes, In a Place that was consumed wth fire a great part of it, after God had brought them out of it. These Godly Parents of mine meeting with opposition & Persecution for Religion, because they went from their own Parish Church to hear y^e word & Receiv y^e L^s supper &c took up resolutions to Pluck up their stakes & remove themselves to New England. . . . And the Lord brought them hither & Landed them at Charlstown . . . and me along with them being then a child not full seven yeers old. After about 7 weeks stay at Charls-Town^r my Parents removed again by sea to New-Haven in y^e month of October. . . . We dwelt in a Cellar Partly under ground coverd with Earth the first winter. . . . One great rain brake in upon us & drencht me so in my bed being asleep, that I fell sick upon it." The next summer "I was sent to school to M^r Ezekiel Cheever, . . . and under him in a yeer or two I Profited so much through y^e blessing of God,

his arrival as to incapacitate him from filling any important office in New England. It may be remarked, however, that, civic honors often taking precedence of clerical, and the highest position held by the parents of any of Wigglesworth's classmates, on their entering College, being only clerical, it is more probable that the standing of the father before coming to America determined the son's place than that there should have been in his case an exception to the general rule, which undoubtedly prevailed, of arranging students, soon after entering College, according to paternal rank.

Some information as to the *placing* of the students may be found in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October, 1864, pages 32-37, and July, 1866, page 253.

^r Dean writes: "There is scarcely a doubt that they were at Charlestown, September 14, 1638, when Rev. John Harvard died at that place. Little I presume did Mr. Wigglesworth think that his young son, Michael, who it is possible may have attended the funeral of that clergyman, would be benefited by the property which he left, . . . where Michael was subsequently educated."

that I began to make Latin & to get forward apace. But God... was Pleased about this time to Visit my Father with Lameness which grew upon him more & more to his dying Day, though he Liv'd under it [until 1 October, 1653] 13 years.¹ He wanting help was fain to take me off from school... 3 or 4 yeers until I had lost all that I had gained in the Latine Tongue. But when I was now in my fourteenth yeer, my Father, who I suppose was not wel satisfied in his keeping me from Learning whereto I had been designed from my infancy, & not judging me fit for husbandry, sent me to school again, though at that time I had little or no disposition to it, ... under no small disadvantage & discouragement seing those that were far inferio^r to me, by my discontinuance now gotten far before me. But... in 2 yeers and 3 quarters I was judged fit for y^e Colledge and thither I was sent. ... It was an act of great self Denial in my father that... having but one son to be y^e staff of his Age & supporter of his weakness he would yet for my good be Content to deny himself of that comfort & Assistance I might have Lent him. ... His Estate was but small & little enough to maintain himself & small family left at home."

"When I came first to y^e Colledge, I had indeed enjoyd y^e benefit of of Religious & strict education, and God in his mercy & Pitty kept me from scandalous sins before I came thither, & after I came there, but alas I... acted from self and for self. I was indèed studious... but it was for hono^r & applause & Preferm^t & such Poor Beggarly ends. ... But when I had been there about 3

¹ A letter of details respecting his infirmity is printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxix. 296.

The date of the inscription on his gravestone, of which there is a copy

in Stiles's History of Three Judges of Charles I., was altered from 1653 to 1678, on the conjecture that it was erected for the regicide Edward Whalley.

yeers and a half; God in his Love and Pitty to my soul wrought a great change in me, both in heart & Life, and from that Time forward I Learnt to study with God & for God. And whereas before that, I had thoughts of applying my self to y^e study & Practise of Physick, I wholly laid aside those thoughts, and did chuse to serve Christ in y^e work of y^e ministry if he would Please to fit me for it & to accept of my service."

Wigglesworth took his first degree on the second Tuesday in August, 1651. No programme of the exercises on that occasion has been preserved; but of his Commencement part there is a copy in one of his manuscript books. It is headed "August 12, 1651: Omnis Natura inconstans est porosa," and begins with the salutation, "... Honorandi Mæcenates, Veneranda Capita, Auditor: Celeberrimi."

From the Steward's accounts it appears that his connection with the College, unbroken at his graduation, continued till the end of 1654.

Increase Mather, H. U. 1656, says he was "in his young years a blessing as a *Tutor* in the *Colledge*." Cotton Mather, H. U. 1678, says: "With a rare *Faithfulness* did he adorn the Station! He used all the means imaginable, to make his *Pupils* not only good *Scholars*, but also good *Christians*; and instil into them those things, which might render them rich Blessings unto the *Churches* of God. Unto his Watchful and Painful Essayes, to keep them close unto their *Academical Exercises*, he added, Serious Admonitions unto them about their Interiour State, and (as I find in his Reserved Papers) he Employ'd his *Prayers* and *Tears* to God for them, & had such a flaming zeal, to make them worthy men, that, upon Reflection, he was afraid, Lest his *cares for their Good, and his affection to them, should so drink up his very Spirit, as to steal away his Heart from God.*"

His appointment as Fellow or Tutor was probably made within a year after he graduated; for the College Steward, "11 1 52-3, Allowed him for his fellow shipp for Septem and desem quarters 52," four pounds. Moreover, Increase Mather, besides noticing that his classmates, Eleazer Mather, John Eliot, and Shubael Dummer, "were once the *Pupils* of this worthy man," writes, 11 July, 1705, "I was his Scholar at my first Admission into the *Colledge*, above three and fifty years since."

While holding the office of Fellow or Tutor, he pursued his theological studies, made journeys to New Haven, where his father lived, and occasionally preached.

March 23, 1652-3, he writes: "I came to N. Haven being upō my jo'ney frō tuesday [15 March] after noon to Dedham, unto wednesday y^e next week at night. I preacht my first sermon at Pequit [New London] by y^e way 32 Deut. 9. Much difficulty I found in my journey, my back & brest almost shak't in pieces wth riding. in my pain & anguish lift up my heart & voyce to y^e lord my god, & he helpt me through y^e difficulty, giuing me so much strēgth as enabled me to bear it. we were lost y^e first day & rode above an hour wthin evening. god brought us to a house w^r we had a guied to o^r desired place. near Pequit we were lost & past through craggy dāgero^s way yet god kept us & all belōged to us; & brought us safe notwthstād: y^e rumo^rs of y^e Indian plots."

April 27, 1653: "On y^e sabbath day night we set sayl. in 2 dayes we came to Martin's Vinyard. & were under sayl but 2 dayes from thence to y^e Bay, yet detained there 6 dayes by a strong Northeast wind. I look at it as great m^rcy y^t god p^rvided so wel ffor us in a safe harbor at friends houses during y^t long storm."

His Diary at this period shows a concurrent anxiety for his own spiritual progress and that of the College

students, and incidentally reveals some novel features of College life.

He writes: "Those com̄mitted to me, those childrē of thine w^m I pray'd for strive for, hoped for, & thought y^t y^e time of gods hearing had been nigh, bec: he so strangely stir'd up my heart restlesly to seek y^r good. but loe! contrary to my hopes I fin^d y^e most hopeful of y^m far wors yⁿ wⁿ I left y^m for y^s my sp^t was at my return sorely pplexed, that I feared my sorrow for others, would keep me fr̄o sence of my owne sin. But having indeav- or'd to discharge my duty by warnings & admonitiōs, in y^e fear of god my sp^t is somew^t at eas in y^t regard."

June 10: "I meet this week wth many disquieting vexations, and find my self utterly unable to carry & behaue my self in my place, cōfrōtings y^rin by some, & I doubt stomakings by those whome I hoped best off: I find y^e spts off all or most off fr̄o studys, & going a gadding after vanity & mispence of time; this sp^t I find creeping up much in those who before I left y^m were most hopefull: this to repress costeth me much study & sollicit^s thoughts in y^e most loving way to doe it; but notwthstanding all my forethoughts I cañot pform it as I should wⁿ it comes to. I am impotēt & unable to bear y^e burthen of so many upō me, & this distracts me wⁿ I should be takē up w^h my god, so I take his name in vain."

June 25: "I set my self again y^s day to wrestle wth y^e Ld for my self & yⁿ for my pupils.... But still I see y^e Lord shutting out my prayers & refusing to hear for he w^m in special I pray'd for, I heard in y^e forenoon wth ill cōpany playing musick. tho: I had so solemly warn'd him but yesterday of letting his spt go after pleasures. And again I see light & vain carriage in him just at night on y^e last day at even. ffor y^{se} things my heart is fill'd & almost sunk wth sorrow & my

bowels are turned wthin mee; ah Lord how long, how long wilt thou shut out my prayers?"

July 17: "My proneness to satisfy my soul in my study's or pupills pgress, or any th: without god is y^e daly fear of my soul; y^e secret pitfall y^t . . . fills me wth fear so y^t I dare not go on sometimes in my studys as my over eager spt would carry me, without recalling my self to muse of y^e things of god. . . .

"In y^e forenoon god awakned me wth feares & disquietm^{ts} in referēce to an untrueth y^t form^{ly} lōg agoe I had told. . . . I quest. wheth. y^e Lord calls me now to speak of so triviall a th: as y^s is."

August 14: "On y^e 3^d day at night hearing some-things w^h I had spokē to my pupils wth derisiō reiterated am: y^e scholars I betook my self to y^e Lord to be my porcon."

August 17: "On friday I cōsulted most of y^e day about coll. affairs being much exercised wth contumaci^s & disrespectful negligēt carriages of my pupils."

August 20: "I am much pplexed about my pupils & how to carry to y^m, but I can^{not} attain a brokē heart for y^e same carriages in my self to my god."

August 27: "I am both in a strait how to answ^r M^r Stone's^t motion; & attend my father's counsel. I know not w^t gods mind may be, I am in y^e dark. Also I meet wth fears of wants & fayling of necessary wint^r sup-plys for cloathing: I desire & endeavo^r to strēghtē my faith in god. but my sins darkē my evidēces of his love, Lord forgive & help y^m, and supply these."

August 29: "My pupills all came to me y^s day to desire yy might ceas learning Hebrew: I wthstood it wth

^t The Reverend Samuel Stone, of Hartford, in an "Acknowledgment, and Statement of his Position," 18 April, 1657, says: "I acknowledge y^t

I hindered y^e church frō declaring their apprehensions by vote . . . concerning Mr. Wigglesworth's fitnes for office in y^e church of Hartford."

all y^e reasō I could, yet all will not satisfy y^m. I suspect y^e botto^m is yy look to cōmence[†]. wthin 2 years; & think (& some have bin heard to express so much) y^t I retard y^m purposely. thus am I requited for my love; & thus little fruit of all my prayers & tears for y^r good.”

August 30: “God appear’d somew^t in inclining y^e sp^t of my pupils to y^e study of Hebrew as I had pray’d y^t god would do.”

August 31: “God hath somew^t endeared my heart to hims. made hims. sweet unto me by leaving me to distress of cōsciēce & strōg conflicts about doubtfull matters in practise: y^e principal w^rof I think was no duty of mine, but rather would have bin ridiculous to meddle. so y^t I know no rule of god but my heart desireth cōformity y^{to}.”

September 5, 6: “Too much bēt of sp^t to my studys & pupils, & affectio^s dying tow^d god.”

September 10: “I am at a strait concern. my answer to Harford motion; I am indifferēt to engage or not, to look toward England or not, if I could be clear in gods call. ffriends advice cañot satisfy my consciēce. who but God can now be my counsellor? but god I am daly forsaking & dishono^ring, by my pride & whoarish affectiōs. . . . Outw^d wants at least y^e fear of them disquiets me, or wou^d do: but I dare not let y^m make impression, nor be earnest wth god for supply of y^m, lest, my desires therof shold exceed my desires of sanctifying grace. Behold L. my pitif. case: remē^b. y^u art my father tho: I be a rebellig child.”

October 24: “The latter pt of y^e week I spēt in p^r-paring to preach at Chalstown. . . . I spent near three

[†] Probably alluding to the time of in the class which graduated in 1653, remaining at College, in respect to the year in which this paragraph was written.

dayes. . . . w^ras one day at Martins Vinyard sufficed me. . . . On y^e 2^d day at night in my sleep I dream'd of y^e approach of y^t great & dreadf. day of judgem^t; & was y^rby exceedingly awakned in sp^t (as I thought) to follow god wth teares & crys until he gave me some hopes of his graci^{os} good wil toward me."

November 16: "Wedn. morn. I had bin much p^plexed wth y^e ill carriage of one of my pupils, & had some thoughts of admonish. him op^ely, I besought y^e Lord before hand & he guided me to act in a fairer way; & ishued my trouble to my good satisfaction."

Preaching again at Charlestown: "The church sent to me after sermō, & I could not get off wthout engaging to preach once a month til March equinox."

December 22: "Thursd. I spent in study to p^rpare for y^e next day w^{ch} was a day of private humiliatōn in o^r colledge."

December 27, 28: "Boldn. to trāsgress y^e colledge law in speak. English."

January 9, 1653-4: "I disputed for Ramus in y^e Distributiō of y^e 2^d pt of Logick agst Richardsō my Arg^{ts} found such acceptācon wth y^e seniors (tho: cōtrary to y^r form^r apprehēsions) y^t pride p^rvailed upon me poor fool y^t know nothing as I ought to know."

February 14: "Upon y^e obstinate untowardn. of some of my pupils in refusing to read Hebrew, god brings to mind & ashameth me of my own p^versn. herefore both to my naturall parēts & Achademical: & also I see that this is y^e sp^t & I fear if y^e Lord p^rvēt not wil be y^e ruin of y^e whole cou^{try} A sp^t of unbridled licētiousn. Lord in mercy heal, or I know not w^t wil become of N. England."

March 5: "Neglected to go & reprove some carnal mirth in y^e lowest Chāber til it was too late, w̄ I pray God to pardon. . . .

“I find my whoarish affectio^{ss} forsaking y^e sweet fountain, setting light by him, & digging brokē cisterns. Theref. y^e Lord goeth on to smite me, in y^e stubbornness of my pupils after all y^e warnings givē y^m; And I goe on frowardly; being quite overcōe of anger wⁿ yy came not to recite, almost out of patiēce. thus Lord I am y^t sīner y^t destroy’s much good by adding sin to sin. I ly down in my shame before the, & acknowledge y^t y^e L. is righteous.”

March 7: “I was much pplexed in mind wth many thoughts to & fro, about leaving y^e colledge, one while ready to resolv upō it almost, and quite another way; & I know not w^t to do, how to liue here & keep a good cōsciēce bec. my hands are bound in point of reforming disorders; my own weakness & pupils froward negligēce in y^e Hebrew stil much exercise me. yet for all this trouble god hath bin wth me in my psonal studys; for this day I began & finished all y^t pt of my synopsis w^{ch} treats about Method.”

March 12: “The sabbath evening & y^e next day I was much distressed in cōsciēce, seing a stable door of M^r Mitchels beat to & fro wth y^e wind, whither, I should out of duty shut it or not; no tēptacons pplex me so sorely as such like, wⁿ I am not clear concern. my duty my fear is lest my wil should blind reason.”

“Apr. 2. Sab. The wise god who knoweth how to tame & take down proud & wanton hearts, suffereth me to be sorely buffeted wth y^e like tēptacon as formerly about seeing some dore^s blow to & fro wth y^e wind in some dāger to break, as I think; I canot tel whether it were my duty to giue y^m some hint y^t owe thē. Wⁿ I think ’tis a comon thing, & that ’tis impossible but y^t y^e owners should haue oft seen them in y^t case, & heard thē blow to & fro, & y^t it is but a trivial matter,

& y^t I haue giuē a hint to one y^t dwels in y^e hous, & he maketh light of it; & y^t it would rather be a seeming to check oths mindlessness of y^r own affairs, & lastly y^t y^{re} may be special reasons for it y^t I know not; why y^e case seemeth clear y^t 'tis not my duty."

April 25: "I set sail toward N. Haven afternoon, And arrived . . . y^e next saturday sev'night at night, twelve dayes . . . putting in at no port. . . . I found such love & respect off all hands, y^t I was therby lead to overween of my own worth. In my return I stayd a ffourtnight at Harford," and preached. "Coming through y^e wilderness we were overtaken with a great & dreadf. tēpest of rain and wind. w^r I beheld y^e mighty power of God. . . . for all y^e trees of y^e fforrest bowed and bended like a bow over o^r heads as we rid alōg & div's we heard fall, & above 40 I suppose we see in o^r way y^t were newly blown down."

In the spring of 1655 Wigglesworth appears again at Connecticut and New Haven, deliberating and seeking medical advice as to the duty of being married, which resulted in a matrimonial alliance at Rowley, Massachusetts, in May; after which, continuing there, he preached in that and other places.

The first notice in his Diary in relation to Malden is "about y^e 17th of July," 1655, when he alludes to the "Maldon Invitation," soon after which he tells the people "it would be a tēpting of Providēce to accept of their Invitation." This was followed by repeated interviews, by importunities on the part of this small society, and by extreme vacillations on his part because of his health, till he finally determined, 7 October, to go there, where Marmaduke Matthews had preceded him.

From the circumstance that his "Letters Dismissive" from the church in Cambridge to the church in Malden are dated 25 August, and that he was admitted on the

seventh of September, 1656, the natural inference would be, that his ordination took place about this time. But he writes, 19 May, 1657, "This day is appointed for an issue about my settlem^t. . . . I have all alōg been exercised with disco^ragem^{ts} since I came hith." Moreover, in a letter to the church, dated "19 4 1658," he writes: "Since y^e Lord inclined yo^r hearts to invite me hither, it pleased him to hold me und^r weakne^s & you under suspēce at uncertaintys half a yeer almost, ere I durst advēture to come to you; and after I did come, about a year & a half it was before I could see God clearing my way to accept of yo^r call to office. All this while you were without y^e seale^s of y^e Cove^t &c." So that the date of his ordination is involved in uncertainty.

His discouragements and his feebleness increased. The manifestations of God's spirit among his people were withdrawn. July 30, 1659, he has "thoughts of a jo^rney to Rowley," one object of which is "to advize" about "laying dow[̄]" his "work."

December 21, he experienced the loss of his wife, "a great cutting & astonishing stroke in it self."

December 22, 1661, he writes: "The Brethⁿ are now below consid̄ing & consulting about a future supply & a cōstāt help in y^e ministry; as also whith I am call'd to lay dow[̄] my place or, not. ffath I leav my self & all my concernm^{ts} with thee; I h. neith way of subsistēce, nor house to put my head in if turnd out here, but Lord I desire to be at thy disposing. Let thy fathly care app^r tow[̄]ds me in these my straits, as hithto it hath done, O my God: ffor oth[̄] friend or helper besides thee I have none. Lord I beleev; help my unbeleif."

According to Cotton Mather, Wigglesworth's "Sickly Constitution so prevailed upon him as to confine him, from his Publick Work, for some whole Sevens of years. His *Faithfulness* continued, when his *Ministry*

was thus interrupted. The Kindness of his Tender Flock unto him, was answered in his Kind concern to have them Served by other Hands....

“And that he might yet more *Faithfully* set himself to Do Good, when he could not *Preach*, he *Wrote* several Composures, wherein he proposed the Edification of such Readers, as are for Truth’s dressed up in a *Plain Meeter*.”

One of these “Composures” was “The Day of Doom,” a versification of the Scriptural account of the Last Judgment. January 29, 1661–2, while engaged on it, he wrote: “I desire wth all my heart & might to serv my Lord christ (who is my best & onely friend & supporter) in finishing this work w^{ch} I am prepar- ing for y^e press: acknowledging that y^e Lord hath dealt abundantly better wth me y^{en} I deserv if he shall please to accept such a poor piece of service at my hands, & give me leisure to finish it; I delight in his service, & glory & y^e good of poor souls, tho: my endeavo^{rs} this way should rath occasion loss then outwd advantage to my self. Lord let me find grace in thy sight. And who can tell but this work may be my last: for y^e world seem now to account me a burden (I mean divers of o^r chief ones) w^t ever their words p^rtend to y^e con- trary. Lord be thou my habita^{co}n & hiding place; for oth I have none. Do thou stand my friend, wⁿ all oth friends fail me, as they are now like to do. I will not torm^t my self wth feares concern. y^e future; for I know thou art alsuffici^{et}, & canst eith p^rvide for me in my weakn. or recov^r me out of my weakness by a word after all means used to no purpose, or els thou canst make me welcome in Heaven wⁿ y^e world is weary of me. Lord und^rtake for me for mine eys are unto thee. Tibi Domine &c.”

After its completion and publication he wrote: “It

pleased the Lord to carry me through the difficulty of y^e foremētioned work, both in respect of bodily strēgth & estate, & to give vent for my books & greater acceptāce then I could have expected: so y^t of 1800 there were scarce any unsold (or but few) at y^e yeers end; so that I was a gainer by them, & not a loser. Moreover I have since heard of some success of those my poor labours. For all which mercies I am bound to bless the Lord. who am I &c? About 4 yeers after they were reprinted wth my consent, & I gave them the proofs & Margin. notes to affix."

This work represented the theology of the day, and for a century, with the exception perhaps of the Bible, was more popular throughout New England than any other that can be named. It passed through several editions in book-form, besides being printed on broad-sides and hawked about the country. As late as the early part of the present century many persons could repeat the whole or large portions of it. Cotton Mather thought it might "perhaps find our children, till the *Day* [of Doom] itself arrive."

"Aft^r y^e first impression of my books was sold," says the author, "I had a great mind to go to Bermuda, and . . . Providēce made way for it wonderfully . . . so we set sayl about the 23 of Sept. 1663. . . . It was a full mōth ere we got thith: by w̄ long & tedious voyage no doubt but I received much hurt, & got so much cold as took away much of y^e benefit of that sweet & temperate air, & so hindered my recovery, & lost me much of that little time that I stayed there." After "about 7 months & a half . . . I began to think it better to return home. . . . The Lord" sent "us moderate weather, &" brought "us into charls-riv^r in 12 days, . . . in some compet: measure of Health."

Subsequently he writes: "My bodily weaknesses evi-

dently increase & grow upon me; especially that old Malady that annoys me most by night. And what fear & distress it often (yea ever & anon) puts me into, Lord thou knowest, For my sighs, and groanings (with my tears) are not hid from thee...having no means nor medicine that yields any relief."

In the year in which "The Day of Doom" was printed, Wigglesworth wrote another poem, entitled "God's Controversy with New England." It describes "New England planted, prospered, declining, threatned, punished." After speaking of its earliest and best days, and alluding to the degeneracy of his time, he introduces the Deity uttering remonstrances and threatenings, unless there be speedy repentance, and concludes with notices of recent Divine judgments and the announcement of direr calamities. It was the year of the Act of Uniformity, and immediately after the Restoration of Charles the Second: a time of great anxiety among New-Englanders. Even the climate, he says, had changed. Unheard-of diseases appeared, among which was that frightful malady, the croup.

"New England, where for many yeeres
 You scarcely heard a cough,
 And where Physicians had no work,
 Now finds them work enough.
 Now colds and coughs, Rheums and sore-throats
 Do more & more abound:
 Now Agues sore, and Feavers strong,
 In every place are found."

To times of sickness,

"Wherein the healthful were too few
 To help the languishing,"

succeeded unfruitful seasons; "and at last, came a drought whose extremity was at that time presaging a

famine, while still sorer judgments seemed to be impending over the land." The poem concludes with the following appeal to New England:—

"Thou still hast in thee many praying saints,
Of great account, and precious with the Lord,
Who dayly powre out unto him their plaints,
And strive to please him both in deed & word.

"Cheer on, sweet souls, my heart is with you all,
And shall be with you, maugre Sathan's might:
And wheresoe're this *body* be a Thrall,
Still in New-England shall my soul delight."

Another of Wigglesworth's "Composures" is entitled "Meat out of the Eater." In relation to this he wrote, 17 September, 1669: "I have been long imployed in a great work composing Poems about y^e cross. I have already found exceeding much help & assistāce frō Heavē, even to admiratiō. so y^t in 3 weeks time I have transcribed 3 sheets fair, & made between whiles above 100 staves of verses beside. Some dayes y^e Lord hath so asisted me y^t I have made neer or about 20 staves. For w^{ch} his great m^rcy I bless his name frō my soul. desiring stil to make him my α & ω in This great work. Lord assist me now this day, Tu mihi Princ. tu mihi finis eris. à deo et ad deū *τα παντα*."

"Sept. 29, The Lord did assist me much this day, so y^t I wrote 5 sides fair, & made 11 or 12 staves more tho: y^e day was cold, & I wrought wth some difficulty. Laus deo."

"I am now upo y^e last Head (Heav'ly Crowns &c)... Oct. 15."

"And now through thy rich grace & daly assistāce, I have done cōposing, Laus Deo... Octob. 28... my Birth day & it was y^e birth day of this Book it being finished (i. e. fully composed) this morning."

Interspersed with these citations are repeated appeals for Divine help "this day," besides other memoranda in short-hand.

October 27, 1684, about a fortnight after the College Corporation were notified that Joshua Moody, H. U. 1653, declined his election to the Presidency as successor of John Rogers, Wigglesworth wrote to Increase Mather as follows: "I received your Loving Lines, and having seriously considered the contents thereof, as I find great cause to thank you and other worthy friends for y^r & their good will & good opinion of me, yet as to my self, I cannot think my bodily health and strength competent to undertake or manage such a weighty work as you mention, if it were desired, nor have I reason to judge my self in any measure fit upon other accounts. Wherefore I hope the Colledge & Overseers will think of and apply themselves to a fitter person."

I find no other allusion to the subject of this letter, but it seems probable that Mather had written for the purpose of ascertaining if he would consent to be a candidate for the Presidency.

Notwithstanding the interference of ill health with the discharge of ministerial duty during a great portion of his life, it does not appear that his connection with his parish was sundered while he lived. Besides occasional assistants, he had three associates. December 9, 1663, while Wigglesworth was at the Bermudas, Benjamin Bunker, H. U. 1658, was settled, and died 2 February, 1669-70. From 1675 to 1679, Benjamin Blackman, H. U. 1663, preached; and Thomas Cheever, H. U. 1677, son of Wigglesworth's old schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever, was ordained 27 July, 1681, and dismissed in 1686.

"It pleased God," says Cotton Mather, "when the Distresses of the Church in *Maldon*, did extremely call

for it, wondrously to restore His *Faithful Servant*. He that had been for near Twenty years almost *Buried Alive*, comes abroad again; and for as many years more, must in a *Publick Usefulness*, receive the Answer and Harvest of the Thousands of supplications, with which the *God of his Health*, had been addressed by him & for him"; — "being restored," says Increase Mather, "to such a measure of *Health*, as to be able to Preach for many years twice every *Lords-Day*, after he had been for a long time in a Languishing condition."

May 12, 1686, Wigglesworth preached the Election Sermon. In his prayer on this occasion Sewall says he "Acknowledged God as to y^e Election, and bringing forth him as 'twere a dead Man, had been reckon'd among y^e ded, to preach."

In 1696 he preached the Artillery Election Sermon, which was not printed.

After Cheever was dismissed, the care of the society may have devolved chiefly on Wigglesworth. But the Malden records make no mention of compensation to him before 6 March, 1692-3, on which day the twenty-first of that month was "apointed to cut and cart wood" for him; a similar vote being again passed, 24 January, 1693-4.

"His long Weakness, and Illness," says Cotton Mather, "made him an *Able Physician*. He Studied *Physick*; and was a *Faithful Physician* for the *Body* as well as the *Soul*." As the town does not appear to have voted him any salary while he was incapacitated from performing ministerial duties, it is probable that he supported himself mainly by the practice of medicine, so far as his health would allow, receiving perhaps a small additional income from the sale of his poems.

March 4, 1693-4, the town voted to allow him "fifty-five pounds a yeer yeerly In money, And the use of

the passonage, and a suficant suply of fierwood, so Long as He carrieth one the work of the ministrey; the yeere begineth the 12 of March, 1694." It was also voted that he should "haue Thirty cord of Cordwood Laid at his dore for this present yeer."

Soon after this he signs a sealed document, in the town-clerk's handwriting: "That I, Michael Wigglesworth of Malden, doe Herby discharg And Acquit the Town of Malden from all claimes that may be made heerafter by my self my haies executers Administrators or a signes upon the acount of aney salary debt or dues to me for the work of the ministry from the beginning of The world until the 12 of March 1694-5."

In 1696 his compensation was fixed at fifty pounds and the strangers' money; and some years, instead of thirty cords of wood he received thirty-five.

March 31, 1698, it was voted "That the town will aford Mr. Wigglesworth sum help 4 or 5 sabath days in the work of the ministry."

In the Witchcraft delusion of 1692 I do not find that Wigglesworth took an active part, but from a letter to Increase Mather, dated 22 July, 1704, the year before he died, it is apparent that the subject was then troubling his conscience. He writes: "I am right well assured that both yo^r self, yo^r son & y^e rest of our Bretheren with you in Boston have a deep sence upon yo^r spirits of y^e awfull Symptoms of divine displeasure that we lie under at this Day. . . . I fear (amongst our many other provocations) that God hath a Controversy with us about what was done in y^e time of y^e Witchcraft. I fear y^t innocent blood hath been shed; & y^t many have had their hands defiled therwith. I believe our Godly Judges did act Conscientiously, according to What they did apprehend then to be Sufficient Proof. But since y^t, have not the Devils impostures appeared? & y^t most

of y^e Complainers & Acusers were acted by him in giving their testimonies. Be it then that it was done ignorantly. Paul, a pharisee Persecuted the church of god Shed the blood of gods Saints, & yet obtained mercy, because he did it in ignorance; but how doth he bewaill it, and shame him self for it before god and men afterwards? 1 Tim: 1: 13. 16. I Think and am verily perswaded God expects y^t we do the like, in order to our obtaining his pardon: I mean by a Publick and Solemn acknowledgment of it, And humiliation for it, & y^e more particularly & personaly it is done by all that have been actors; y^e more pleasing it will be to God, And more effectual to turn away his Judgments from y^e Land, and to prevent his Wrath from falling upon y^e persons and families of such as have been Most Concerned.

“I know this is a *Noli Me tangere*, but what shall we do? must we pine away in our iniquities rather than boldly declare y^e Counsel of God, who tells us, Isaia: 1: 15 When you make many prayers I will not hear you, your hands are full of blood. Therefore god Commands you & me & all our fellow Labourers in y^e Ministry Cry aloud, spare not lift up Thy voice like a trumpet: Isai. 58, 1.

“Moreover, if it be true as I have been often informed, y^t The families of such as were Condemned for supposed witchcraft, have been ruined by taking away and making havoke of their estates, & Leaving them nothing for their releiff; I believe the whole Country lies under a Curse for it to this day, and will do, till some effectual course be taken by our honored Governour & Generall Court to make them some amends and reparations.”

After considering the objection that the country was too impoverished to do anything, he continues: “Sir,

I desire you would Communicate these my thoughts to y^e Rev^d Mr. Willard, and y^e rest of our Bretheren in the ministry, as you shall have oportunity, and if they do Concurr in their apprehensions, that then it might be humbly spread before his Excellency; and, if he see Cause, before y^e General Assembly at y^r next sessions. I have, with a weak body, and trembling hands endeavored to leave my testimony before I leave y^e world; and having left it with you (my Rev^d bretheren) I hope I shall leave this life, with more peace, when god seeth meet to call me hence.”

Wigglesworth administered the Lord's Supper 27 May, 1705, fell sick of a fever on the Friday following, and died about nine o'clock, A. M., 10 June, “a learned and pious divine and faithful physician.”

Cotton Mather, in the Funeral Sermon, says: “It was a surprize unto us, to see a Little Feeble *Shadow of a Man*, beyond *Seventy*, *Preaching* usually Twice or Thrice in a Week; *Visiting* and *Comforting* the *Afflicted*; *Encouraging* the *Private Meetings*; *Catechizing* the Children of the Flock; and managing the *Government* of the Church: and attending the *Sick*, not only as a *Pastor*, but as a *Physician* too; and this not only in his own Town, but also in all those of the Vicinity. Thus he did, *unto the last*; and was but one *Lords-Day* taken off, before his *Last*.”

“His Pen did once *Meat* from the *Eater* fetch;
And now he's gone beyond the *Eaters* reach.
His *Body*, once so *Thin*, was next to *None*;
From Thence, he's to *Unbodied Spirits* flown.
Once his rare skill did all *Diseases* heal;
And he does nothing now *uncasy* feel.
He to his *Paradise* is Joyful come;
And waits with Joy to see his *Day of Doom*.”

At the Commencement following his death, Edward

Holyoke, H. U. 1705, afterward President, probably alluding to the learned Jesuit Maldonatus; made respectful mention of Wigglesworth, styling him "Maldonatus Orthodoxus."

The following inscription is on his gravestone, still standing in the old Malden burying-ground.

| | |
|---|-------|
| "MEMENTO | FUGIT |
| MORI. | HORA. |
| HERE LYES BURIED YE BODY OF | |
| THAT FAITHFULL SERUANT OF | |
| JESUS CHRIST YE REUEREND | |
| M ^R MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH | |
| PASTOUR OF YE CHURCH OF CHRIST | |
| AT MAULDEN YEARS WHO | |
| FINNISHED HIS WORK AND ENTRE ^P | |
| APON AN ETERNAL SABBATH | |
| OF REST ON YE LORDS DAY IUNE | |
| YE 10 1705 IN YE 74 YEAR OF HIS AGE. | |

HERE LIES INTERD IN SILENT GRAU^E
BELOW MAULDENS PHYSICIAN
FOR SOUL AND BODY TWO."

The Reverend Samuel Sewall, H. U. 1804, in proof of the "veneration and affection" with which Wigglesworth's memory was cherished, mentions "a current tradition in Malden," that "the venerable Dea. Ramsdell, who died there about 1825, at a very advanced age, . . . was accustomed as long as he lived, to make an annual visit to the Grave Yard . . . and carefully *to rub off the moss*, which had gathered, in each interval, on the Inscription, which told where he lay."

May 18, 1655, Wigglesworth married his kinswoman, perhaps cousin, Mary, daughter of Humphrey Reyner, of Rowley, Massachusetts. She died 21 December, 1659. Their only child, Mary, born 21 February,

1655-6, is supposed to have been married, about 1673, to Samuel Brackenbury, H. U. 1664, and afterward to the Reverend Samuel Belcher, H. U. 1659.

Wigglesworth's second marriage, about twenty years after his first wife's death, was the occasion of "uncomfortable Reflections." Increase Mather wrote to him, 8 May, 1679, a letter in which he says: "The Report is, that you are designing to marry with your servant mayd, & that she is one of obscure parentage, & not 20 years old, & of no Ch̄ch, nor so much as Baptised. If it be as is related, I w^{ld} hūbly entreat you (before it be too late) to consid^r of these arg^{ts} in oppositiō." He then gives six arguments, characteristic of the spirit of the time, in the course of which he remarks: "It vseth to be said *nube pari*, but to marry with one so much your Inferio^r on all accounts is not *nubere pari*. And to take one that was never baptised into such neerness of Rela^{ōn}, seemeth contrary to the Gospel; esp^{ly} for a Minist^r of Ct to doe it. The like never was in N. E. Nay, I questiō wheth^r the like hath bin known in the chrⁿ world." He concludes by saying: "Though your affections s^d be too far gone in this matter, I doubt not but if you put the object out of your sight & looke vp to the Lord Jesus for supplies of grace, you will be enabled to ov^rcome these Tempta^{ōn}s." This was followed on the 12th by another letter of similar import, in reply to papers "which state the case & mention the Reasons inducing" him "to marry" his "servant." Mather says: "I have communicated your script to M^r Eliot, M^r Nowel, M^r Allen, M^r Willard. . . . I see no cause to alter my mind. . . . Indeed if the good people in Malden did approve of your proceedings, & if there were an eminency of the fear of God discernable in your Damōsel, notwithstanding her obscurity upon other accounts, there would be less of scandal in proceedings."

The parties were married soon afterward, this wife, Martha, probably being a daughter of Thomas Mudge, of Malden, as Wigglesworth in his will mentions the children's grandfather Mudge. According to the inscription on her gravestone, she died 4 or 11 September, 1690, aged about 28. They had six children: of whom Samuel graduated in 1707; Abigail, born 20 March, 1680-1, married Samuel Toppan, of Newbury; and Esther had for a second husband Abraham Toppan.

Wigglesworth's third wife, Sybil, born about 1655, widow of Doctor Jonathan Avery, of Dedham, was daughter of Nathaniel Sparhawk, or Sparrowhawke, of Cambridge, where she died 6 August, 1708, in the fifty-fourth year of her age. March 8, 1705-6, it was voted to allow her, for entertaining the ministers thirty weeks since her husband's death, four shillings a week, and "£12. 10. 0." for her husband's services during "the last quarter of a yeer he lived." October 3, 1707, the town is still indebted to her "£12 1s 7d, on arrears of her husband's salary."

In the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xvii. 139-142, are two letters written to her by Wigglesworth before their marriage. In the first, dated 11 February, 1690-1, wherein he makes known his purpose, he writes: "If you cannot conveniently return an answer in writing so speedily, you may trust the Messenger to bring it by word of mouth, who is grave & faithful, and knows upon what errant he is sent." After he had made her a visit, he writes another letter, 23 March, proposing still another visit, and sends ten "Considerations," drawn up in sermon style, which, he says, "Possibly may help to clear up yo^r way before y^u return an answer unto y^e Motion w^{ch} I have made to you, I hope you will take them in good Part, and Ponder them seriously."

[They had one child, Edward Wigglesworth, H. U. 1710, born in 1692 or 1693, the first Hollis Professor in the University. He was succeeded by his son, Edward Wigglesworth, H. U. 1749, and this son by David Tappan, H. U. 1771. As M'Clure observes in the Bi-Centennial Book of Malden: "It is a very remarkable circumstance, that of the four Hollis Professors, the three first, who held the chair for eighty successive years, with high reputation, should have been respectively the son, grandson, and great-grandson of that good man."

Among the early graduates of Harvard College there were few, if any, whose characters seem to have been more transparent, childlike, and beautiful in simplicity and sincerity, than Wigglesworth's. His protracted infirmities and sufferings deepened his convictions of the truth of the grim theological doctrines of the Puritans, and they were expressed in stanzas often rude, occasionally sublime; but he was free from cant, conscientious even to morbidness, perpetually praying and struggling against pride and what he regarded as his besetting sins, aspiring after a religious state altogether unattainable, ever faithful to the extent of his strength and capacity, and fearful lest his interest in his pupils and others should steal away his heart from God, in whom his trust was so strong as to appear almost ridiculous to men who regard the Almighty as quite indifferent to their fortunes.

WORKS.

1. Manuscript Abstracts or Notes of Sermons, chiefly in shorthand. 1645-1650.
2. A book of exercises, mostly in Latin, while a member of the Senior Class in College, and subsequently while a Tutor. Among them are "Prolegomena de Arte In Genere"; "In Dialecticam brevis Cōmentatio," in 200 Sections, dated Jan. 9 Anni 1650; "Physicæ Compendium," in 164 Sections; "Omnis Na-

tura inconstans est porosa," being his Commencement part, August 12, 1651; and, besides other matters, two Orations in English: 1. "The Prayse of Eloquēce"; 2. "Conc: True Eloquēce and how to attain it," the latter dated Aug. 30, 1653. Extracts from these Orations are contained in the second edition of Dean's Memoir.

3, 4. Two manuscript books, chiefly in short-hand.

All the preceding works belong to the Library of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society.

5. A manuscript volume consisting chiefly of autobiographical memoranda and religious experiences. 1652-1657. *M.*

6. The Day of Doom: Or, A | Description | Of the Great and Last | Judgment. | With | A Short Discourse | about | Eternity. || London, Printed by W. G. for John Sims, at the Kings-Head at Sweetings-Alley-end in Cornhill, next House to the Royal Exchange. 1673. 12mo. Pp. (2) A Prayer unto Christ the Judge of the World; 1-67 The Day of Doom; 70 [68]-71 without running-title; 72-77 On Eternity; 77-88 Postscript; 89-92 A Song of Emptiness, to fill up the Empty Pages following, with the heading "Vanity of Vanities." *P.*

The first edition was printed in 1662. It is not known that a copy of either of the first three editions is extant.

7. God's Controversy with New England. Written in the time of the great drought, Anno 1662. By a lover of New Englands Prosperity. MS. *M.*

Printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May, 1871.

8. Upon the much Lamented Death of that precious servant of Christ Mr Benjamin *Buncker*, Pasto^r of the Church at Maldon, who deceased on the 3^d of y^e 12th moneth, 1669. The original, in the author's handwriting, is among the Ewer Manuscripts, i. 8-9, of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. It consists of 112 lines in fourteen stanzas.

Printed in the Puritan Recorder, Boston, October 11, 1855, and in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May, 1871.

9. Meat | out of the | Eater | Or | Meditations | Concerning | The Necessity, End, and Usefulness of | Afflictions | Unto Gods Children. | All tending to Prepare them For, | and Comfort them Under the | Cross. | — | By Michael Wigglesworth. | — |

The Fourth Edition. | ——— | Boston. | Printed by P. R. for John Usher. 1689. || 8vo. pp. 208.

Pp. 3-50 Meat out of the Eater, consisting of Meditations 1-10 and a Conclusion Hortatory; p. 51 Riddles | Unriddled, | Or | Christian Paradoxes | Broke open, smelling like sweet Spice | New taken out of Boxes. | ——— |

“Each Paradox, is like a Box,
That Cordials rare incloseth:
This Key unlocks, op'neth the Box
And what's within discloseth;
That whoso will may take his fill,
And gain where no man loseth.”

Pp. 52-208 Riddles Unriddled | Or | Christian Paradoxes, |
Light in Darkness, [being pp. 53-91, Songs, 1-10;]
Sick mens Health, [pp. 92-107, Meditations, 1-4;]
Strength in Weakness, [pp. 108-120, Songs, 1-4;]
Poor mens Wealth, [pp. 121-137, Meditations, 1-5;]
In Confinement,
Liberty, [pp. 138-147, Songs, 1-3;]
In Solitude,
Good Company, [pp. 148-160, Songs, 1-3;]
Joy in Sorrow, [pp. 161-179, Songs, 1-5;]
Life in Death, [pp. 180-189, Songs, 1-3;]
Heavenly Crowns for
Thorny Wreaths, [pp. 190-208, Songs, 1-5.] *P.*

The first edition was printed in 1669.

10. Massachusetts Annual Election Sermon, delivered in May, 1686. The General Court voted their thanks for it and desired him “to prepare the same for the presse, adding thereto what he had not then time to deliuer, the Court judging that the printing of it will be for publick benefitt.” Not having seen any copy of this sermon, or any record of its publication, or found the title on any book or library catalogue, I consider it doubtful if it was ever printed. The change in the government immediately afterward perhaps rendered it inexpedient or inconvenient.

11. Two Letters to Mrs. Avery, dated 11 February, 1690 [1690-1] and 23 March, 1691. Printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xvii. 139-142.

12. Letter to Increase Mather, respecting the Witchcraft De-

lusion, dated 5 July, 1704. Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 645.

More details respecting Wigglesworth and his Works may be found in John Ward Dean's Memoir, which also contains a catalogue of Wigglesworth's library.

AUTHORITIES. — Bi-Centennial Book of Malden, 34, 75, 144, 156, 189, 203. Boston News Letter, 1705, June 18. Christian Examiner, v. 537. Connecticut Historical Society, Collections, ii. 54, 71. J. W. Dean, Memoir, 1st and 2d eds.; and New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xvii. 129. E. A. & G. L. Duyckinck, Cyclopædia of American Literature, i. 57. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 317; and American Quarterly Register, viii. 341. J. D. Green, Two Hundredth Anniversary Address, 23 May, 1849, 26, 52; and Bi-Centennial Book of Malden, 34. W. T. Harris, Epitaphs, 40. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 37. Historical Magazine, i. 176, 344; xiii. 127. A. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 493. S. Kettell, Specimens of American Poetry, i. 35. Massachusetts Bay Records, v. 514. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collec-
 tions, xxix. 296; xxxviii. 94, 95, 645; and Proceedings, April, 1857, 181; January, 1861, 144; November, 1866, 358. C. Mather, Faithful Man Described and Rewarded; with Introduction by I. Mather. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 66, 135, 186; ix. 328; xi. 102, 110, 239; xv. 335; xvii. 129; xix. 38. B. Peirce, History of Harvard University, 250. J. Pike, Journal, in Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, iii. 55. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, i. 457, 606. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 540-542. S. Sewall, in American Quarterly Register, xi. 177, 192; xiv. 399, 400. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 143. E. Stiles, History of Three Judges of Charles I., 137. Wigglesworth's Diaries and Autobiography, and Letters to Mrs. Avery, in manuscript.

SEABORN COTTON.

Born 1633, died 1686, aged 52.

REV. SEABORN, or, according to his autograph, SEABORNE, COTTON, M. A., of Hampton, oldest child of the Reverend John Cotton, of Boston, by his second wife, Sarah Story, was born at sea, 12 August, 1633, while his

parents were in the Griffin, on their voyage to New England, and, being named from the circumstance of his birth, was baptized in the First Church in Boston, 8 September, the first Lord's Day after they landed.

The father, who died in December, 1652, says in his will, "And because y^t south part of my house w^{ch} Sr Henry Vane built, whilst he sojourned with me, He by a deed gave it (at his departure) to my sonne Seaborne, I doe y^rfore Leave it unto him as his by right, & together y^rwith liberty of comonage with his mother in y^t South garden, wch lyeth vnder it. He carrying himself (as I hope he will) respectively [respectfully?] & obediently to his Mother."

By the First Church in Boston "Seaborne Cotton vpon his *declaration of y^e work of Grace and p^ression of faith* was accepted into full Comunion y^e 24 of Oct. 1653."

May 23, 1655, he became a freeman.

October 7, 1655, "upon the desires of y^e Church of Weathersfield to Call him to office wth his owne desires signified to y^e ch:" the First Church "wth on Consent dismissed him to y^e worke and service y^e 7th of y^e 8th m^o. 1655." After being employed there and at other places in the Colony without being settled, preaching probably at Windsor in the latter part of 1656, he went, as early as 1657, to Hampton, then in Massachusetts, now in New Hampshire; for, May 2, 1657, a committee was chosen to treat with his father-in-law "and with the Elders in the bay to forder [further?] the calling of M^r Cotton according to former agreements"; and, 24 November, 1658, he gave a receipt to the town for sixty-five pounds "for maintenance the past year."

Having aided the Reverend Timothy Dalton nearly two years, he was ordained, says Hull, 4 May, 1659, though no church records during his ministry are extant to settle the question, none perhaps having been kept.

He was the first minister in New Hampshire who graduated at Harvard College. The town granted him a farm of two hundred acres, and an annual salary of sixty pounds, afterward raised to seventy, and, in 1667, to eighty pounds. Nevertheless he writes thus, 27 January, 1661-2: "Deare Mother, I hope to see you in March, if I can get any cloathes to weare, & money to bring mee to you, for at present I am allmost naked of both. However I most earnestly desire the continuance of your prayers for my spirituall cloathing with the white robes of the saints, & filling with the gifts of His spirit, who alone can fitt me for his worke, & enable mee to serve my generation, as my never to be forgotten Father hath done before mee."

About this time a difficulty arose between Cotton and the Quakers, which is thus stated by the Quaker historian, Sewel, under the year 1662. "At *Hampton* Priest *Seaborn Cotton*, understanding that one *Eliakim Wardel* had entertained *Wenlock Christison*, went with some of his Herd to *Eliakim's* House, having like a sturdy Herdsman put himself at the Head of his Followers, with a Truncheon in his Hand. *Wenlock* seeing him in this Posture, askt him *What he did with that Club*. To which he answered, *He came to keep the Wolves from his Sheep*. *Wenlock* then asking, *Whether those he led, were his Sheep*, got no answer, but instead thereof, was led away by this Crew to *Salisbury*. This same *Cotton* having heard that Major *Shapleigh* was become a *Quaker*, said, *He was sorry for it, but he would endeavour to convert him*. And afterwards drinking in a House in an Isle in the River *Piscatoway*, and hearing the Major was there in a Ware-house, he went thither; but going up Stairs, and being in drink, he tumbled down, and got such a heavy Fall, that the Major himself came to help this drunken Converter."

The substance of Sewel's statements is also given by Bishop, who moreover says, Cotton "would needs go to the Prison; and, taking another Priest with him, he would, in the first place, needs seem to condole their Conditions, as Prisoners, saying, *He was sorry to see them there; but withal told them, That they were such as denied the Scriptures to be their Rule of Life. Jane Millard demanded of him, If the Scriptures were the Saints Rule of Life, and that only by which they were to be Led and Guided; then what was the Saints of Old their Rule and Guide, who lived and dyed so long before the Scriptures were written? Seaborn answered, They had Scripture. What Scripture had they?* was of him demanded. Seaborn reply'd, *Scripture written in the Bark of Trees. Edward Wharton standing by, said, Seaborn, in Bark of what Trees?* He answered, *in Bark of Birch-Trees.* And so with a Thing that he could not prove, with a Lye in his Mouth he went away."

At a town meeting, 25 March, 1664, it was "voted, and agreed, y^t those y^t are willing to have their children called forth to be catechised, shall give in their names to Mr. Cotton for that end, between this and the second day of next month."

June 2, 1673, Cotton preached the Artillery Election Sermon, but it was not printed.

In the summer of 1675 a new meeting-house was erected, at the raising of which, all the males in town, of twenty years of age and upwards, were required to be present and assist, under a penalty of twelvecence each.

In December, 1678, Cotton took the Old Norfolk County oath of allegiance, at Hampton.

In 1684, Governor Edward Cranfield, the week after imprisoning the Reverend Joshua Moody, H. U. 1653, for refusing to administer to him the Lord's Supper according to the Liturgy, in a profane bravado sent word

to Cotton that when "he had prepared his soul he would come and demand the sacrament of him, as he had done at Portsmouth." Cotton, fearing the Governor might come *before* his soul was properly prepared, retired to Boston. While there he preached a sermon from the words, "Peter was therefore kept in prison, but prayer was made without ceasing of the church to God for him," which gave great offence to Cranfield and his friends in New Hampshire; but he suffered no molestation for it. After Cranfield's departure he returned to his parish.

September 5, 1685, he writes a memorial to "His Majestyes Councill" of New Hampshire, showing that "too many people have taken occasion" of an Act of 10 December, 1683, — whereby "they were left at thayre Liberty, whethar they would pay theyre ministers, or no," unless they "would Administer Baptisme, and the Lords supper, to such as desired It, according to His Majestyes Letter to y^e Massachusetts which was never denied by me, to any that orderly asked it, — both to withhold what was my due before that Act, for the yeare 1683, as also for y^e yeare 1684, & are likely to doe so for y^e yeare 1685, except this Honorable Councill see cause to passe an Act, & order . . . that I may have my Dues according to the Townes Compact upon Record, and theyre Agreement with my selfe, many yeares since." In answer to which, "The Council Order, that the Petitioner be left to the Law to have his remedy ag't the persons he contracted with, for his dues."

Cotton died 19 April, 1686, and was buried 23d, "Being esteemed," says Cotton Mather, "a thorough *Scholar*, and an able *Preacher*; and though his Name were *Sea-born*, yet none of the lately Revived Heresies were more Abominable to him, than that of his Namesake, *Pelagius* [or, *Morgan*] of whom the *Witness* of the Ancient *Poet* is true,

Pestifero Vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus";

Cotton concurring in sentiment with his father, who, "being asked, why in his Latter Days he indulged *Nocturnal Studies* more than formerly, . . . pleasantly replied, *Because I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep.*"

The following lines are from "An Elegiack Tribute to the Sacred Dust of Seaborn Cotton," by Edward Tompson, H. U. 1684:—

"If *tears & fears, or Moans & Groans* were verse,
 How *would I, could I, should I* grace the Herse
 Of this vast soul; of which th' unworthy earth
 Was ner'e so much as honour'd with the *Birth*.
 The grandest birth ere *Amphitrite* had:
 To rock his Cradle Angels they were glad.
 By *Winds & Waves, & prosp'rous Gales* before
 Heav'n sent by *Sea* his *heav'n-born* soul to *shore*.
 Whose *Worth*, whose *Works*, whose *Life* and *Well-spent* Dayes
 I need to *imitate* but not to *praise*. —
 I ever hated flatt'ring of the dead.
 (Without all fraud) it may, *must, shall* be se'd
 He was a *Gemm, Foy, Jewel, Head* and *Hand*,
Light, Life, Stay, Staff, & Oracle of our Land.
Hard things he *cas'd*, *obscure* he brought to *Sight*,
Fect to the *lame* he was: to *Blind* a *Light*.
Ears to the *deaf*. *Strength* to the *feeble Knece*.
 A *Mouth* to *dumb*. A *Churches eye* was hee.
Hands to the helpless ones. *Stay* to the *Weak*.
 The faint he *cheer'd*: to wicked *swords* he'd speak.
 An *heart* to heartless. A *Souls* guid, to *keep*
 And *fright* off *wolves & wicked* from *Christ's* sheep.
 He *drew & drove, woo'd, warn'd* with all his might
 Mens souls, by *love, by fear, by force, by Fright*.
 Never had *Body* such a *Soul* within:
 Vice-hater, and a *Thunder-bolt* to *Sin*.
 Oh how he *studi'd, preacht, teacht, practis'd* too!
 His *words, works, light & life* together grew.
 A *Mirroure* and a *Master-peice* of *Art*.
 His head was full of *Light*, of *Grace* his heart.

He did not seek the Churches *Goods* but *Good*:
 'Twas *them* not *theirs* he sought. O what a *brood*
 His sed'lous *care, love, labour, bred, fed, rais'd!*
 What earth does hide, in *heaven* will be *prais'd*.
 Modest, mild, meek was he. A gracious grave
 Pattern and Patron. Souls to strive to save
 He made his *work* his wages. Souls to gain
 He nere grutcht *time, labour, life, strength* or *pain*.
 To make souls *start, smart, feel* to heal, he spar'd
 No cost, no means: let Heav'n *regard, reward*.
 One while he'd *draw*, then *thunder*, yet anon
 He'd bring to calm souls an *Anodynon*.
 Scarce second to an Angel was his Tongue.
 I wonder how he tarried here so long,
 When fitted for the Angels company;
 (That high, that holy, heavenly *Hierarchy*)
 That he wasn't hous'd before, but left to stay
 Till ominous sins did fright this Saint away."

June 14, 1654, Cotton married Dorothy, eldest daughter of Governor Simon Bradstreet by his wife Anne, the female poet, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, and had several children, among whom were Dorothy, born at Hartford, Connecticut, 11 November, 1656; John Cotton, H. U. 1678, who succeeded his father in the ministry at Hampton; Elizabeth, born 13 August, 1665, who married the Reverend William Williams, of Hatfield, H. U. 1683; and Mercy, born 3 November, 1666, who married Peter Tufts, father of the Reverend John Tufts, H. U. 1708.

His wife Dorothy having died 26 February, 1672, he married, 9 July, 1673, Prudence, daughter of Jonathan Wade, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, and widow of Doctor Anthony Crosby, of Rowley. Their son Rowland Cotton, born 29 August, 1674, graduated in 1696.

WORKS.

1. A manuscript volume of very full notes of sermons preached by John Cotton, John Norton, Jonathan Mitchel, John Collins, Samuel Danforth, and others. 1652-1653. *M.*

2. *Concio Valedictoria*, being a manuscript on 2 Cor. 13, 11, apparently in his handwriting. *M.*

3. Letters to Sarah Mather, dated 27 January, 1661, and to Increase Mather, dated 16 June, 1667. Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 551-554.

4. Brief Summ of the Cheif Articles of the Christian Faith — a Catechism. Cambridge. 1663. 8vo. pp. 36. Anonymous.

Thomas Prince writes in his manuscript catalogue, "This is ^sd to be *By Mr Seaborn Cotton*, in y^e Title Page, in y^e Hand-Writing of —."

AUTHORITIES. — T. Alden, Collection of American Epitaphs, ii. 134. J. Belknap, History of New Hampshire, Farmer's ed., 107, 479, 481. G. Bishop, New England Judged, 392, 393. Boston First Church Records. W. G. Brooks, Letter, 1862, February 24; and his Manuscript copy of the Journal of Josiah Cotton, H. U. 1698. J. Dow, Historical Address, 32; and Manuscript Letter, 1871, September 30. J. Farmer, Genealog. Reg., 70; and Farmer and Moore's Collections, i. 257; ii. 238, 265, 266; iii. 41; Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxii. 300; xxiii. 187; of the New Hampshire Historical Society, ii. 204; American Quarterly Register, vi. 239; ix. 110. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, i. 169; ii. 184, 252. A. Holmes, History of Cambridge, 55; and Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vii. 55. J. Hull, Diary, in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 187. E. Johnson, Wonder-working Providence, 36; also Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 85. R. F. Lawrence, New Hampshire Churches, 67. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, ix. 22; x. 45; xii. 85; xxxi. 19; xxxviii. 551-554, 581. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. 20, 25, 31. New England Hist. and Genealogical Register, i. 77, 164, 322, 325; ii. 78; iii. 65, 194; v. 240; vi. 73, 204, 249; vii. 311; viii. 312, 321; ix. 113, 114, 164; x. 155; xiv. 38; xix. 240. New Hampshire Historical Society, Collections, ii. 204; viii. 190, 249. J. Savage, Genealog. Dict., i. 236, 464; iii. 612; iv. 477. W. Sewel, History of the Quakers, ed. 1725, 330. W. Shurtleff, Sermon at N. Gookin's Ordination, 30. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 29. H. R. Stiles, History of Windsor, 574, 852. Suffolk County Probate Records, i. 72. E. Tompson, Elegiack Tribute. Z. Whitman, History of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 191. J. Winthrop, History of New England, i. 110.

THOMAS DUDLEY.

Born about 1634, died 1655, aged about 21.

THOMAS DUDLEY, M. A., born probably at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the southeast corner of Mount Auburn and Dunster Streets, was baptized 9 March, 1634, at the First Church in Boston, where his mother, Mary, daughter of Governor John Winthrop, was a church-member. He was son of Samuel Dudley and grandson of Governor Thomas Dudley. He probably accompanied his father in 1635 on his removal to Ipswich, and again two years afterwards on another remove at the settlement of Salisbury, where the father resided twelve years, and then was settled in the ministry at Exeter, New Hampshire.

From the will of the graduate's grandfather Dudley, dated 26 April, 1652, on file and record in the Suffolk County Probate Office, in Boston, it appears that the grandfather "brought upp in some sort as" his "immediate children" this Thomas and his brother John. The will also says, "I give to Thomas Dudley my grandchild Ten pounds a yeare for two yeares after my Death, besides what I shall owe the Colledge for him at my Death," and adds, in a codicil dated 30 April, 1653, "Whereas my sonne Samuell Dudley, hath lately bene importunate wth mee to mainetayne his sonne Thomas Dudley, at the Colledge at Cambridge vntill the moneth of august, w^{ch} shalbe in the yeare of our Lord, 1654. At w^{ch} tyme (if hee live) hee is to take his second degree, I haue consented," etc. Accordingly he continued to board in commons and reside at the College till that time.

The payments, of which there is record from the quarter ending "8-8-50," are often made in silver; and "8-2-51" there is credited £4. 9s. 4d. "payd by Siluer

and Indian, which was all the Gouvernare would owne tho more was demanded as appeareth on the debtors side."

June 7, 1654, the graduate was chosen Resident Fellow or Tutor; but, as there is no record of payment to him for teaching, and no charge against him for commons, later than the quarter ending September, 1654, it is probable, that, if he entered upon his duties, he discharged them only for a very short time.

"Hauing a Long tyme through the patience & goodness of God Layen vnder his afflicting hand," he made his will, which was proved 7 November, 1655, at Boston, where he died of consumption, unmarried. Besides several bequests to relatives, he gives "to mr *Norton* & mrs *Norton* three pounds a piece, as a smale remembrance, for their exceeding Large Love & Kindnes they haue showne vnto" him; and his "Hebrew Lexicon y^t Pagnin made, . . . to m^r *Norton* over & besides" his "djet & other many charges that they haue beene at" since his "coming vnder their Roofe." He also gives to his "Loueing friends Mrs Greene & goodwife Langhorne both of Cambridge, forty shillings a piece as a token of" his "Loue for their great Loue to" him; and to "the two mayde Servants of M^{rs} *Norton* a piece of kersy of three yrds, & all" his "poore Linnen to be devided as M^{rs} *Norton* shall Judge fittest."

Among the items in the inventory of his estate, taken 21 June, 1664, valued at £65. 15. 02. are one small remnant of kersey, a debt due from Harvard College of about £5, in books £7, and a part of Watertown mill estimated at £40.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Belknap, History of New Hampshire, Farmer's ed., 33. D. Dudley, Dudley Genealogies, 19. N. Gilman, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 41. Massachusetts Hist. Society, Collections, xxiv. 295. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 71; v. 296, 444; vi. 282, 288; x. 135. L. R. Paige, Manuscripts. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 77, 78. Suffolk County Probate Records and Files.

JOHN GLOVER.

Born 1629, died 1696, aged 66.

JOHN GLOVER, M. A., third son of John Glover, who died in Boston, "11, 12, 1653," aged fifty-three years, and whose wife's name was Anna, was born 11 October, 1629, at Rainhill, in Prescot, Lancashire, England, and came to Massachusetts in 1630, with his parents, who settled at Dorchester. From a portion of what appears to have been a very long account current with the College, it appears that his payments were made chiefly in produce and articles of traffic. There are credits for butter, rye, "wheatt," "Indian Corne," "malt" repeatedly, twenty bushels coming at once, "bootes" and "shooes" frequently, "boyes shooes for m^{rs} Day," "shooes" for "goodm bordman," "a pair of Child's shooes," "a pair of bootes for abraham Smyth," "vampire goodm bordman boots," etc., besides some silver.

Not long after graduating the son went into business, was somewhat distinguished as a merchant, making large importations from London and other places, and by inheritance and purchase became a very large land-owner. Minute details respecting his estates are given in the Glover Memorials and Genealogies.

"By his father's will he was to receive two hundred pounds in money in addition to what had been paid for his education, and at the decease of his mother his share in Newbury Farm," which was situated in Dorchester, "and other lands was one fourth part. . . . He resided with his mother at the mansion house in Boston, and in 1670," after her decease, was appointed, with the consent of his elder brother, Habakkuk, the administrator of the estate. In 1679 he is designated "John Glover, of Boston,

merchant." He was a resident at Swanzev, when, about 1680, he married Elizabeth Franklin, born in Boston 3 October, 1638, daughter of William Franklin, of Boston, whose wife was Alice, daughter of Robert Andrews, of Ipswich, Massachusetts. In 1684 he bought a house and several tracts of land of Joseph and Abigail Curtis, in Sudbury, whither he removed from Swanzev. In 1690 he removed to Boston, and lived in Summer Street till his death, 23 September, 1696, his remains being laid in the Granary Burial Ground on the 25th.

In his will, dated 8 April, 1692, he gives all his property to his wife Elizabeth. November 5, 1696, less than two months after his decease, if the dates are correct, his widow was married to Doctor John Cleverly, of Braintree and Boston. Cleverly died in Boston, 5 May, 1703; and 27 July, 1703, less than three months afterward, she was married to James Mosman, of Roxbury, who survived her about seventeen years, she having died in Boston, 21 June, 1705.

It does not appear that Glover had any children.

AUTHORITIES. — A. Glover, *Glover logical Dictionary*, i. 55; ii. 200, *Memorials and Genealogies*, 149. 261; iii. 624. D. A. Wells, *Letter*, Harvard College Steward's Account- 1848, June 14. Books, i. 45. J. Savage, *Genea-*

HENRY BUTLER.

Born about 1624, died 1696, aged about 72.

REV. HENRY BUTLER, M. A., was probably the Henry Butler who was teacher in Dorchester, Massachusetts, as early as 1648 and as late as 1652. "Sir buttler" is charged for commons, study-rent, and other items, from 1649-50, the earliest date in the Steward's Account-

Books, till August, 1654, when he took his degree of Master of Arts.

He was made freeman 7 May, 1651.

Wigglesworth writes, 9 March, 1654: "Thursd. I wēt to Boston & frō y^{ns} to M^r Butlers he being married. . . . At Boston lecture & at a private meeting at M^r Butlers god did in some measure awakē & recal my straying affectiōs."

In 1664, William Stoughton includes "Mr Butler" among those who had left Dorchester and whose estates he had purchased.

Of the three candidates nominated in 1670 to succeed Richard Mather, at Dorchester, one was "Mr. Butler, in Old England."

Calamy says:¹ "Returning into *England*, he spent a Year or two in *Dorchester*, and then settled at *Yeovil* [in Somersetshire], where he continu'd publick Minister, 'till [the Act of Uniformity] *Aug. 24, 1662*. And he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry afterwards in that Town, and in other Places as he had Opportunity; and was often Convicted, and Apprehended, and Imprison'd, and suffer'd great Losses by Fines, and Seizures of his Goods; and was often forc'd to remove from his Habitation. At length he settled at a Place in this County called *Withamfr[i]ary*, about Five Miles from *Froom*,

¹ Calamy begins his notice of Henry Butler by saying he was "born in *Kent*, and educated in *Cambridge*. When he was about Thirty Years of Age, he took a Voyage into *New England*, with several others, for the free Exercise of their Religion, and he continu'd there Eleven or Twelve Years in the Work of the Ministry, and teaching University Learning." Calamy obviously confounds two persons of the same name, or mis-

took Cambridge, New England, for Cambridge, Old England, and is clearly in error as to the age of the graduate when he came to America.

If Wigglesworth, as cited in the text, alludes to his classmate, Henry Butler, as seems probable, the John Butler, baptized 6 July, 1651, as mentioned by Savage, could hardly have been the son of the graduate, as he states, unless he was twice married.

where he was Pastor of a Congregation: And no danger from Enemies, no violence of Weather, no indisposition of Body hindred him from meeting his People, either in private Houses, or in Sir *Edward Seymour's* Woods, as was thought most safe: And tho' it was with difficulty, and labour, and hazard, that they met together, yet the Congregation grew, and he did much good. Tho' he had not 20 *l. per Annum* to live upon 'till about two Years before his Death, yet no offers of worldly Advantage would tempt him to leave his Charge. He was much Afflicted with the Stone, in the latter part of his Life, and yet continu'd his Pains among his People, as his Strength would permit. He died *April 24, 1696*, Aged about 72. His last Words were these: '*A broken and a contrite heart, O GOD, Thou wilt not despise.*' "

He married Anne, supposed to have been daughter of John Holman by his first wife.

August 4, 1673, Butler then or lately of Yeouel in Somersetshire, England, in consideration of one hundred and sixty pounds received from Thomas Holman, his wife's younger brother, made a deed to him, acknowledged 7 November, 1674, of "all that housinge, lands," etc., which he had or should have in Milton or Dorchester in New England, formerly belonging to John Holman, late of Milton, deceased.

The Butler School at the Upper Mills in Dorchester, Massachusetts, is appropriately named from this early instructor.

AUTHORITIES.—E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 611. *Harvard College Steward's Account-Books*, i. 52. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 388. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 320; ii. 451. M. Wigglesworth, *Manuscript Diary*.
 History of Dorchester, 144, 195, 219, 470, 482. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 51. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, ii. 42.

NATHANIEL PELHAM.

Born about 1632, died 1657, aged about 25.

NATHANIEL PELHAM, B. A., son of Herbert Pelham, first college treasurer, who returned to England in 1649, was baptized 5 February, 1631-2, his mother being Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Waldegrave. His name is not found on the Steward's Account-Books. In November, 1657, as already noticed on page 258, he sailed from Boston for England in "Mr. Garretts ship," which "had aboard her a very rich lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in number; whereof divers of them were persons of great worth and virtue, both men and women," among whom were Pelham's classmate John Davis, and Jonathan Ince, H. U. 1650; and "was never heard of more."

AUTHORITIES. — D. Gookin, in. sex, ii. 267. L. R. Paige, Manuscripts. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 386.
 Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 202, 203. T. Morant, History and Antiquities of Es-

 JOHN DAVIS.

Died 1657.

JOHN DAVIS, M. A., son of William Davis, of New Haven, though sometimes absent from Cambridge for several consecutive months, kept an account current with the College till September, 1657; generally, with an exception of "three pecks of peasse," making his payments in wheat, the "freight from harford to boston" and

“from boston to the stewards house” being charged to him.

In 1655 he was preaching and teaching school in Hartford. “The precise time of his coming or going is uncertain. The town allowed him ten pounds ‘for preaching and schooling’ to the 7th of February, 1655-6, and payment of an unpaid balance due him was ordered by the town, May 28, 1656. A memorandum on the town records shows that [the] sum stipulated to be paid” to him “for the year 1655, was contributed or advanced before Jan. 20, 1655-6, by six individuals . . . all of the ‘South side’ of Hartford, and three or four of whom were among the ‘withdrawers’ from the first church in 1656, or became members of the second church in 1669-70.”

As mentioned on pages 258 and 300, he, in a company of about fifty passengers, among whom were Jonathan Ince, H. U. 1650, and his classmate Nathaniel Pelham, sailed from Boston for London in November, 1657, on board a ship of which James Garrett was master, and was “never heard of more.”

Gookin says, Davis “was one of the best accomplished persons for learning, as ever was bred at Harvard College.”

AUTHORITIES. — Connecticut Historical Society, Collections, ii. 54. Harvard College Stewards’ Account-Books, i. 53. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 18, Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 22.

ISAAC CHAUNCY.

Born 1632, died 1712, aged about 79.

REV. ISAAC CHAUNCY, M. A., was the oldest of President Chauncy's six sons, all of whom graduated at Harvard College. His mother was Catharine, daughter of Robert Eyre, of Sarum, in Wiltshire, barrister. He was born 23, and baptized 30, August, 1632, at Ware, in Hertfordshire, England. Before he was six years old he came to Plymouth, New England, with his parents, whom, in 1641, he accompanied to Scituate.

From the accounts with "Chauncyes Senior and Junior," which were entered as one in the Steward's books, it seems that he and his brother, Ichabod Chauncy, who was a classmate, terminated their connection with the College about the time of graduating, though there are charges, "8-6-54," when they took the degree of Master of Arts. Among the items of their expenses are "bringinge malt from boston and from the Creek," "Payd to frances morr for shooe mending," besides the items common to students who roomed and boarded in college, for which there are credits of silver, wheat, malt, lambs, "Alowed Senior Chancey towards a scollership," etc.

"*Most, if not all,*" of President Chauncy's sons, "like their Excellent *Father* before them, had an Eminent Skill in *Physick* added unto their other Accomplishments," it being not uncommon at that time for a clergyman to practise the two professions. Isaac Chauncy, having probably pursued his professional studies with his father, returned to England, and it has been supposed received the degree of M. D., though I think it doubtful, as Neal is the earliest authority for the statement, neither Mather nor any early Harvard Catalogue noticing it.

Not long before the Restoration he was presented with the living of Woodborough, in Wiltshire, where he continued till he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. After that he was "for some time Pastor to a Congregational Church at *Andover*, who met in the same Place with the People that were under the Pastoral Care of Mr. *Samuel Sprint*," "who attempted a coalition between the two churches, and had brought Mr. *Chauncey* to consent to it, but some of his people opposed and frustrated the design." "Having applied himself to the Study of Physick," says Calamy, "he quitted *Andover*, some time after the Recalling King *Charles's* Indulgence, and came to *London*, with a Design to act as a Physician, rather than as a Preacher for the future"; his residence in 1681-2 being in "Blew Boar Court, in Friday Street." In October, 1687; while so employed, Clarkson's society gave him a call to Bury Street, "in conjunction with Mr. Loeffs."¹ This position he held fourteen years, the church meeting at the house of a Doctor Clark, in Mark Lane.

"At length finding the Society decrease and decay, he took up a Resolution wholly to quit ministerial Service, and no Entreaties could prevail with him to the contrary. Tho' he was no popular Preacher, yet Mr. *Sprint*, who was a good Judge of Learning, and knew him well, always gave him the Character of a learned Man; which will scarce be denied by any unprejudic'd Persons, that were well acquainted with him."

Wilson says: "He was rigid in his principles," and "greatly distinguished himself in the controversy that

¹ It is remarkable that five ejected ministers, Caryl, Owen, Loeffs, Clarkson, and Chauncey, were connected with this church, which has long ceased to have a separate existence. Doctor Price became Doctor Watts's colleague and successor, and subsequently the society was under the care of Doctor Savage. The edifice was afterward used for mercantile purposes.

followed the publication of Dr. Crisp's works, by his zeal against Dr. Williams, and what was then called the Neonomian doctrine. This he frequently made the subject of his ministry. But what rendered him chiefly unpopular, was his frequent preaching upon the order and discipline of gospel churches, by which he, at last, preached away most of his people." He resigned his charge 15 April, 1701, and Isaac Watts, "who had been his assistant above 2 years," was not long afterward chosen his successor, and declared his acceptance of the office 8 March, 1701-2, the day on which King William died.

After Chauncy removed to London he was "divinity tutor to the Dissenter's academy in *London*, immediately before Dr. [Thomas] *Ridgley* and Mr. [John] *Eames*," and held the office till he died, 28 February, 1712.¹

The name of Chauncy's wife was Jane. They had several children, of whom were Elizabeth, who married the Reverend John Nesbit, alluded to by Macaulay as the "Mr. Nisby" mentioned in Addison's *Spectator*, No. 317, and Charles Chauncy, who settled in Boston, Massachusetts, married Sarah, daughter of John Walley, and was father of the Reverend Charles Chauncy, H. U. 1721.

WORKS.

1. The Catholick | Hierarchie: | Or, | The Divine Right of a | Sacred Dominion | in | Church | and | Conscience, | Truly Stated, Asserted, and Pleaded. || London. 1681. 4to. pp. (4) To a worthy Gentleman, signed "Catholicus Verus"; (1) Contents; (1) Errata; and 152 Text. Anonymous. *M.*

2. Ecclesia Eucleata: | The Temple Opened: | Or, A Clear | Demonstration | Of the True | Gospel-Church | in its | Nature and Constitution, | According to the | Doctrine and Practice | of | Christ and his Apostles. | — | By I. C. || London. 1684.

¹ The institution was in existence of John Pye Smith, D. D., and known in 1808, at Homerton, under the care as the Fund-board Society.

sm. 8vo. or 16mo. Pp. (11) Preface, signed I. C.; (1-2) Contents; (1) Errata; and 160 Text. *P.*

T. Prince says, "This book is suppos'd to be wrote by Mr Isaak Chauncy," and he enters it under Chauncy's name in his manuscript catalogue.

3. A Theological Dialogue, containing a Defence and Justification of Dr. John Owen, from the forty-two errors charged upon him by Mr. Richard Baxter. London. 1684.

4. The Second Part of the Theological Dialogue, being a Rejoinder to Mr. Richard Baxter. 1684.

5. The Unreasonableness of Compelling Men to go to the Holy Supper; in which is answered a pamphlet entitled The Case of compelling to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c., vindicated by the Rules of the Gospel. London. 1684.

6. Ecclesiasticum: | Or | A Plain and Familiar | Christian Conference, | concerning | Gospel Churches, and Order. | For the Information and Benefit of those, | who shall seek the Lord their God, and ask | the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward; . . . || London. 1690. sm. 8vo. Preface pp. (13), signed Isa. Chauncy; and Text pp. 144. Anonymous. *P.*

7. The | Interest of Churches: | Or, A | Scripture Plea | For | Stedfastness in Gospel Order. | Being A | Discourse | concerning | The Duty of a Church-Member, viz. stedfastly | to continue in the Communion of a particular Church of | Christ, to which he hath joined himself. | The substance of which was preached to a Congregation | in London, and now published, with some Enlargement, for the | benefit of that and other Churches of Christ. || London, Printed for the Author. 1690. 4to. pp. 39. *M, W.*

8. Examen Confectionis Pacificæ: | Or, A | Friendly Examination | of the | Pacifick Paper: | Chiefly concerning | The Consistency of Absolute Election of | Particular Persons with the Universality of Redemption; | And, | The Conditionality of the Covenant of Grace. | Wherein also | The New Scheme is clearly declared || London. 1692. 4to. pp. 22. Anonymous. *P.*

9. Neonomianism Unmask'd: | Or, the | Ancient Gospel | Pleaded, | Against the Other, | called | A New $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Law} \\ \text{or} \\ \text{Gospel.} \end{array} \right. | \text{In a | Theological Debate, occasioned by a Book lately | Wrote by$

Mr. Dan. Williams, Entitled, Gospel-Truth | Stated and Vindicated: Unwarily Commended and Sub- | scribed by some Divines. | Applauded and Defended by the late Athenian Clubb. || London, Printed for J. Harris at the Harrow in the Poultry, 1692. 4to. Pp. (4) Epistle Dedicatory; (2) Some of the Paradoxes contained in the Neonomian Scheme; and Text 04 [40]. P.

Daniel Williams wrote "A Defence of Gospel Truth. Being a Reply to Mr. Chancy's First Part." P.

10. A | Rejoynder | to | Mr. Daniel Williams | His | Reply | To the First Part of | Neomianism Unmaskt. | Wherein | His Defence is Examined, and his Argu- | ments Answered; whereby he endea- | vours to prove the Gospel to be a New | Law with Sanction: And the contrary | is proved. || London. 1693. 4to. pp. 48. P.

11. Neonomianism Unmask'd: | Or, the | Ancient Gospel | Pleaded, | Against the Other, | called, The New Law. | The Second Part of the Theological | Debate, occasion'd by Mr. Dan. William's Book, | wherein the following Points are Discussed. | I. What the State of the Elect is before Effectual Calling? II. Whether God laid our Sins on Christ? III. Whether the Elect were Discharged from Sin upon Christ's bearing them? IV. Whether the Elect cease to be Sinners from the time their Sins were laid on Christ? V. What was the time when our Sins were laid on Christ? VI. Whether God was separated from Christ while our Sins lay upon him? London. 1693. 4to. pp. (4) An Animadvertisement; and Text 336. Between pages 82 and 83 is a title-page "...being the Continuation of the Second Part...", and following page 336 is Neonomianism Unmask'd. Part III, pp. 104 without a title-page. P.

12. The | Doctrine | Which is according to | Godliness | Grounded upon the Holy Scri- | ptures of Truth; and agreeable | to the Doctrinal Part of the Eng- | lish Protestant Articles, and Con- | fessions. | To which is Annexed, | A Brief Account of the Church-Order of the | Gospel according to the Scriptures. || London. n. d. [1694]. 12mo. Pp. (1) Errata; (9) Epistle to the Reader; 352 Text; and Table (17). M, P, W.

T. Prince, in his manuscript catalogue in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, writes: "I place it in 1694, Bec Mr I. Mather writes in y^e 1st Blank Leafe — *I. Mather ex Dono Authoris R, Octob. 6. 1694, & bec y^e Author was educated in N E.*"

The same. London. 1737. 16mo. pp. (6), 337, (18). In the Boston Public Library.

13. A | Discourse | Concerning | Unction, | and | Washing of Feet. | Proving | That They be not Instituted Sacraments, | or Ordinances in the Churches. || London. 1697. 8vo. pp. 30. *H*.

14. The | Divine Institution | of | Congregational Churches, | Ministry and Ordinances, | [as has bin Professed by those of that Persuasion] | Asserted and Proved from the Word of God. || London. 1697. 12mo. Pp. iii–xii To the Reader; Text 142. *H, W*.

15. Christ's Ascension to fill all things. | ——— | Being A | Sermon | Preach'd at | Horsly-Down, | at the | Solemn Ordination and setting a-part | of | Elders and Deacons, | by the | Church of Christ, there Assem- | bled on that Occasion, | Wednesday, September 21. 1698. || London. 1699. sm. 8vo. Preface pp. (2) signed J. C.; Text pp. 5–64. *P*.

16. An Essay to the Interpretation of the angel Gabriel's prophecy, delivered by the prophet Daniel, chap. ix. 24: || Lond. 1699. sm. 8vo. pp. 119.

17. Alexipharmacōn: | Or, A | Fresh Antidote | against | Neonomian Bane, and Poyson | to the | Protestant Religion. | Being a Reply to the late Bishop of | Worcester's Discourse of Christ's Satisfaction, | in Answer to the Appeal of the late Mr. | Steph. Lob. | And also a Refutation of the Doctrine of Ju- | stification by Man's own Works of Obedience, | delivered and defended by Mr. John Humphrey, | and Mr. Sam. Clark, contrary to Scripture, and | the Doctrine of the first Reformers from Popery. || London. 1700. 8vo. Pp. (4) Preface; (2) A Catalogue of Mr, Isaac Chauncy's Books, Printed for, and sold by William Marshall; 1–100 signed J. C.; and 1–176 "The Doctrine of Justification Explained and Vindicated, &c." without title-page. *P*.

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, Ejected and Silenced Ministers, ii. 761; iv. 877. C. Chauncy, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 177. R. Clutterbuck, Hertfordshire, ii. 401. S. Deane, Hist. of Scituate, 177. J. Farmer, Genealog. Reg., 56, 57; and Amer. Quart. Reg., ix. 111. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 47. W. C. Fowler, Memorials of the Chaunceys, 32, 46; and N. England

Histor. and Genealog. Reg., x. 323. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 57. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxviii. 619. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 140. D. Neal, History of New England, i. 390. [J. Oldmixon], British Empire in America, 2d ed., i. 218. S. Palmer, Nonconformist's Memorial, ii. 517. J. Savage, Genealog. Dict., i. 367, 368. W. B. Sprague, Annals, i. 113. W. Wilson, Dissenting Churches, i. 289.

ICHABOD CHAUNCY.

Born about 1635, died 1691, aged about 56.

REV. ICHABOD CHAUNCY, M. A., of Bristol, England, to whom allusion has been made on page 302, in the notice of his brother and classmate, Isaac Chauncy, is called Doctor by Calamy, and has M. D. affixed to his name by Clutterbuck, but without a designation of the institution from which the degree was received.

Born in England about 1635, he probably came to New England with his brother, pursued the same courses of study, and went back with him not long after graduating. According to Calamy, "He was Chaplain to Sir *Edward Harley's* Regiment at *Dunkirk*, when the Uniformity Act took place. He afterwards became a Physician in *Bristol*, and was of good Note. He was Prosecuted on the 35th *Eliz.* and upon that Act suffer'd Banishment. In 1684. he was compell'd to abjure the Realm; and remov'd himself and his Family into *Holland*: But upon King *James's* Liberty, he return'd to *Bristol* in 1686; and there he died *July 25, 1691,*" aged fifty-six, and was buried in St. Philip's Church. From his will, in Doctor's Commons, it appears that he left a good property.

His wife, Mary King, after his death married a Guilim, and died at Bristol in 1736, aged ninety. He left three sons: Stanton, who died at Nevis in November, 1707, unmarried; Charles, born 14 March, 1673-4, a successful merchant in London, who died 3 January, 1763; and Nathaniel, born 14 February, 1679, who entered into holy orders, was minister at Devizes nearly fifty years, and died 16 May, 1750.

WORKS.

1. Letters to Increase Mather, dated Bristol, 17 February (?), 1681-2, and London, 12 August, 1683. Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 617-620.

2. Innocence Vindicated by an Impartial Narrative of the Proceedings of the Court of Sessions in Bristol, against Ichabod Chauncey, Physician in that City. 1684. 4to.

AUTHORITIES.—E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 610; iv. 756. C. Chauncy, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Hist. Society*, x. 177. R. Clutterbuck, *Hertfordshire*, ii. 401. S. Deane, *History of Scituate*, 178. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 57; and *American Quarterly Register*, ix. 112. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, ii. 47. W. C. Fowler, *Memorials of the Chaunceys*, 32, 79, 82. *Harvard College Steward's Account-Books*, i. 57. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, xxxviii. 617-620. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. 140. [J. Oldmixon], *British Empire in America*, 2d ed., i. 218. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 352. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 368. W. B. Sprague, *Annals*, i. 113.

 JONATHAN BURR.

Died 1691.

JONATHAN BURR, M. A., born in England, was son of the Reverend Jonathan Burr, rector of Richings Hall, who was silenced by Laud, came to New England with his wife Frances and three children in 1639, was settled at Dorchester in February, 1640, as colleague with Richard Mather, and died 9 August, 1641, aged thirty-six. The graduate, who came with his father, was educated by his stepfather, Richard Dummer, of Newbury. His expenses in college were paid chiefly in "beaff" and "wheatte"; but there is one credit for "malt," and, "13-7-50," there was "Giuen him for wrytinge out the table, 5s." He left Cambridge when he graduated,

but appears to have been present at taking the degree of Master of Arts in 1654, as he is charged for commons, etc., at that time, besides the usual "Commencement Chardges £3."

He settled as a physician at Bristol, England, where he died 25 July, 1691.

AUTHORITIES. — M. H. Burr, Manuscript Notes, 1870, August 30. N. Cleaveland, First Century of Dummer Academy, Appendix, x. History of Dorchester, 109, 556. T. M. Harris, History of Dorchester, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, ix. 181. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 61. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 307. J. Winthrop, History of New England, ii. 22.

CLASS OF 1652.

JOSEPH ROWLANDSON.

Born about 1631, died 1678, aged about 47.

REV. JOSEPH ROWLANDSON, B. A., of Lancaster, Massachusetts, and of Wethersfield, Connecticut, the only graduate in 1652, born about 1631, probably in England, was son of Thomas Rowlandson, of Ipswich, Massachusetts, who was made freeman 2 May, 1638, and died at Lancaster, 17 November, 1657.

It is remarkable that the graduate's name is not in the Steward's Account-Books, the first of these, dated 26 November, 1651, containing copies of accounts from March, 1649-50, with a few items of an earlier date. Possibly the omission may have been occasioned by an indiscreet act of Rowlandson before the book was bought.

Near the close of his Junior year in college, he posted upon the meeting-house in Ipswich a "scandelous lybell,"¹

¹ The libel was contained in the two following articles, written by Rowlandson in a disguised hand, on the two sides of the paper, and here reprinted from Willard's edition of Mrs. Rowlandson's Narrative.

I. "Gentlemen I beseech you looke heere and tell me truly have I not discharged my duty very well. I pray bee pleased to be informed further in a long tale of enuie pull me

not downe I pray til all ye people haue sene mee and then turne mee.

"O God from heauen looke thou downe
Doe not thy seruants wonder
To see thy honour so abused
Thy truth so troden vnder.

"The feete of proud malignant ones
That loue to give despight
And of those that are innocent
To turne aside the right.

"What could not enuie stopped bee
Before it had thus gained

for which he was brought before the Quarterly Court at Ipswich, 30 September, 1651. The Judges, being Gov-

Ouer the truth and what may bee
By right of lawe mayntayned?

“What were not Rulers able to
It totally expell
Or had not they some might at least
Its strength somewhat to quell?”

“O blessed God why didest thou
Thy rulers all restraine
ffrom seeing enuie fully bent
Its will for to mayntayne?”

“O enuie hast thou thus preuayld
And is thy hand so high
That now Gods ordinance must bee
Proclaim'd a nullity?”

“Did euer enuie thus preuayle
In any generation
Was euer such an act as this
Heard of in any nation?”

“Were euer those that God made one
Deuided thus in sunder
Did euer enuie thus proceede
Good hearers stand and wonder?”

“What men doe joyne it graunted is
Men may againe disseuer
But what the Lord conioynes in one
Disioyned may bee neuer

“Whence comes it Enuie then that thou
Doest this day triumph make
And in the publick eares of all
This fundamentall stake?”

“Tartarian sulphur had expelld
Or totally obscured
The light that long time half was quelld
In her conscience so inpured

“And hence I enuie got the day
Her conscience so to seare
Til I at length had found a way
To put her out of fear

“And so did I cause her to say
Euen what it was I lyst
Nor care beeing had vnto the truth
Whether it hit or mist.

“If enuie hath thus deceived thee
O woman, and the allurements of thy
pretended friends conspiring there-

with, so brought thee to belye thy conscience as it is credibly reported heere in this towne wr I live that am so indifferent in the thing as indeed cannot bee otherwise being so remote from wr you live: then I doe profess that ye Court did well to free the poore man of his burthen and if I knew him I would certainly tell him so. More ouer me thinks I would tell him that he hath indeed done very ill to keep her so long from performing her promise to that same young-man so long agoe; which if I had knowledge of I could inform him punctually concerning I pray you therefore that reade this writing inform him of my name and direct him to the towne where I liue and I hope I may give him a little something for his further ease since I heare the Court hath proceeded so farre in that way already. In the meane time I have made bold to send this writing, which least it should miscarry his hands I did desire the bearer to set it up in publicke, that so he might not bee altogether vn-informed of our iudgment heer in this towne

“By mee. JUSTICE PLEADER
in the Towne of Conscience,*
3000 miles distant from any
place well neere in New-
England.”

II. “If I were as the man that is so cast I would indeede haue appealed to yt Court that only by the Lawes of America hath to doe in such cases namely ye court of assistants who haue ye sole-power to determine an

* Instead of the words following “Conscience,” the Court document at Salem has “in America in

new england where I saw her triumph in a greene chariot y^e lady Asterea riding in y^e right boote.”

ernor John Endicott, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Daniel Denison, and William Hathorne, sentenced him,

undeterminable matter heerein by those that are meere parties but since it is past, I would earnestly appeale to the Court where God himself is Judge, and all the saints men and angels are assistants; whose throne is ye heaven of heavens; there the innocent shall be acquitted and those that now sing their enuious Trophe shall be lyable to answer for the horrible abuse of yr consciences in misinforming and deluding those honored Judges that he hath upon earth substituted.

“GENTLEMEN — If any seeme to be offended at my verdict, let it be given mee under his hand and I will doe the best satisfaction that the law requires if that serues not upon liberty of consideration for ye space of a quarter of an hour (the law afording twelue) for an appeale, I rather will lie downe vnder an vniust censure, than be troublesome especially if all my iudges be aturnyes of the opposite party: in the meane time I pray giue the Man whom this paper concerns the same libertie and I hope all will do well

“Remember mee I pray to the Marshall of Ipswich and tell him that I heare he may be an honest man in the iudgment of charity: I pray send me word if he bee not a Hash-all as well as Marshall for I heare he is verry buisie in cuerie bodies matters

“I am a peaceable sonne in Israell and am only some-wt moued beyound my wont or wr I commend in my-self or others by ye only remote heare-say of this present business a matter I doe belieue, the like whereof neuer was heard in any nation all this duely weighed.

“God save the Governor and all the honored asistants and giue them long to rule this people with the civil sword and that they may vse the same in all bene-administration themselves alone [*turning out all Associates which are able to corrupt justice bee y^e cause neuer so good **] and that so they may do as they will answer the great Judge another day:

“Good people honour your governor and Magistrates who are the ministers of God for good and I hope as this mans experience growes more sanctified hee will say they ministered good vnto him in taking away such a burthen that the Lord perhaps saw unsupportable for him

“I heare there is one whom I think they call Dan Ross in that towne Ile assure you if it be he that I know he is a verry sneaking sycophant and I feare one whom God will deale seuerely with shortly: when he lived in our country a wet Eeles taylor and his word were something worth ye taking hold of.”

The authorship of the articles was acknowledged, as appears from the following document, which, as well as the subjoined note, is taken from the Essex County Court Records at Salem.

“Joseph Rowlison appearing before me vpon this day (Maier Denyson being p^resent) to answer a deep suspicoⁿ for being the Author or to

* “These words weere blotted in the paper yet weere so legible that wee distinctly read them the 3 July 1651

“JOHN ROGERS

“JOSEPH PAINÉ

“MOSES PENGRY.”

“I read y^e words above written wthout much difficulty.

“W: HUBBARD.”

for "his great misdemenor," to be "whipt vnlese he paye 5lb by wedensday come 3 weekes or be whipt the next Thursdaye and 5lb more when the court shall call for it, and to paye all charges 30s for the marshalls goeing with atachmt for him to Cambridge & Boston and fees of Court."

Having pursued the study of divinity about two years, he went, as early as the summer or fall of 1654, to preach at Lancaster, Massachusetts, then containing about twenty families. February 12, 1654-5, he subscribed the town covenant, and received his allotment of twenty acres of upland and forty of interval. All this was done notwithstanding the order of the General Court, 18 May, 1653, "That the inhabitants of Lancaster doe take care that a godly ministry may be maintajned amongst them, and that no evill persons, enemjes to the lawes of this com̄on-wealth in judgment or practize, be admitted as inhabitants amongst them, and none to lottes confirmed but such as take the oath of fidellitje"; to which may be added the vote of the residents themselves, not to receive "as inhabitants any *Excommunicant*, or otherwise profane or scandalous, . . . nor any one notoriously erring against the doctrine and discipline of the churches, and the estate and Government of this Commonwealth."

Whether the corporal punishment ordered by the Court was ever inflicted on Rowlandson I have not ascertained. It is natural, however, to suppose that his vocation and character at this time, taken in connection with what he had already suffered, would have precluded further action as to the "scandelous lybell." Yet their "Honored

have have had a hand in a p̄nitious scandalous libell against Authority.

"The said Joseph Rolandson Confessed himself to be the Author of y^e same. Wherevpon the said Joseph is bound to this governmt in the

sum̄e of 50^l to appeare at Ipsw^{ch} Court next to answere the same & Thomas Rolandson Sen^r as his suerty is bound in the same sum̄e.

"17th 5th 1651."

worships," thinking otherwise, appear to have exacted the following humiliating confession, still preserved, in his handwriting, in the office of the Clerk of the Essex County Courts at Salem.

"Forasmuch as I Joseph Rowlandson through the suggestion of Satan, and the evil of my owne heart, by that being strongly attempted, by the depravation of this too facilly inclined to the perpetration of a fact whose nature was anomic, and circumstances enormities. And being not onely iustly suspected, but also hauing both an inward cogniscance of and an external call (by virtue of Lawful Authority before w^{ch} I was convented) to speake the truth or at least not to vtter the contrary. Yet notwithstanding to the Dishonour of God and discredit of his truth, and to the greife of the Godly and in fine the wounding of my owne conscience: did not hearken therevnto but rather to the æquivocal delusions with which Satan did then beset mee. not onely to the waving but also abnegation of the same. In all which Respects it seemed good to the foresayd Authority, before whom the foresayd convention was made to bind me ouer to this Present Honored Court to be Responsal for the same, and being accordingly Now called vnto the same by you^r Honored worships; I humbly craue your fauorable Leauē to Declare as followeth, viz. That as concerning the writing which I so Rashly affixed vnto the Meetinghouse I doe desire to abhorre my selfe for my extreme folly in so doing and I hope the Lord hath opened my eyes to See that in my selfe thereby that otherwise I might too Late haue Lamented but not timously Repented of: But in particular I doe acknowledg that I did very sinfully in condemning that sentence judicially passed by your worships and putting contempt vpon the Coassors which it pleased this goverment to honour with power in a sentence with the Honored Assistants, and likewise vsing certaine scurrulous words of the Mar-

shal. in all w^{ch} particulars I doe acknowledg & Confesse that I did miserably abuse My selfe, & that weake Measure of Knowledg which the Lord hath beene pleased to Bestow upon Mee, and that I did w^t I ought not to haue done in y^t Respect. In which that which I very much Lament is that I haue wronged your Honored worships & these officers for this Commonwealths good which are here constituted: But that which I much more Lament is the Dishonovr that hath thereby redovnded to God as well by the writing it selfe as by that which most of all hath beene a continual greife namely the abnegation of the same: For all which sinful offences I humbly craue pardon so farre as they concerne your Honored worships, and a Due Consideration of w^t vehement temptation I was vnder, which though I cannot Relate. yet I question not but you^r worships will consider: Howeuer I confide vpon your worships pittie, & continved prayers that this fall may be euerlasting gaine.

“Sighned with my hand, attested vnto wth my heart.

“JOSEPH: ROWLANDSON.

“At the Court held at Ipswich the 25 of March 1656

“Joseph Rowlandson upon his petition the Court remitted the remainder of his fine.”

Commissioners, who had been appointed by the General Court, at the request of the people of Lancaster, to manage their town affairs, at their meeting, 25 April, 1656, directed the town to pay Rowlandson “fifty pounds by the year, . . . and as God shall enlarge their estates, so shall they enlarge therein answerably,” etc.

In August, 1657, he received “by deed of gift” the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry. In September the Commissioners ordered the Selectmen “to take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, and for the erecting a meeting house”; which was built soon afterward.

According to the records, as cited by Willard, "Monday 3, 3mo. 1658. On the certain intelligence of Master Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was, and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for ought he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other; so discharging him.

"Friday, 14, 3mo. 1658. A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away; upon which, the town having notice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us: and, after some debate, it was voted," "by the hands of all held up," 1. to invite him to settle in the ministry, and 2. "to allow him for maintenance fifty pounds a year, one half in wheat, six pence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other good current pay, in like proportions; or, otherwise, fifty five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the Court." A third vote, notwithstanding opposition by Goodman Kerley, who nursed his wrath long afterward, gave him the "house which he lived in, . . . with the point of land westward, and some land west, and some north, of his house, for an orchard, garden, yards, pasture and the like, . . . with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land intended to be for the next minister, &c.

"And upon this, Master Rowlandson accepted of the

towns invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion, concerning his maintenance, and promised to abide with us in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry."

He was undoubtedly ordained at the organization of the church, which, from the fact that on the "26th August, 1660, Roger Sumner was dismissed" from the church in Dorchester, "that with other christians, at Lancaster, a church might be formed there," probably was not accomplished till about September, 1660.

Rowlandson continued in the ministry at Lancaster till Philip's War.¹ August 22, 1675, "*Eight* Persons, in different Parts of the Town were kill'd." February 10, 1675-6, while he and two of his parishioners were "at *Boston*, solliciting the Governor and Council for more Soldiers for the Protection of the Place," fifteen hundred Indians under Philip, "in five distinct Bodies & Places," assaulted the town, "in which there were then *above fifty Families*," and burnt "most of the unfortified Houses." In Rowlandson's, the only garrison house which was destroyed, "there were Soldiers & Inhabitants to the Number of *Forty-Two*"; but there being "only two flankers at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished," and the rear but imperfectly defended, "The Enemy," says Harrington, "having loaded a Cart with Combustible Matter,"—Mrs. Rowlandson says, "with Flax and Hemp, which they brought out of the Barn,"—"push'd it flaming to the House; and thus," after once extinguishing it, and a defence of more than two hours, "being reduc'd to the sad Necessity of either perishing

¹ S. Sewall, in his Diary, writes 12 May, 1697, "Hannah Dustun came to see us. . . . She saith her Master whom she kill'd, did formerly live with Mr. Rowlandson at Lancaster:

He told her, that when he prayd y^e English way, he thought that was good: but now he found y^e French way was better."

in the Flames, or resigning themselves to the Salvages," the inmates were obliged to surrender.

Of fifty or fifty-five persons, nearly half suffered death. Not less than seventeen of Rowlandson's family and connections were killed or taken prisoners. His brother, Thomas Rowlandson, was slain. His wife, wounded through her side, together with her children and his wife's sister, was carried off. He knew nothing of what had occurred till he returned and saw the smouldering ruins and dead bodies. After this sad affliction, "M^r Roulison" appears to have been engaged in efforts to recover his captured relatives, and, according to the Massachusetts Records of 25 February, was not "disposed to accept of the motion of y^e Court to goe out wth the forces as preacher," an offer made apparently on the 21st.

Mrs. Rowlandson was redeemed after eleven weeks and five days of dreadful suffering, and travelling as far probably as Charlestown, New Hampshire, during which she had repeated interviews with Philip. Returning to Lancaster, and lodging there one night on straw in a farm-house that had escaped destruction, she thence proceeded through Concord, and joined her husband in May, at Boston, "where," she writes, "so much love I received from several (many of whom I knew not) that I am not capable to declare it." The Reverend "*Thomas Shepard of Charlestown*, received us into his house, where we continued eleven weeks; and a father and mother they were unto us. And many more tender hearted friends we met with in that place."

The family having at last got together, the son, Joseph, coming in through Dover and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and the daughter, Mary, through Providence, Rhode Island, "the *South church in Boston*" hired of "*James Whitcomb*, a friend near hand and far off," a

house in Boston, into which they moved from Shepard's, and there they continued about nine months.

The money, twenty pounds, for the redemption of Rowlandson's wife, "was raised by some *Boston* gentlewomen, and Mr. Usher"; that for Joseph, seven pounds, was paid by Major Richard Waldron and the inhabitants of Dover and Portsmouth; the daughter was returned without ransom; sympathetic friends furnished the hired house; and, in the language of Mrs. Rowlandson, "The Lord so moved the hearts of these and those towards us, that we wanted neither food nor raiment for ourselves or ours."

Lancaster was not resettled during Rowlandson's lifetime.

April 7, 1677, the town of Wethersfield, Connecticut, having invited him to become their minister, he was installed there the same year, probably as colleague with Gershom Bulkley, H. U. 1655, and died 23 or 24 November, 1678, two days after preaching the Fast Sermon subsequently published. "His death," writes Simon Bradstreet, H. U. 1660, "was much lamented, & there was great cause, espec. at this time wⁿ God is calling home his Embassadors apace, besides other tokens of his Displeasure vpon y^e Covntry."

His books, notwithstanding his loss at Lancaster, were valued at eighty-two pounds.

Rowlandson married Mary, daughter of John White, of Lancaster, previously of Salem, and had, 1. Mary, born 15 January, 1657-8, who died 20 January, 1660-1; 2. Joseph, born 7 March, 1661-2, who lived in Wethersfield, and died 22 January, 1712-3, leaving a son, Wilson, born 8 January, 1703, who died 3 July, 1735; 3. Mary, born 12 August, 1665, living when her father died; 4. Sarah, born 15 September, 1669, who, having been wounded "through the bowels and hand," probably by the same bullet which struck her mother while

holding her in her arms, died in captivity 18 February, 1675-6.

November 27, 1678, the town of Wethersfield "Voted that Mrs. Rowlandson shall have allowed for this present year, Mr. Rowlandson's whole year's rate, and what was formerly promised, — which, in all, will amount to six score pounds; and from henceforth the Town shall allow the said Mrs. Rowlandson thirty pounds a year so long as she shall remain a widow amongst us." March 18, 1678-9, it was voted to pay her three pounds in the next year's rate, in consideration of her defraying the charges of her husband's funeral.

WORKS.

The | Possibility of Gods For- | saking a people, | That have been visibly near & dear to him | Together, | With the Misery of a People thus forsaken, | Set forth in a | Sermon, | Preached at Weathersfield, Nov. 21. 1678. | Being a Day of Fast and Humiliation. || Boston. 1682. 16mo. Preface pp. (3) signed B. VV.; and Text 22. *P.*

The same. Reprinted in Somers Tracts, ed. 1812, viii. 582.

AUTHORITIES. — C. Bartol, Sermon at Ordination of G. M. Bartol, with extracts from Harrington's Century Sermon, 45. J. Belknap, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue. A. B. Chapin, Glastenbury, 47. S. G. Drake, Book of the Indians, 229, 239, 266. Essex County Court Records. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 248; and American Quarterly Register, ix. 112; Farmer and Moore's Historical Collections, iii. 108. J. B. Felt, History of Ipswich, 74; and Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 153, 584, 682. N. Goodwin, Foote Family, xxxix, xl, xlii. D. Gookin, in Archæolog. Amer., ii. 490, 507. T. Harrington, Century Sermon, 14. A. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 378. Mass. Bay Records, iv. (i.) 140; v. 75. C. Mather, Magnalia, vii. 50. New England Hist. and Genealog. Reg., vii. 344; viii. 331; ix. 49. S. Niles, Wars in New England, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxv. 382-386. T. Noyes, in American Quarterly Register, x. 50, 59. J. G. Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 183. M. Rowlandson, Narrative of Captivity and Removes, 6th ed., 1828, with Preface and Appendix. J. Savage, Genealogical Dict., iii. 581. W. P. Upham, Manuscript Letter, 1871, Nov. 15. J. Willard, Hist. of Lancaster, in Worcester Magazine, ii. 278, 280, 284, 291, 313; and Centennial Address, 77, 93.

CLASS OF 1653.—August 9.

Samuel Willis,
John Angier,
Thomas Shepard,
Samuel Nowell,

Richard Hubbard,
John Whiting,
Samuel Hooker,
John Stone,

William Tompson:—

who took the degree of Bachelor of Arts 9 August, 1653, and were permitted to take the degree of Master of Arts in 1655, two years afterward; the other portion of the class, who received their first degree on the following day, 10 August, 1653, and whose names are given on a subsequent page, being required by a law, still in force, to wait for their second degree three years, or till 1656.

The two printed programmes are for the years when the members of the two portions of the class took their second degree.

“QUÆSTIONES IN PHILOSOPHIA
DISCUTIENDÆ SUB CAROLO CHAUNCÆO
PRÆSIDE, COL: HARVARD: CANTAB:
N-ANGL: IN COMITIIS PER
INCEPTORES IN ARTIB:
DECIMOQUARTO DIE
SEXTILIS 1655.

“I. **A**N *Quælibet natura sit patibilis?*
Affirm: Thomas Shepard.

“II. **A**N *Prima materia habuerit formam?*
Neg: Samuel Nowel.

“III. **A***N* *Anima rationalis sit forma hominis?*
Affirm: Richardus Hubberd.

“IIII. **A***N* *Totum et partes essentialiter differant?*
Affirm: Johannes VWhitting.

“V. **A***N* *Omne ens perfectum possit perfecte definiri?*
Affirm: Samuel Hooker.

“Quibus accedit Oratio **D***Emegorica*, Johannis Angeir.”

SAMUEL WILLIS.

Born 1632, died 1709, aged 78.

SAMUEL WILLIS,¹ B. A., of Hartford, Connecticut, born in England, probably at Fenny Compton, in Warwickshire, in 1632, came to Hartford as early as 1638, with his father, George Willis, who was Magistrate in 1639, Deputy-Governor in 1641, Governor in 1642, and died 9 March, 1644-5.

The last college charges against the graduate are dated “9-7-53.” The greater part of his payments were made in wheat, he being credited thrice with twenty bushels, once with thirty, at other times with eighteen and thirteen bushels, and sometimes charged for its transportation from Boston.

He settled at Hartford. At the age of twenty-two,

¹ Written Willis uniformly by the graduate, Willowes by Mitchel of Cambridge in his list of church-members, Wyllys by the descendants, Willes on the Steward's Account-Books, and Willys for several generations on the family monuments at Fenny Compton.

before he had been out of college a year, he was chosen Magistrate, and continued in this office till 1685.

June 15, 1659, he was requested by the General Court of Connecticut "to goe downe to Sea Brook, to assist y^e Maior [Mason] in examinige the suspitions about witchery, and to act therin as may be requisite."

In 1661, 1662, 1664, and 1667, he was one of the Connecticut Commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, and in 1670, after the dissolution of the Confederation by the absorpion of New Haven into Connecticut, he was Commissioner in an attempt to renew the Confederacy between the three existing governments.

In the absence of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, he was repeatedly appointed Moderator of the General Court.

In 1676 he was authorized "to make a tryall [of] what may be done for the accomplishment of an honourable and safe peace between the English and Indians, with the assistance of Major John Winthrop and Mr. Tho: Stanton."

He was extensively engaged in trade, and often absent from the Colony. In 1668 he was "gone to Boston, for England." Having an interest in several sugar plantations in Antigua, he frequently went to the West Indies. In a bond dated at "Falmouth in Antego," 21 April, 1681, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Richard Lord, of Hartford, — who had been in partnership with him, — in balance of account, "84,878 pounds of good Muscovado sugar," to be paid by instalments at Willoughby Bay, or Falmouth. His speculations proved unprofitable, and, as he had borrowed considerable money, he was deeply involved in debt. This led to his withdrawal from the magistracy, or rather prevented his election, in 1685. He appears, however, to have ultimately

settled with all his creditors, and retained a competence. He was again Assistant, from the Revolution in May, 1689, to 1693, also in 1698; being, from the beginning, thirty-six years in all. He died 30 May, 1709.

He married Ruth, daughter of John Haynes, Governor of Connecticut. Their daughter Mary, born 1656, became, about 1684, second wife of the Reverend Joseph Eliot, of Guilford, Connecticut, H. U. 1658; Mc-hitabel, often called Mabel, born about 1658, married, first, about 1676, Daniel Russell, H. U. 1669, second, about 1680, the Reverend Isaac Foster, H. U. 1671, and lastly, the Reverend Timothy Woodbridge, H. U. 1675, as his first wife. Another daughter, Ruth, became, 2 June, 1692, second wife of the Reverend Edward Taylor, of Westfield, H. U. 1671.

AUTHORITIES. — Connecticut Colonial Records, ed. J. H. Trumbull, i. — iii. J. Farmer, Genealog. Register, 332. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 15, 16. R. R. Hinman, Early Settlers of Connecticut, 108. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxx. 74, 75, 84, 85, 89. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (ii.) 476. J. Mitchel, in

W. Newell's Church Gathering, 58. New England Histor. and Genealog. Reg., xiii. 147. Plymouth Colony Records, x. D. Ricketson, History of New Bedford, 188. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 574, 577. B. F. Thompson, History of Long Island, i. 114, 125. J. H. Trumbull, Letter, 1861, March 4.

JOHN ANGIER.

Died before 1700.

JOHN ANGIER, M. A., does not appear to have left any materials for a biographical notice except what may be gleaned from the Commencement "Quæstiones" when he took his second degree, and from the Steward's Account-Books.

Among the items to his credit on the Steward's books are "18 yards of Sackin," "Veall," "Suger," "appells," paid "to the Psident in Siluer towards his Commencement," — the earliest recorded payment being two pounds by "Edmond Angeir," and the last, "5 7 56," "by m^r Angeir by his Cossen John Angeir £2 16."

The first charges against him are in the quarter ending "13 1 50-51," for "Commones and Sizinges," "Tuition," "Lent to the buildinge of the gallery," and "Desoluinge m^r Danforthes study." Bed-making is mentioned but once, "13 4 51," and the only charge, "12 7 51," is a small one for commons and sizings. The next items are, "9 7 53," "Commencment Charges," when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with "discontinuances¹ for 4 quarters desember 53 march June Septem all 54 and fyer and Candell"; there being other discontinuances "8 10 54," "9 1 55," "8 4 55," and "7 7 55," the last date being the termination of the quarter, when there are "Commencment Chardges" on taking the degree of Master of Arts.

From these accounts it appears that Angier either paid for "discontinuance" each quarter after graduating as a prerequisite to obtaining his second degree, or that his connection with the College continued through the entire period, and that he was absent a great part of the time. If this absence was in consequence of ill health, he may have died early. That his death occurred before the close of the century appears from Mather's *Magnalia* and the Catalogue of Harvard Graduates issued in 1700; but it must not be confounded with that of a child of the same name, who, according to the town records of

¹ The meaning of "discontinuance," which was commonly five shillings a quarter, is not precisely defined; but it seems to be the payment required during non-attendance, as in modern times a portion of the college expenses is incurred by all who are temporarily absent.

Cambridge, was son of Edmund and Ruth Angier, and died 25 January, 1657-8, about nineteen months old.

AUTHORITIES. — E. D. Harris, *Shepard's Account-Books*, i. 63, 64, 296. Manuscripts. Harvard Coll. Stew- J. Savage, *Genealog. Dict.*, i. 158.

THOMAS SHEPARD.

Born 1635, died 1677, aged 42.

REV. THOMAS SHEPARD, M. A., of Charlestown, Massachusetts, was born 5 April, 1635, in a "very private house" in London, England, none but particular friends having knowledge of his birth; his baptism also being delayed, lest it might lead to discovery. He was the second son of the Reverend Thomas Shepard, who, having suffered persecution under Laud, and being in further peril for his religious opinions, embarked with his wife and "little son Thomas and other precious freinds" for New England, on board the *Defence*, 10 August, 1635, a previous attempt to make the voyage having failed. "After many sad stormes and wearisom dayes & many longings to see the shore," they arrived at Boston 3 October. The father was immediately invited to Cambridge, where he settled, the first permanent church there being organized early in the following February. A fortnight after the organization, his wife, Margaret Touthuille, "a most sweet humble woman full of Christ, . . . euery way amiable & holy & endued with a spirit of Prayer," "being first received into church fellowship, which . . . she much longed for," died of consumption; the son, who during the voyage was "so feeble and forward both in the day and night, that hereby shee lost

her strength and at last her life," having been baptized "on the 7 of February or there about,"—probably on the seventh, that being Sunday. The father died 25 August, 1649.

November 27, 1654, the son was chosen Fellow of the College.

October 31, 1658, he was admitted, by dismissal from the church in Cambridge, to the church in Charlestown, where, "a very hopeful and choice young man, inheriting a double portion of his father's spirit," says Hull, he was ordained 13 April, 1659, as teacher and colleague with the Reverend Zechariah Symmes, who died 4 February, 1670-1.

At the session of the General Court, 19 October, 1664, he was appointed one of the censors of the press.

During his ministry the New England mind was active in examining religious doctrines and usages, and in working out the problem "how to unite toleration with a vigorous defence of the truth."

In 1672 Shepard preached the Massachusetts Annual Election Sermon, which, with Stoughton's in 1668, Oakes's in 1673, and Torrey's in 1674, probably exhibits the prevalent clerical views of the day. All of them have a bearing on religious toleration. Shepard alludes to the "*Heresie of the Familists*," and to the "*Gortonists*, . . . those Hornets, also"; and says, "To tolerate all things, and to tolerate nothing, (it's an old and true Maxime) both are intolerable: but 'tis Satan's policy, to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration." "Let the Magistrates *Coercive Power* in matters of Religion . . . be still asserted, seing he is one who is bound to God, more then any other men, to cherish his true Religion."

The discussion in the Charlestown church at this period related particularly to the subjects of baptism.

After about fifteen years' controversy, and persecution of Thomas Gould and others, the General Court, 7 March, 1667-8, appointed a meeting for "a full and free debate." This was held in Boston, 14 April, 1668, the Governor and Assistants, with "a great concourse of people" being in attendance. The conservative party was represented by John Allin of Dedham, Thomas Cobbett of Ipswich, John Higginson of Salem, Samuel Danforth of Roxbury, Jonathan Mitchel of Cambridge, and Shepard; and the Baptist by Gould, Russell, Turner, Johnson, Bowers, Trumble, Drinker, and Farnum, with Hiscox, Tory, and Hubbard, from Newport, Rhode Island. An account of the result being presented to the General Court 27 May, "the obstinate & turbulent Annabaptists," who had "combined themselues wth others in a pretended church estate, . . . did in open Court assert their former practise to haue been according to the mind of God, and that nothing that they had heard convinced them to the contrary, w^{ch} practice . . . they professe themselues still resolued to adhere vnto." They were accordingly ordered to "remooue themselues out of this jurisdiction" before the twentieth of July or be committed to prison; and if they did not "refreine their offenciue practises during the tjme," to be "imprisoned till the tenth of July," and allowed only the next "ten dayes to depart." Preferring imprisonment to exile, they were confined more than a year, appeals in their behalf during the time coming in from different places, one even from England. Gould being then released, the society held meetings at Noddle's Island, and, notwithstanding further persecution, grew and became what is now known as the First Baptist Society in Boston.

These transactions, originating in the Charlestown church, and encouraged by Symmes and Shepard, afford

a practical commentary on the views of toleration advocated by Shepard in his Election Sermon and by his contemporaries.

In discussing this topic Shepard appropriately introduces the subject of education, and says: "O that inferior Schools were every where so settled and encouraged, as that the *Colledge* (which the Lord hath made to be a Spring of Blessing to the Land) might not now languish for want of a sufficient supply of young ones from thence! There is a great decay in *Inferiour Schools*, it were well if that also were examined, and the Cause thereof removed, and Foundations laid for *Free-Schools*, where poor Scholars might be there educated by some Publick Stock."

"*Let the Schools flourish*: This is one means whereby we have been, and may be still preserved from a wilde Wilderness-state, through Gods blessing upon the same, and from becoming *a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death*. Cherish them therefore, and the *Colledge* in special: and accordingly that there may be a seasonable (while affections are warm) and a faithful improvement of the *Contribution* for the *New Edifice*¹ there, and what else is needful for the encouragement and advancement of *Learning* in that precious Society; the fall and sinking whereof (which the Lord forbid) I should look at as presaging the Ruine of this Land also: Let it never

¹ "In the year 1672," writes Hubbard, "Harvard College being decayed, a liberal contribution was granted for rebuilding the same, which was so far promoted from that time [by collections taken in the towns in New England & by individuals there and in Old England], that, in the year 1677, a fair and stately edifice of brick was erected anew, not far from the place where the former stood, and so far

finished that the public acts of the Commencement were there performed." The new edifice, bearing the name of the first, was burned in January, 1764, after which the third Harvard Hall, still standing, was erected on the same spot.

It was from these contributions that President Hoar, as mentioned on page 234, was authorized to make appropriations for repairs and improvements of the President's house.

want a benigne Aspect for the flourishing of that dear *Nursery*; lest otherwise there come to be either no Ministry, or an Illiterate, & (and in that respect, in former times accounted) a Scandalous & insufficient Ministry neither *burning*, nor *shining Lights*."

In the troubles during the Presidency of Hoar, Shepard was one of the officers who, 15 September, 1673, "resigned up their fellowships"; and neither he nor his intimate friend, Urian Oakes, H. U. 1649, though re-elected, could be prevailed on to resume their seats in the Corporation until 15 March, 1674-5, the day on which Hoar resigned. Shepard's spirit in relation to Hoar's administration appears in the citation from Increase Mather, printed on page 241. The conjecture is not unreasonable, that Oakes, Shepard, and Shepard's "cousin," Thomas Graves, H. U. 1656, were among the "very *Good Men*" spoken of by Cotton Mather, who "in a *Day of Temptation* . . . did unhappily countenance the *Ungoverned Youths*, in their Ungovernableness."

In 1677-8, "the *Small-Pox* growing as Epidemically Mortal," says Cotton Mather, "as a *Great Plague*," ninety-one persons dying of it in Charlestown alone, Shepard "went with *His Life in His Hand*" to "One of his Flock, who lying sick of this Distemper, desired a Visit from him," took the disease, and died 22 December, 1677.

"His death was much lamented," writes Simon Bradstreet, H. U. 1660, "and great reason there was for it. He has left few in y^t Colony or any other y^t did exceed him in respect of his Piety, meeknesse (eminent charity) Learning and ministeriall gifts. As he was much hon^d and beloved by all y^t knew him, so very dearly by his own flock."

Cotton Mather says: "The whole Country was fill'd with Lamentations. . . . But there was none who found

a deeper Wound at this Decease, than . . . *Urian Oakes*; who was his *Particular Friend*. . . He besides other ways of expressing his Value for this his Departed *Jonathan*, took the Opportunity of the next *Commencement*, with no small part of his *Elegant Oration*, . . . to embalm his Memory"; the same, in the original Latin, being afterward printed in Mather's *Magnalia*, iv. 190. Oakes also composed an "Elegie" on his death.

The following Epitaph is from Mather's *Magnalia*:—

"D. O. M. S.
Repositæ sunt hîc Reliquiæ Thomæ Shepardi,
Viri Sanctissimi,
Eruditione, Virtute, Omnigenâ, Moribusq; suavissimis
Ornatissimi;
Theologi Consultissimi,
Concionatoris Eximii:
Qui Filius fuit Thomæ Shepardi Clarissimus,
Memoratissimi Pastoris olim Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiensis;
Et in Ecclesia Caroliensi Presbyter docens;
Fide ac Vitâ Verus Episcopus:
Optimè de Re Literariâ Meritus:
Quà Curator Collegii Harvardini vigilantissimus;
Quà Municipii Academici Socius Primarius.
Τα του Ιησου Χριστου, ου τα εαυτου Ζητων.
In D. Jesu placidè obdormivit, Anno 1677. Dec. 22.
Ætatis suæ 43.
Totius Novangliæ Lachrymis Defletus;
Usq; & Usq; Deflendus."

"Let Fame no longer boast her *Antique Things*,
Huge Pyramids and Monuments of Kings:
This Cabinet that locks up a rare Gem,
Without Presumption may compare with them.
The Sacred Reliques of that Matchless One
Great Shepard, are Enshrin'd below this Stone.
Here lies Entomb'd an Heavenly Orator,
To the Great King of Kings Ambassador:

Mirror of Virtues, Magazine of Arts,
Crown to our Heads and Loadstone of our Hearts:
Harvard's Great Son, and Father too beside,
Charlestown's Just Glory & New England's Pride:
The Church's Jewel, Colledge's Overseer,
The Clergy's Diadem without a Peer:
The Poor Man's ready Friend, the Blind Mans Eyes,
The wandring wildred Soul's Conductor Wise:
The Widow's Solace, and the Orphan's Father,
The Sick Man's Visitant, or Cordial rather:
The General Benefactor, and yet Rare
Engrosser of all Good; the Man of Prayer:
The Constant Friend, and the most Cheerful Giver,
Most Orthodox Divine and Pious Liver:
An Oracle in any Doubtful Case,
A Master-piece of Nature, Art and Grace.
In this Bed lye repos'd his weary Limbs;
His Soul's Good Company for Seraphims.
If Men be Dumb in Praising of his Worth,
This Stone shall cry, For Shame! and set it forth.

Si Sheparde Tuo, nisi quæ sint Digna Sepulchro,
Carmina nulla forent, Carmina nulla forent."

Shepard's estate, including a farm at Braintree at fifteen hundred pounds and his library at one hundred pounds, was valued at £2,386 4s. He bequeathed his books and manuscripts to his son, Thomas Shepard; and five pounds each to his brother, Jeremiah Shepard, H. U. 1669; to his cousin, Thomas Graves; to his church, "my dear Lord's precious flock," to be expended for pieces of plate; to Elijah Corlet of Cambridge, his old schoolmaster; and to his "honored guardian Capt. Daniel Gookin, whom he chose at his father's death when a lad of fourteen."

In "An Inventory of y^e Colledge Utensills belonging to y^e Butterie october 26. 1683," is "a Goblet given by the reverend M^r Thomas Shepard Sen^r of Charlestown."

On or before 3 November, 1656, Shepard married Anna or Hannah, daughter of William Tyng, and had, besides other children, Thomas, H. U. 1676, his successor in the ministry, and Anna, born 13 September, 1663, who was married 9 November, 1682, to Daniel Quincy, and again 7 January, 1700-1, to the Reverend Moses Fiske, H. U. 1662, as his second wife.

WORKS.

1. With Jonathan Mitchel, H. U. 1647, he prepared for publication *The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied*, by his father, Thomas Shepard. fol. London. 1660.

2. Letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated 8 March, 1668-9, "about the Conjunction of the Moone and Venus." Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxx. 70.

3. *Eye-Salve, | Or a | Watch-Word | From our Lord Jesus Christ unto his Churches: | Especially those within the Colony of the Massachusetts | In New-England, | To take heed of Apostacy: | Or | A Treatise of Remembrance of what God hath been to us, as also | what we ought, and what we ought not to be to him, as we de- | sire the prolonging of our Prosperous Dayes in the Land which | the Lord our God hath given us. | — | By Thomas Shepard, Teacher of the Church of Christ in | Charlestown; | Who was appointed by the Magistrates, to Preach on the day of | Election | at Boston, May 15. 1672. || Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green. 1673. 4to. P. (1) Commendation of the Sermon with *Imprimatur* signed by John Sherman and Urian Oakes; pp. (2) Address to the Christian Reader by Thomas Thacher; and Text pp. 52. H, M, P.*

4. Instructions to his son while a member of college, written about 1672. Printed in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, iv. 202, and in the *American Quarterly Register*, ix. 116.

These Instructions are noticeable for their similarity to Hoar's Letter to Flint, cited on pages 229-232.

AUTHORITIES. — J. Adams, *Works*, ii. 297. I. Backus, *Hist. of N. E. Baptists*, i. 375. W. I. Budington, *Hist. of First Church, Charlestown*. S. G. Drake, *Result of Researches*, 36. J. Farmer, *Genealog. Register*, 263; and *American Quarterly Register*, ix. 115. R. Frothingham, *History of*

Charlestown, 161-173, 186-191. Harvard College Corporation Records, i. 59; iii. 39, 56; and Manuscript Papers, i. 10, 58; Steward's Account-Books, i. 65. W. Hubbard, History of New England, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 610. J. Hull, Diary, in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 187, 230. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (ii.) 141, 373-376. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xvi. 610; xxx. 70; xxxi. 21. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iv. 129, 189, 201; and Temple Opening, 30. New England Histor. and Genealogical Reg., iii. 125; viii. 330; ix. 48; xxiii. 382. U. Oakes, *Elegie*. J. Quincy, *Hist. of Harv. University*, i. 34, 35. J. Savage, *Genealog. Dict.*, ii. 166; iii. 500; iv. 76, 360. S. Sewall, in *American Quarterly Register*, xi. 46, 50; xii. 244. T. Shepard, *Manuscript Autobiography*.

SAMUEL NOWELL.

Born 1634, died 1688, aged 53.

SAMUEL NOWELL, M. A., born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 12 November, 1634, was son of Increase Nowell,¹ whose wife, Parnell, was daughter of — Gray and

¹ Increase Nowell came to New England in 1630, probably in the *Arbella* with Winthrop, and was the most distinguished of the settlers who remained in Charlestown after the dispersion of Winthrop's company. Frothingham says: "To write in full his biography would be, in fact, to write a large part of the civil and ecclesiastical history of his time, for his name appears in connection with much of it." For a short period he was Town Clerk of Charlestown, of which he was also Selectman nineteen years. He was Assistant from the time of his election in England till his death, besides being Secretary of the Colony many years, and one of the Commissioners for military affairs in

1634. "He devoted his life to the public service, and died poor," 1 November, 1655. At the session of the General Court held on the thirteenth of the same month, "Itt is desired, that the depu^{ts} of each tounē comēd the condiōn of M^r Nowells family to their seuerall tounes, . . . by way of rate or otherwise, bringing their retournes to the next Court of Election."

October 14, 1656, "The Court, being sencible of the lowe condiōn of the late honored M^r Nowells family, & remembring his long service to this comōwealth, in the place not only of a magistrate, but secretary also, for w^{ch} he had but litle and slender recompenc, & the countrjes debts being such as out of

his wife Catharine Myles, subsequently wife and widow of Rowland Coytemore.

I do not find on the Steward's Account-Books any charges against the graduate later than 10-10-53, when there is an item of 18s. 3½d. for "sizings fyer and Candel and discontinuance."

His payments were made in "wheatte," "barly malt," "appelles," "suger," "wood," "wheatt from Charls-towne myll," "siluer," and £3 15s. "payd by the Psident for his schollership" 10-10-52, and again 9-10-53; £3 15s. being also paid 8-4-55 "by m^r Dunster," after he had left the Presidency.

February 28, 1655, Nowell was chosen Fellow or Tutor.

the country rate they cannot comfortably make such an honorable recompenc to his family as otherwise they would, judge meete therefore, do give & graunt to M^{rs} Nowell and hir sonne Samuell two thowsand acres of land, to be lajd out by M^r Thomas Danforth and Robert Hale, in any part of the countrje not yett graunted to others, in two or three farmes, that may not hinder any plantacon to be erected."

Danforth and Hale made their report 6 May, 1657, of having laid out to Parnell Nowell "one thousand acres of land, lying beyond Douer bounds on the northwest, & lyeth vpon the Cochecho Riuer, on both sides thereof, begining on the north east side of a brooke that runneth into the sajd riuer on the north west side of Scohomogomocks Hill, lately planted by Indians, and lying two miles in length, vp streame, vpon the sajd riuer, and half a mile in breadth; also, on the southwest side of the sajd riuer, begining at a pine

tree, marked, standing anent the aforesajd Scohomogomocke Hill, and from thence running southwest three quarters of a mile, and in length, vp streame, one mile and a halfe, and at the vpper end of the sajd lyne lying in breadth from the riuer halfe a mile, being parralell to the lower lyne.

"Also, lajd out vnto M^r Samuell Nowell one thousand acres, lying on y^e south and east side of the aforesajd Scohomogomocke Hill, and is bounded with the wilderness land annent the great pine swamp on the north east side thereof, and so continewed betweene that and Chochecho Riuer towards Douer bounds, the which south east lje wee could not cleerly determine, becawse Douer bounds is as yett vnlajd out."

The bounds were settled 3 April, 1679.

In 1658 the inhabitants of Charlestown also voted that Nowell's widow "should be freed from paying town rates hence forwards." She died 25 March, 1687.

He studied divinity and preached, but never was settled in the ministry.

In Philip's War he served as "a Chaplain to the Army," at the great Narraganset Swamp-Fight in South Kingston, Rhode Island, 19 December, 1675. "I wish," writes Cotton Mather, "I could particularly give an *Immortal Memory* to all the Brave Men that signalized themselves in this Action. But among them all, *O quam te memorem*, Thou Excellent *SAMUEL NOWEL*, never to be forgotten! . . . At this Fight there was no Person . . . that with more Courage and Hazard fought in the midst of a Shower of Bullets from the surrounding *Salvages*. But,

*Longa referre mora est, quæ consilioq; manuq;
Utiliter fecit Spaciosi Tempore Belli."*

February 25, 1675-6, "Mr. Roulison [H. U. 1652] not being disposed to accept of y^e motion of y^s Court to goe out wth the forces as preacher, it is ordered, that M^r Samuel Nowell be intreated to goe vpon that service, & that he be furnished wth such conveniencjes as he shall stand in need of for his incouragem^t."

Gookin says he "was the principal minister of the army, a pious and prudent person." March 26 he wrote a letter, "giving a particular account of the motions of the army, from the time they went forth until that day." Of six Praying Indians who accompanied them he says: "They have behaved themselves like sober, honest men, since their abode with us, which hath made me look after them more carefully. At their first coming to Hadley, the man with whom they quartered allowed them pork and peas enough, but not bread; he perceiving they had some money, made them buy their bread. When they had laid out about 4s. 6d., one of them told me of it; upon which I spake to the gentlemen, who ordered the

constable to allow them bread, and I did give them 4s. 6d. out of my own purse, to reimburse what they had expended."

"April 9th, which was about the time of the army's return home as far as Marlborough," says Gookin, he wrote: "Our pilots (*i. e.* the Indians) were labored with to represent the way to watch [Watchuset?] (where the body of the enemy quartered) very difficult, before they came to speak before the Council; and had ill words given them, that so they might be afraid to speak anything that should afford encouragement. The poor Indians, our pilots, as soon as they arrived at Marlborough, were much abused by the townsmen, insomuch that they were unwilling to go into any house."

From the date of these letters it seems probable that Nowell joined the expedition immediately after he was invited, and that he returned in April.

May 23, 1677, he was made freeman.

Not long after the death of his classmate Shepard he was proposed for consideration as his successor in the ministry at Charlestown.

In May, 1680, he was chosen Assistant of the Colony, and annually afterward till the dissolution of the Charter in 1686, receiving in the latter year more votes than any other candidate.

In August, 1680, he accompanied the Deputy-Governor and others "with 60 soldiers, in a ship and sloop, to still the people at Casco-bay, and prevent governor Andros's usurpation."

January 11, 1680-1, he was "allowed thirty pounds, money, . . . in recompence for his service donne to the country in the late Narroganset warrs, and in England, and this last summer in the Prouince of Mayne, as also for money disbursed at Connecticut, &c."

On the following day, 12 January, he and William

Stoughton, H. U. 1650, were chosen agents to go to England, in obedience to the King's letter of 24 July, 1679; "but both of them peremptorily refused to engage in the affair."

In February, 1681-2, Edmund Randolph included him in the faction of the General Court against whom he "exhibited to the Lords of the Council articles of high misdemeanor"; and in a letter, 14 June, 1682, to the Earl of Clarendon, on the *Quo warranto* against the Charter, and the sending for Nowell, among others, to answer to the charges, he calls him "a late factious preacher and now a magistrate."

In 1682 Nowell delivered the Artillery Election Sermon, in which he is accused by Randolph of preaching up rebellion.

In 1682 and 1683 he was chosen Commissioner of the United Colonies in reserve, and in 1684, 1685, and 1686, Commissioner.

May 17, 1684, the General Court granted him and Thomas Danforth, "for their great paynes & good service donn by order of this Court in the expedition & seuerall journeys to Casco, for which no recompense hath binn made them, an island called Chebiscodego, in Casco Bay, in the Province of Meyne, provided they take the sajd island in full satisfaction for all service donn, referring to the settlement of the Prouince of Meyne to this day."

October 21, 1685, and May 11, 1686, he was chosen Treasurer of the Colony, and 16 February, 1685-6, "the navall officer."

At the abdication of the charter government, 20 May, 1686, the General Court "raised a committee of three persons, with the universally venerated Samuel Nowell at its head, to receive from the Secretary, and keep in their own hands, 'such papers on file with the Secretary

as referred to their charter and negotiations from time to time for security thereof, with such as referred to their title of their land by purchase of Indians or otherwise.' ”

In January, 1682-3, the Corporation of the College appointed “the worshipfull Samuel Nowell” to be “Treasurer of the Colledge, *pro tempore*,” “still reserving Liberty for the worshipfull Captⁿ [John] Richards to reassume the place at his return” from England. The instructions for his management of the finances, dated 29 March, 1683, are printed, from the original in Increase Mather’s handwriting, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 694.

According to Quincy, the personal estate of the Institution in March, 1683, amounted to “£2,357, and in addition ‘in lands, houses, and annuities,’ producing an annual income of £242, including £50, the yearly rent” of Charlestown ferry. From various causes the College lost and sunk £1,100 during his administration, and he also lost his own property. Richards resumed the care of the college stock 22 October, 1686.

December 7, 1687, Nowell sailed for England, where he joined Increase Mather in a remonstrance against the encroachments on New England rights.

He died in London between 30 August and 29 September, 1688. The invitation to Increase Mather to attend the funeral is in these words: “REUEREND S^r,— You are desired to accompany the Corps of M^r Samuell Nowell, minister of the Gospell, of Eminent Note in New England, deceased, from M^r Quicks meating place in Barthlomew Close, on Thursday next, at Two of the Clock in the afternoon p^rcisely, to the new burying place by the Artillery ground.”

Nowell had no children. His wife, Mary, was daughter of William Alford. After the decease of Peter Butler,

her first husband, she became the third wife of Hezekiah Usher, who dying May, 1676, she married Nowell, died at Charlestown 14 August, 1693, and was laid in Usher's tomb.

WORKS.

1. Manuscript Notes of a sermon preached by him "25.10. 1670." *H.*

2. Manuscript Notes of several sermons by him, among the Mather Papers. *W.*

3. Abraham in Arms; | ——— | Or | The first Religious | General | with his | Army | Engaging in | A VVar | For which he had wisely prepared, and by | which, not only an eminent | Victory | Was obtained, but | A Blessing | gained also. | Delivered in an Artillery-Election-Sermon, June, 3. 1678. | ——— | By S. N. | ——— | Boston; | Printed by John Foster, 1678. || 4to. pp. (1) To the Reader; and Text 19. *M, P.*

The Preface is as follows:—

"*Friendly Reader,*

A *Desire to gratifie my Friends, hath made, against my own Judgment, to consent to the Publication of these Notes, taken by one of the Auditors; to which I am not able to make that addition, by reason of my inability to write, through infirmity in my right hand, which God hath been pleased to exercise me with, almost wholly taking away the use of my hand: What is therefore made publick is not mine own Notes, but agreeing in the substance with what was delivered: This Argument also prevailed with me to let this come forth, I thought others more able, seeing this imperfect work to find acceptance with some, might thereby be provoked to Preach and Print something that might be more effectual to revive our Military Discipline, and the spirit of Souldiery, which seems to be in its Wane, in an Age when never more need of it.*

"The Love I have for this Country, where I drew my first Breath, hath made me Run the Gauntlet by exposing this to the world, hoping that they that fault it, will endeavour to mend it by some mean or other, and to pray for the Author, who is a Friend to all of such a spirit,

"Samuel Nowell."

AUTHORITIES.—W. I. Budington, R. Frothingham, History of Charlestown, 86, 134, 135. D. Gookin, in Farmer, Genealogical Register, 208. Archæologia Americana, ii. 505, 506.

Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 67; and Corporation Manuscript Records, i. 40, 58; iii. 77, 81; iv., v.; Manuscript Papers, i. 10, 58. T. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, i. 329, 333, 336, 367; and Collection of Papers, 535. S. Judd, History of Hadley, 166. Massachusetts Histor. Society, Collections, xii. 177; xxi. 256; xxvi. 182; xxxviii. 526, 694, 704; and Proceedings, November, 1862, 348. Massachusetts Bay Records, iii. 418, 434; iv. (i.) 254, 281, 294; iv. (ii.) 111; v. 234, etc. C. Mather, Magnalia, vii. 50. New England Histor. and Genealog. Register, iv. 269; xxiii. 410. J. G. Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 342, 484, 487, 602. J. Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 232. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 26, 321, 467; iii. 295; iv. 363. S. Sewall, in Budington's History of the First Church, Charlestown, 191. W. H. Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, 26, 29, 34.

RICHARD HUBBARD.

Born about 1631, died 1681, aged about 50.

RICHARD HUBBARD, M. A., of Ipswich, Massachusetts, was born in England. Embarking in the *Defence*, in July, 1635, when about four years old, he came from London to Massachusetts, with his father, William Hubbard, afterward of Ipswich and Boston, and his brother, William Hubbard, H. U. 1642.

One of his college quarter-bills was paid by James Oliver, another by "m^r will payne of Ipswich," and several by Joseph Jewett. Probably he did not continue at the College after graduating, as the last important charge against him is at the time of his taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, though there are items for "discontinuance" as late as September, 1654.

It is commonly stated that in 1660 he was Deputy to the General Court; but I find no satisfactory record that he was ever a member of that body.

In 1672 he is mentioned in a Journal of William Adams, H. U. 1671, as having given "several scriptures

to consider of" to Thomas Whitteridge's wife, who was distressed at a fortune-teller's story, "y^t she should meet with great trouble, if she escaped with her life," and soon afterward drowned herself.

In 1679-80, he was on a committee appointed by the General Court to settle boundary lines between Salem and Beverly and Wenham.

He died, intestate, 3 May, 1681.

His wife Sarah, daughter of Governor Simon Bradstreet, was sister of his classmate Samuel Bradstreet, and of the wife of Seaborn Cotton, H. U. 1651. Their daughter, Sarah, married John Cotton, H. U. 1681. The widow, before 24 July, 1684, probably married Samuel Ward, who died, holding a Major's commission in Phips's expedition against Quebec, in 1690.

An account of the distribution of Hubbard's property among his heirs, in 1691, is contained in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, v. 92.

AUTHORITIES. — S. G. Drake, Result of Researches, 39. Essex Institute, Hist. Coll., v. 92. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 152. J. B. Felt, History of Ipswich, 75, 93, 164. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 69. Mass. Bay Records, v. 208, 224. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxi. 17. New England Hist. and Genealogical Register, vi. 343; viii. 312; ix. 113. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of New England, i. 463; ii. 485; iii. 636; iv. 413.

JOHN WHITING.

Died 1689.

REV. JOHN WHITING, M. A., of Hartford, second son of William Whiting, a wealthy merchant, who was Assistant and Treasurer of the Colony of Connecticut, was probably born in England, a short time before his fa-

ther and mother, Susanna, came to America; though it may have been afterward, if Goodwin be correct in saying he was born in 1635.

His connection with the College, during which some of his bills were paid by "m^r hopkines," "bro vsher," and "m^r lake," continued a year after he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. About that time he married Sybil, born in England, sister of John Collins, H. U. 1649, and daughter of Deacon Edward Collins, of Cambridge, and soon afterward with his wife joined the church, probably continuing to reside at Cambridge, where two or three of his children were baptized.

There is a memorandum among the college documents that he was a Fellow; but it was made a long time after he graduated, he evidently being confounded with John White, H. U. 1685.

For two or three years, probably from 1657 to 1659, he rendered ministerial assistance to the Reverend Edward Norris, of Salem, who had become aged and infirm. August 10, 1657, the "dwelling house of John Millerd" was bought for his accommodation; and on the 22d of the month other provision was made "for entertaynment of mr Whyting: vntill he resolues to stay wth vs: or the towne shall take further. order." November 21, 1658, "Its Ordered that the house & ground that mr Whittinge liueth in be now giuen to him & his heires for eu' p^rvided he liue in towne three yeares more after this. voted." March 8, 1658-9, "Ordered that the Select men, together with the Deacons & mr Gidney are desired before ye next Ch: meetinge, to Treat with mr Whittinge to know his mind about staying with vs. voted." I find no later notice of his being employed at Salem.

In 1660 he removed with his family "from the Bay" to Hartford, and was ordained over the First Church,

he and his wife having joined it by letter from the church in Cambridge.

The Hartford church had been under the care of Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone, who went with the colony from Cambridge, Massachusetts, in June, 1636. Hooker died 7 July, 1647; and Stone having died 20 July, 1663, Joseph Haynes, H. U. 1658, was in 1664 settled as Whiting's colleague. On the subjects of baptism and church government, which violently agitated the community, the colleagues became leaders of two parties in the society. June 14, 1666, the Reverend John Davenport wrote: "I have heard . . . that before the last lecture-day, when it was yong M^r Heynes his turne to preach, he sent 3 of his partie to tell M^r Whiting, that, the nexte Lecture-day, he would preach about his way of baptizing, and would begin the practising of it, on that day. Accordingly he preached, and water was prepared for Baptisme (which, I suppose, was never administred, in a weeke day, in that Church, before) But M^r Whiting, as his place and duty required, testified against it, and refused to consent to it. . . . And so it ceased, for that time."

Davenport, moreover, says that Haynes challenged Whiting to a public discussion of the subject on the next Lecture-day. The result is not known, "except in general that Mr. Haynes and 'his way of baptizing,' were in the majority"; "M^r Haynes and those with him," according to Bradstreet, "being lookt vpon as Presbyterians."

October 14, 1669, "Vpon the petition presented by Mr. Whiting &c." to the General Court "for their approbation for a distinct walkeing in Congregational Church order as hath been here settled according to counsell of the Elders, the Court doth recommend it to the Church of Hartford to take some effectuall

course that Mr. Whiting &c. may practice the Congregationall way wthout disturbance either from preaching or practice diuersly to their just offence, or els to grant their loveing consent to these bretheren to walke distinct, according to such their Congregational principles, which this Court allowes liberty in Hartford to be done."

Whiting and his party withdrew, and 12 February, 1670, organized the Second or South Church in Hartford, making a distinct profession of Congregationalism as laid down in the Cambridge Platform, and he being re-ordained.

In May, 1665, he was made freeman of Connecticut.

October 15, 1672, the General Court granted him "two hundred acres of land for a farme."

At a meeting of the Council of Connecticut, 27 August, 1675, he was "nominated and desired to goe forth wth o^r army, to be minister unto them, to assist them in preaching, prayer, councill and exhortation, &c."

He continued pastor of the Second Church in Hartford till his death, 8 September, 1689.

"*Whiting of Hartford, Woodbridge of Wethersfield,*" H.U. 1666, and "*Wakeman of Fairfield*" are named by Cotton Mather as "most Worthy Men, wherewith *Connecticut* Colony has been singularly favoured"; men who "will never be forgotten, till *Connecticut* Colony, do forget it self, and all Religion."

Whiting was twice married. By his first wife, already mentioned, he had seven children, of whom Abigail, born in 1666, married the Reverend Samuel Russell, of Deerfield, Massachusetts, and of Branford, Connecticut, H. U. 1681. His second wife, whom he married in 1673, was Phebe Gregson, born 15 October, 1643, daughter of Thomas Gregson, who was lost in the Phantom ship. She also had seven children. Subsequently she became the third wife of the Reverend John Russell, of Hadley,

H. U. 1645, surviving whom she went to live with her son Joseph Whiting, at New Haven, where she died 19 September, 1730.

WORKS.

1. With Joseph Haines he signed the address to the "Christian Reader" prefixed to J. Fitch's Connecticut Election Sermon delivered at Hartford, 14 May, 1674.

2. Letters to Increase Mather, 1678-9, February 27; 1681-2, January 23; 1682, October 5, and December 4 relating to "Anne Coles Case"; and 1683, October 17. Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 463-472.

3. The Way of Israels Welfare; or an Exhortation to be with God, that He may be with us: As it was delivered in a Sermon Preached at Hartford on Connecticut in New England, May 13th, 1686. Being the Day of Election there. Boston, 1686. 4to. pp. (6), 44. The Address to the Christian Reader is signed S. H., probably Samuel Hooker. A copy is in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society.

AUTHORITIES. — S. Bradstreet, Journal, in New England Historical and Genealog. Register, viii. 327; ix. 45. Connecticut Records, ed. J. H. Trumbull, ii. 19, 120, 187, 196, 355, 518; iii. 199, 244. Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, 22-26, 404, 405. J. Davenport, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxx. 61. Essex Institute Historical Collections, ix. (i.) 203, 204, 210, 217, 219, 224. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 113; and American Quarterly Register, ix. 229. J. B. Felt, Annals of Salem, ed. 1827, 195, 200, 202, 205, 535; and Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 148, 467, 472,

473, 558, 668. N. Goodwin, Genealogical Notes, 329, 330. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 71. E. C. Herrick, Manuscript Letter, 1847, September 25. [D. Huntington], Memories, 102. S. Judd, Manuscript Letters, 1848, May 3, 10. S. Judd and L. M. Boltwood, History of Hadley, 559. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxvi. 243; xxxv. 213; xxxviii. 463. C. Mather, Magnalia, iv. 201. W. Newell, Church Gathering, 53. New Haven Records, ed. C. J. Hoadly, ii. 544. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 434; ii. 315, 316; iv. 518, 521. B. Trumbull, History of Connecticut, i. 297, 458, 461.

SAMUEL HOOKER.

Born perhaps 1635, died 1697, aged 62 (?).

REV. SAMUEL HOOKER, M. A., of Farmington, Connecticut, born perhaps in England, though Farmer says, in 1635, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, was son of the famous Reverend Thomas Hooker, who arrived at Boston 3 September, 1633, in the Griffin, settled at Cambridge, and in June, 1636, removed with nearly all his parishioners to Hartford, Connecticut, where he died 7 July, 1647.

In his will, printed in Trumbull's Connecticut Colony Records, i. 498, the father says: I "giue vnto my sonne John, my library of printed bookes and manuscripts," on condition that he shall "deliuer to my sonne Sāmuell, so many of my bookes as shall . . . bee worth fifty pounds sterling, or that hee pay him . . . fifty pounds sterling to buy such bookes as may bee vseful to him in the way of his studdyes; . . . but if my sonne John doe not goe on to the perfecting of his studdyes, or shall not giue vpp himselfe to the seruice of the Lord in the worke of the ministry, my will is that my sonne Sāmuell inioye and possesse the whole library and manuscripts. . . . I doe giue vnto my sonne Sāmuell, in case the whole library come not to him, as is before expressed, the sum of seuenty pounds."

The graduate's last quarter-bill at college is dated 9 December, 1654. Payments for him were made by "Cap gookine," "m^r hopkines," "hezekiah vs her," "Samson Shoore," and others, in "wheatte," "siluer," "porke," "butter," "rose watter," etc. Among the charges are, "14 4 50," "payd to will manin for bringinge 15^{bush} $\frac{1}{2}$ wheatt from boston 2^s-10 and for seuerall other

things the two hookers had of goodm maninge 6^s”; and, subsequently, for “bringinge pork from boston 3d,” “bringinge wheatt and butter from boston 5s. 9d,” “Candell and wood for the Publicke fyer. 2s,” etc.

November 27, 1654, about a fortnight before the date of the last quarter-bill, “S^r Hooker” was chosen Fellow¹ of the Colledge.

He probably “had the advice and counsel of his father’s colleague, Rev. Samuel Stone, in his preparation for the ministry, on which he entered as early as 1657. He preached early in the colony of Plymouth.”

February 7, 1659, the people of Springfield made choice of him as their pastor, but he declined their invitation.

In 1659 his son Thomas was baptized at Hartford.

In July, 1661, he was ordained at Farmington as successor to his brother-in-law, Roger Newton, his son Samuel having been baptized there a few days after his birth, 29 May.

October 9, 1662, he was appointed by the Connecticut Legislature one of a committee of four persons “to goe downe to N. Hauen to treat wth y^e Gent: and others of o^r lo: freinds there, according to such instructions as shalbe directed to y^e said Comittee by this Court,” respecting an amicable union of the two Colonies.

October 10, 1667, the Legislature granted him “Two Hundred & Fifty Acres of land for a farme, whereof there may be Thirty acres of meadow if it maybe fownd, provided it be not prejudiciall to a plantation or any former grant.”

¹ “At a meeting of the Hon^d & Rev^d Overseers of Harvard Colledge, at the Colledge Hall in Cambridge, 27. 9. 1654.

“The Rev^d m^r Charls Chauncy was solemnly inaugurated into the place of P^resident ;

“S^r Shepard, S^r Hooker & S^r Ambrose were chosen fellowes,

“m^r Henry Dunster consented to remove out of the Presidents house by the last of March next.”

October 12, 1669, he was made freeman.

March 9, 1675-6, "The Councill appoynted the Secretary to write to Mr. Hooker to prepare himselfe to march forth wth the army, and to goe up to Hadly or Northampton wth Major Treat; and the constable to impress men and horss and such accomadations as were necessary for Mr. Hooker." Probably, however, he did not join the expedition, as 11 March, two days afterward, "The Councill appoynted Mr. [Israel] Chancey [H. U. 1661] to be one of the Councill of the army in roome of Mr. Hooker, and allso that he should now goe forth wth y^e army as their chirurgion."

At the annual meeting, 28 December, 1685, the town of Farmington, probably through his influence or by his request, voted "to give £30 for a man to teach Schoole for one year, provided they can have a man that is so accomplished as to teach Children to read and *wright*, and teach the *grammer*, and also *to step into the pulpet* to be helpful *their*, in time of exegenti, and this *Schoole* to be a free *Schoole* for this *toun*."

Hooker continued in the pastoral office till his death, 5 or 6 November, 1697, and was succeeded by Samuel Whitman, H. U. 1696.

Cotton Mather, in concluding the life of the elder Hooker, observes: "As *Ambrose* could say concerning *Theodosius*, *Non Totus recessit; reliquit nobis Liberos, in quibus eum debemus agnoscere, & in quibus eum Cernimus & Teneamus*; thus we have to this Day among us, our Dead *Hooker* yet living in his worthy Son, Mr. *Samuel Hooker*, an Able, Faithful, Useful Minister."

Porter says: "He was, according to the testimony of Rev. Mr. Pitkin, 'an excellent preacher, his composition good, his address pathetic, warm and engaging,' and as story relates, he informed a friend of his that he had three things to do with his sermons before he delivered

them in public, 'to write them, commit them unto his memory, and get them into his heart.' . . . His death was deplored as 'a great breach upon this people,' and his memory was embalmed in the affections of his flock."

September 22, 1658, he married, at Plymouth, Mary, born 10 November, 1637, oldest daughter of Captain Thomas Willet, of Plymouth, afterward of Swanzey, and first Mayor of the city of New York. They had nine sons, of whom Daniel, born 25 March, 1679, graduated in 1700; also two daughters: Mary, born 3 July, 1673, who in 1698 became the third wife of James Pierpont, of New Haven, H. U. 1681, their daughter Sarah being wife of the celebrated theologian and metaphysician, Jonathan Edwards; and Sarah, born 5 May, 1681, who married the Reverend Stephen Buckingham, of Norwalk, H. U. 1693.

Hooker's widow, 10 August, 1703, married the Reverend Thomas Buckingham, of Saybrook.

WORKS.

1. In May, 1677, Hooker preached the Connecticut Election Sermon, and the Treasurer was "appoynted to procure it printed and to defray the charge thereof out of the pub: Treasurie; and to distribute the bookes by proportion in the seuerall countyes.

2. In 1693, he preached another Annual Election Sermon, and the Legislature desired "him to grant a cobby thereof to be disposed and improved by the Generall Court for the peoples good."

I have never met with either of these sermons, nor found the titles in any catalogue. So late as May, 1701, more than three years after his death, it was ordered by the Assembly, "that the election sermon that was last preached by the Reverent M^r Samuel Hooker be . . . printed upon the charge of the Colonie." It is not probable, however, that the order with regard to either sermon was ever executed.

3. Though Cotton Mather classes Hooker among the "Authors of Lesser Composures," I have not found anything that was published by him.

AUTHORITIES. — A. Andrews, Memorial, 10, 14. S. Bliss, History of Rehoboth, 270, 272. Connecticut Colony Records, ed. J. H. Trumbull, i. 388, 499; ii. 77, 307, 415, 416, 521; and ed. C. J. Hoadly, iv. 53, 63, 95, 106, 350. J. Daggett, Hist. of Attleborough, 130. J. Farmer, Genealog. Register, 149; and American Quarterly Register, ix. 230. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 671. N. Goodwin, Records of Farmington, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xi. 327. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 73; and MS. Papers, i. 58; Corporation Records, iii. 39. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 68, iv. 135. New Haven Colony Records, ed. C. J. Hoadly, ii. 466, 468. N. Porter, Historical Discourse at Farmington, 32, 60. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 285; ii. 458, 459; iv. 557. S. Sewall, cited in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vi. 76. W. B. Sprague, Thanksgiving Sermon, 2 Dec., 1824, 18. B. Trumbull, Hist. of Connecticut, i. 252, 295. J. H. Trumbull, MS. Letter, 1861, March 4.

JOHN STONE.

Died before 1700.

JOHN STONE first appears in New England as an undergraduate at the College, no satisfactory record as to his relatives or the time and place of his birth having been found.

The character and sources of the payments on account of his college bills, and of those of his classmate Hooker, are so nearly identified as to give a degree of plausibility to Farmer's suggestion, that he may have been son of the Reverend Samuel Stone, the eminent divine, who was colleague with Hooker's father.

The charges against Stone on the Steward's books are continued through the quarter ending 8 December, 1654; tuition being omitted, as usual, after graduation. Payments for him were made by "Capt. gookine for m^r hopkines at m^r Angeirs, £1," "by hezekiah vsher whereof to the Psident 3^{lb}," "by goodman Jones bucher In beaffe

for Th Sweattman £1," "by Tho Sweatman In butter £1," "by m^r hopkines In siluer £3," etc. He is credited, also, at different times, with about one hundred and seventy-eight bushels of wheat, two importations being "Receaved from a bord Ed shipheardes vessell"; and he is charged for "bringinge beafe from Charlstown," and four times for bringing "wheatt from boston."

Farmer's suggestion derives confirmation from the will of the Reverend Ezekiel Rogers, of Rowley, dated 17 April, 1660, in which bequests are made to "my loving nephew, Mr. Samuel Stone, of Connecticut," and "my cousin, his son John."

J. H. Trumbull writes: "I have little doubt that the graduate was a son of Rev. Samuel of Hartford by his first wife (who died in 1640). His position next Sam. Hooker on the Catalogue makes it nearly certain that he was a *minister's* son and suggests Hartford at once. The 'Mr. Hopkins' who paid his college bills was, I infer, Gov. Edward Hopkins, the intimate friend of both Stone and Hooker, and by Mr. Hooker's will the guardian of his son Samuel."

Stone had no Commencement part when his class took their second degree, having perhaps previously gone to England, where he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Cambridge.

After the Restoration, a "Mr. *John Stone*" was silenced at Hellingley, in Sussex. Was this the graduate?

The star prefixed to Stone's name in early catalogues of graduates indicates that he died before the close of the seventeenth century.

AUTHORITIES. — W. Barry, Hist. of Framingham, 409. H. Bond, Family Memorials, 584, 585. E. Calamy, Ejected Ministers, ii. 572, 688. S. G. Drake, Result of Researches, 26. J. Farmer, Genealog. Register, 276. T. Gage, Rowley, 61. Harv. Coll. Steward's Books, i. 75. C. F. Orne, Letter, 1872, January 28. S. Palmer, Nonconformist's Mem., ii. 344, 463. J. Savage, Geneal. Dict., iv. 206, 209. J. H. Trumbull, Letter, 1872, Feb. 12.

WILLIAM THOMSON.

Died probably about 1665.

WILLIAM THOMSON, B. A., if, as seems probable, a son of the Reverend William and Abigail Tompson,¹ of Braintree, now Quincy, Massachusetts, was born in England, probably in Lancashire, and came with the family to Boston in 1637.

His quarter-bills, while an undergraduate, apparently differ from all before his time, in the two particulars of not containing any charge for tuition, and, until near the end of the Junior year, of having a quarterly allowance, "for his services in the hall," of one pound, — nearly enough to meet his college expenses, which were economically limited to study-rent, bed-making, commons, and sizings. On subsequent bills he is credited "by appelles butter and pulletes 17s," and "by an oxe £6 7s. 7½d.," and, 9 December, 1653, is charged for "discontinuance for 5 quarters And fyer and Candell £1 7s.," indicating absence for a considerable period during the latter part of his college course.

From 1654 to 1656 he preached at Springfield, Massachusetts, where he received a call to settle, which he declined.

December 20, 1656, according to a manuscript diary of Thomas Minor, mentioned by Miss Caulkins and J. Hammond Trumbull, "Mr. Tomson came to Misticke."²

¹ The father's name was Tompson, while the graduate's autograph was Thomson, though the name of the latter was variously spelt Thomson, Thompson, Tompson, and Tomson.

² It is not improbable that Thom-

son was attracted to this vicinity by family ties and acquaintances. In May, 1640, according to the Roxbury Records, Bridget Thomson, perhaps a relative, had married Captain George Denison, one of the early settlers of Mystic; and in May,

“The ‘Mystick and Pawcatuck men,’” writes Trumbull, “had as yet no distinct town organization, and Mr. Minor, with others of them, went to meeting in New London when the weather permitted. Sunday, March 15, 1656-7, Mr. M. notes: ‘The Sacrament was administered. Mr. Tomson and his wife came.’”

“In the disputes about” colonial “jurisdiction, Mr. Tompson sided with the Massachusetts party, at the head of which was Capt. George Denison of Mystick,” and in October, 1657, he appears as one of the signers of a memorial¹ from the “Inhabitants of Mistick and Paaquatuck” to the Massachusetts government, complaining of aggressions by Connecticut.

September 19, 1657, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, acting for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, mention Thomson and others “alreddy entered to fitt themselues by Improueing Interpretors to gitt Skill in the Indian Language,” and to be encouraged “in theire labours and Indeauors to Instruct the Indians therabouts resideing especially Robin and his companie.”

Trumbull says: “Mr. Thomson preached occasionally to the planters as well as to the Indians; 1659, ‘June 12, Sunday, Mr. Tomson taught at Mr. Burrows’ [house, near Mystick]. After this he probably removed to New London where he bought a house.”

According to the Commissioners’ returns to the Corporation in England, 7 September, 1659, ten pounds had been paid “To Mr. Willam Tompson whoe studdieth

1644, Alice Thompson had married, in Massachusetts, Robert Parke, a settler at Pequot in 1650. Moreover, the Reverend Richard Blinman, of Pequot, who, when living at Marshfield and at Gloucester, Massachusetts, had probably been acquainted with Thomson’s father, perhaps with

Thomson himself, appears to have married a sister of the wife of Robert Parke’s son, Thomas Parke, also an early settler; to which it may be added that Thomson’s wife was from Wethersfield, whence the Parkes came to New London and vicinity.

¹ Mass. Bay Records, iv. (i.) 315.

the Indian Language," that he may, as subsequently added, "teach and Instruct the Pequotts and other Indians elswher as hee may haue oppertunitie."

In 1660 he received another ten pounds, and in 1662 twenty pounds, "for teaching the Indians about New London and the Pequott Countrey," — also, in 1661, twenty pounds for teaching Indians in the Colony of Plymouth; the payment in each instance, perhaps, being for the preceding year.

September 18, 1663, the Commissioners say he "hath desisted the worke and hath his sallary abated"; whereupon Robert Boyle, the Governor of the Corporation, remarks: "Wee are troubled att M^r Tompsons neglect in this busines which Gaue you good occation to abate his sallery." Miss Caulkins says: "After 1661 the stipend was withheld, with the remark, that he had 'neglected the business.'"

March 14, 1660-1, he was made freeman of Connecticut.

According to Miss Caulkins, "Thomson left New London in feeble health in 1663, and in September, 1664, was in Surry county, Virginia." But Savage states, that, "in 1664, he gave his wife all his property by deed," being "near death and about to make a voyage to Virginia." It appears, moreover, that, 11 October, 1664, he made a tender of property to the Court of Magistrates at Hartford for the liquidation of a debt, and the records of the General Assembly at Hartford, 13 October, 1664, say: "Whereas, Mr. Wm. Thomson, of New London, is remoueing himselfe from thence to Virginia, and is indebted by Bills the sume of Twenty nine pounds, seven shillings and fower pence, which Bill is in the hands of John Packer, This Court orders the Constable of New London to secure so much of the estate of Mr. Thomson in his hands, as it shall be apprized by indifferent men, and the sayd Constable is

to keep it in his hands, till he hath order from this Court or the Court of Magistrates, to dispose of it to the right owner which is according to Mr. Thomson's tender to the Court of Magistrats."

I find nothing later respecting him, except the notice of a letter which he wrote at Pixford Bay, Virginia, 29 June, 1665, authorizing his "Loving brother, M^r James Treat of Wethersfield," to make sale of property in New London. His illness, which perhaps incapacitated him for laboring actively among the Indians, and may also have been the occasion of his indebtedness, probably terminated fatally soon afterwards; a probability strengthened by a document in the Suffolk County Probate Office, in Boston, dated 2 May, 1667, containing "Articles of agreement betwixt M^{rs} Anna thomson, widdow of M^r William Thomson of Brantrey and M^r Thomsons Children concerning the Estate," etc., in which Samuel appears as the oldest son, and no William is mentioned.

It is remarkable that there is no star, denoting his death, either in Mather's *Magnalia*, or in the Catalogue of Harvard Graduates issued in 1700.

November 19, 1655, while Thomson was preaching at Springfield, he was married, at Boston, to Katherine, daughter of Richard Treat, of Wethersfield, Connecticut. As Treat's will, dated 13 February, 1668-9, makes no mention of this daughter, unless perhaps by another name, she may then have been dead.

AUTHORITIES.—F. M. Caulkins, 431, 436, 444, 458, 473, 492. W. P. Hist. of New London, 67, 70, 103, 116, 128, 332; and Letter, 1861, February 5. Connecticut Colony Records, ed. J. H. Trumbull, i. 359, 432. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Reg.*, 289. J. B. Felt, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England*, ii. 193, 194. Harv. Coll. Steward's Account-Books, i. 77, 78. E. Hazard, *Hist. Collections*, consisting of State Papers, etc., ii. 377, 379, 406, 431, 436, 444, 458, 473, 492. W. P. Lunt, *Two Discourses*, 29 September, 1839, 89. Mass. MS. Archives, xxx. 66. *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xi. 201; xv. 113. *New Plym. Col. Records*, x. 188, 190, 218, 246, 251, 263, 277, 294, 314. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 289, 326. Suffolk County Probate Records and Files. J. H. Trumbull, *Letters*, 1861, March 4; 1872, February 12.

CLASS OF 1653.—August 10.

Edward Rawson,
Samuel Bradstreet,
Joshua Long,
Samuel Whiting,

Joshua Moody,
Joshua Ambrose,
Nehemiah Ambrose,
Thomas Crosby:—

being the portion of the class mentioned on page 322, who were required, as at the present day, to complete three years after graduating before proceeding Master of Arts.

“QUÆSTIONES IN PHILOSOPHIA
DISCUTIENDÆ, SUB CAROLO CHAUNCÆO,
SS. THEOL: BAC: PRÆSIDE COL: HARVARD:
CANTAB: NOV-ANGL: IN COMITIIS,
PER INCEPTORES IN ARTIBUS,
DUODECIMO DIE SEXTILIS,
M. DC. LVI.

“I. **A**N *Substantia creetur?*
Affirmat Respondens Samuel Bradstreet.

“II. **A**N *Ens Arti adæquetur?*
Affirmat Respondens Joshua Long.

“III. **A**N *Detur Maximum et Minimum in Natura?*
Affirmat Respondens Samuel Whiting.

“III. **A***N* *Intelligentiæ sint materiatae?*
Affirmat Respondens Joshua Moodæus.

“V. **A***N* *Creaturæ existentia sit Contingens?*
Affirmat Respondens Nehemias Ambrosius.”

EDWARD RAWSON.

REV. EDWARD RAWSON, B. A., born in England, was son of Edward Rawson, of Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, near the bounds of Hants and Wilts, who came to Newbury about 1637, and, removing to Boston in 1650, settled in Rawson's Lane, now Bromfield Street, where “he owned some acres of land, which bordered on the Common or Training field, out of which he sold a number of house lots,” and died 27 August, 1693, having been Secretary of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1650 to 1686.

The son's name appears for the first time on the College Steward's Account-Books under the date of 22 October, 1649, when he is credited “By ane old Cow 4 quarters wight 300^{li} att 3^d 1^q pr ^{li}, £4 2s. 3d.; hir hide 55^{li} att 3^d pr pound 13^s 9^d, hir suett and Inwards 6^s 3^d, £1”; he being at the same time charged “by sendinge for his Cow twice once by Cheners and once by goodman Caine 2s. 6d.” At a later date there is credited to him the item “Payd by a Sword vnto the Steward, 8s. 6d.” The account current is continued till “5-3-54,” but as he is charged for discontinuances “att 10-10-53 and att march 53-4 att June and Septem 54,” his residence at the College probably terminated when he took

the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and he returned to England soon afterward, never receiving the second degree.

In 1655 he was presented to the sequestered living of John Couch, in Horsmanden in Kent, whence he was ejected in 1662. Walker says, Couch "outlived the Usurpation, and demanded his Living again of the Intruder, one *Edward Rawson*, a *New-England-Man*, and a violent *Presbyterian*. . . . He was resolved to have continued in the Living if he could, and therefore gave him a great deal of Trouble to Dispossess him."

Palmer says, "He was esteemed a very pious man."

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 383; iii. 543. J. Farmer, *Geneal. Reg.*, 240. Harv. College Steward's Books, i. 79. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 62. S. S. Rawson, *Rawson Family*, 7-11. J. Savage, *Genealog. Dictionary*, iii. 511. J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England*, ii. 220.

SAMUEL BRADSTREET.

Died 1682.

SAMUEL BRADSTREET, M. A., of Andover, of Boston, and of Jamaica, was the oldest child of Governor Simon Bradstreet, of Massachusetts, by Anne, the well-known poet, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley. Upon the birth of this son, the mother wrote, "It pleased God to keep me a long time without a child, which was a great greif to me, and cost mee many prayers and tears before I obtaind one."

The College Steward's books contain an uninterrupted account current with him, under the name Broadstreatte, from the quarter-day in June, 1650, to November, 1654.

May 14, 1656, he was made freeman.

August 12, 1656, he "was chosen, and Enstaed Fellow of the Coll."

His mother wrote verses "Vpon my Son Samuel his goeing for England, Novem. 6, 1657." At that time, he, with Daniel Gookin and "good company," embarked at Boston, for England, on board the ship "whereof John Pierse was commander," to which one or more of the passengers were diverted from Garrett's superior and larger ship, that, sailing at the same time, took about fifty passengers, among whom were Jonathan Ince, H. U. 1650, Nathaniel Pelham, H. U. 1651, and John Davis, H. U. 1651, and "was never heard of more."

Bradstreet's mother wrote verses "On my Sons Return out of England, July 17, 1661," thus incidentally showing that he remained abroad nearly four years; in the mean time probably studying medicine, which he subsequently practised several years in Boston.

In 1670 he represented the town of Andover in the General Court. After this he removed to Jamaica, in the West Indies. The Reverend Simon Bradstreet, H. U. 1660, says: "Sometime in August, 1682, my dear Brother, Mr. Sam^l Bradstreet dyed in Jamaica. He was y^e first born, y^e greater the breach in o^r family; but he is at rest in glory."

In 1662 Bradstreet married Mercy, born 13 January, 1642-3, daughter of William Tyng, and had five children, all of whom died young, except Mercy, born 20 November, 1667, who married James Oliver, H. U. 1680. His wife died 6 September, 1670, and, marrying again in Jamaica, he had John, born in 1676, and Simon, born about 1680, H. U. 1700, besides a daughter, Ann.

AUTHORITIES. — A. Bradstreet, Works, Ellis's ed., lviii, lxvii, 5, 24, 28, 29. D. Dudley, Dudley Genealogies, 116. J. Farmer, Genealogical Reg., 39. E. D. Harris, Descendants of Thomas Brattle, 37, 39. D. Gookin, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 202. Harvard College Corporation Records, iii. 40; and Manuscript Papers, i. 58; Steward's Account-Books, i. 81, 82. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (i.) 461. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 194; viii. 13, 14; ix. 113, 114. W. Phillips, Manuscript Phillips Genealogy, July, 1860. J. Savage, Genealogical Dict., i. 235, 236; iv. 358.

JOSHUA LONG.

Born 1634, died before 1700.

JOSHUA LONG, or Longe, M. A., the youngest son of Robert Long, innholder at Dunstable, in Bedfordshire, by Elizabeth, probably a second wife, was born in England. July 7, 1635, when he was about nine months old, his parents with their ten children embarked in the *Defence* at London, and, coming to Massachusetts, settled at Charlestown.

The son's college bills extend from June, 1650, to September, 1654, the charge for tuition being omitted after the Commencement in 1653; and several of them, paid by "Mr Longe," indicate the father's respectable standing.

The son was living 10 July, 1658, the date of his father's will, proved 5 April, 1664, which says, "My will is that twentie pounds be given to my sonne Joshua to buy him bookes if my wife see it need, so to doe," and if he "haue no need of w^t I giue him; then my will is that his part be divided to Hannah and Ruth and Deborah."

The date of his death is not ascertained; but the star in Mather's *Magnalia*, and in the Catalogue of Harvard Graduates issued in 1700, indicates that it must have occurred some time in the seventeenth century, and it may even have been several years before its close.

AUTHORITIES. — S. G. Drake, *Result of Researches*, 32. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 181. Harvard College *Steward's Account-Books*, i. 83, 84. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, xii. 177. Middlesex, Massachusetts, County Probate Records. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 108. T. B. Wyman, *Manuscript Memoranda*, 1868, August 17.

SAMUEL WHITING.

Born 1633, died 1713, aged 79.

REV. SAMUEL WHITING, M. A., of Billerica, Massachusetts, was born 25 March, 1633, at Skirbeck, about a mile from Boston, in Lincolnshire, England. His father, the Reverend Samuel Whiting, born 20 November, 1597, son of John Whiting, Mayor of Boston, after being for some time a minister at Lynn Regis and Skirbeck, embarked with his neighbor, the Reverend John Wheelwright, for Boston, New England, where he arrived 26 May, 1636. On the eighth of November following he was settled at Lynn, where he died, 11 December, 1679. The graduate's mother, Elizabeth, a second wife, sister of Oliver St. John, Chief Justice of England in the time of Cromwell, died at Lynn, 3 March, 1677-8.

Whiting continued at the College a year after graduating, and, what is remarkable, his quarter-bills, commonly settled by "Samuell," sometimes "Samuell Whiting," with the exception of two credits "by the Psident by his schollership," appear on the Steward's books to have been almost always paid "by siluer."

May 11, 1656, he was made freeman.

As early as 1658, he was preaching at Billerica, Massachusetts. There was no meeting-house or church organization, but nineteen persons then "stipulated," says Farmer, "to give him and his heirs, a ten acre privilege, and a house comfortably finished with the accommodations belonging to it, if he should continue with them during his life," with "a salary of £40 for the first two years, £50 for the third, £60 for the fourth, and afterwards . . . to 'better his maintenance as

the Lord should better their estates.' His stated salary after the fourth year, was £70."

"Finding their numbers annually increasing, the town voted to build a meeting-house, 30 feet in length and 24 feet in width," which, "completed about 1660, . . . had no galleries till about 1679," and was "for several years . . . covered with thatch instead of shingles."

November 11, 1663, the church was gathered, and Whiting was ordained. In 1669 there were eight admissions to the church, and twelve baptisms.

When a movement was made to settle the Reverend John Davenport over the First Church in Boston, Whiting was one of the seventeen ministers who bore testimony against it, and he afterward signed the address to the General Court in vindication of their conduct from the charge of innovation brought against them by a committee appointed by the House of Deputies in May, 1670.

In 1675, probably through his influence, the Selectmen of Billerica passed "an order that all children and youth from eight years old and upwards, should be sent by their parents and masters to the reverend Mr. Whiting, to receive catechetical instruction at such times as should be appointed."

In the October succeeding 2 August, 1675, when Timothy Farley, of Billerica, was killed in the engagement with the Indians at Quaboag, now Brookfield, Massachusetts, twelve garrisons were established in Billerica, Whiting's being "the main garrison and the last refuge in case of extremity." Many years afterward Whiting was called to sympathize with the relatives of parishioners who had been killed in Indian irruptions into the town, 1 August, 1692, and 5 August, 1695.

The second meeting-house, "44 feet in length and 40 feet in width," voted 23 October, 1693, "was erected,

16 July, 1694." "This service," says an old diary, "was attended by about 45 hands of our town the first day; and the town came generally the second day, and some of other towns. . . . The third day we concluded our work with our towns' help. No considerable harm was done—not a bone broken. We had the help of our reverend pastor to desire God's blessing, and when we had finished our work, we concluded with a psalm of praise and returned thanks to God by our reverend pastor."

For several months in 1702-3 Whiting was too ill to perform ministerial labor, and his people hired John Fox, H. U. 1698, to assist him. The infirmities of age increasing, Samuel Ruggles, H. U. 1702, who began to preach at Billerica in 1707, was ordained as his colleague 19 May, 1708.

Whiting died "an hour before Sun-set," 28 February, 1712-13, having been the "Faithful Minister of the Gospel, in the *New-English* Town of Billerica," "about 55 Years."

"In a poem on his death. . . he has the following character.

"WHITING, we here beheld a starry light,
 Burning in Christ's right hand and shining bright;
 Years seven times seven sent forth his precious rays,
 Unto the gospel's profit and Jehovah's praise."

November 12, 1656, he was married at Charlestown, to Dorcas, born 1 November, 1637, daughter of Leonard Chester, first of Watertown, Massachusetts, and afterwards of Wethersfield, Connecticut, whose mother, Dorothy, was sister of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, of Hartford. They lived together fifty-seven years, she dying 15 February, 1712-13, thirteen days before her husband. Of their seven sons two were graduates: John, in the class

of 1685, killed by the Indians at Lancaster, Massachusetts, 11 September, 1697; and Joseph, in the class of 1690. Of their four daughters, Elizabeth, born 6 November, 1660, became, 2 October, 1702, second wife of the Reverend Thomas Clark, of Chelmsford, H. U. 1670.

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Farmer wrote in 1836: "Although a man of respectable talents, and sometimes called to preach on public occasions, I do not find that he published anything. He preached the artillery election sermon in 1682. A manuscript volume of his sermons is in the library of his descendant, Rev. Moses G. Thomas, of Concord, N. H. I have in my possession part of a folio manuscript, of several hundred pages, containing sketches of his sermons on portions of the Assembly's Catechism for a number of years. It was written by Capt. Jonathan Danforth, his parishioner, and brother of Rev. Samuel Danforth of Roxbury."

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JOSHUA MOODEY.

Born about 1633, died 1697, aged about 64.

REV. JOSHUA MOODEY (so spelt by himself), M. A., of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and of Boston, Massachusetts, born in England about 1633, was son of William Moody, saddler, who came from Ipswich, in Suffolk, to Ipswich in New England, as early as 1634, and in 1635 was one of the first settlers of Newbury, where he died 25 October, 1673.

The son was probably fitted for college by the Reverend Thomas Parker, of Newbury, who generally had several students under his charge. He joined the church in Cambridge, where he remained after graduating.

February 28, 1655 (1655-6?), he was chosen Fellow of the College. The latest payment to him recorded on the Steward's books is in the college quarter ending 5 June, 1658.

Early in 1658 he "began his ministerial labors" at Portsmouth, supported by the voluntary subscription of eighty-six persons. March 5, 1660, the town formally invited him to settle; and, in 1662, probably with a view to secure to him an attentive audience, "*Ordered, that a cage be made, or some other means invented by the Selectmen, to punish such as sleepe or take tobacco on the Lord's day out of the meeting in the time of the publique exercise.*"

When the general appeal was made for funds to erect a brick building for the College in place of the wooden structure, which was small and decaying, the following response, probably prompted and prepared by Moody, came from Portsmouth.

“To the much hono'd the Generall Court of y^e Massachusets colony, assembled at Boston, 20 May, 69.

“The humble addresse of y^e inhabitants of the toune of Portsmouth

“Humbly sheweth, —

“That seeing by your meanes (vnder God) wee enjoy much peace & quietnes, & very worthy deeds are don̄ to vs by the favorable aspect of the gouernment of this colony vpon vs, we accept it alwajes & in all places wth all thankfullnes; and thō wee haue articled wth yo^rselues for exemption from publike charges, yett wee neuer articled wth God & our oune consciences for exemption from grattitude, which to demonstrate, while wee were studdying, the loud groanes of the sinking colledg, in its present low estate, came to our eares, the releiving of which wee account a good worke for the house of our God, & needful for the perpetuating of knouledge, both religious & ciuil, among vs, & our posterity after vs, & therefore gratefull to yourselues, whose care & studdy is to seeke the welfare of our Israell. The premisses considered, wee haue made a collection in our toune of sixty pounds p̄ annū, (& hope to make it more,) which sajd sumē is to be pajd annually for these seuen yeares ensuing, to be improoued, at the discretion of the honoured ouerseers of the colledge, for the behoofe of the same, and the advancment of good litterature there, hoping wthall that the example of ourselues (w^{ch} haue been accounted no people) will provoke y^e rest of the country to jealousy, (wee meane an holy emulation to appeare in so good a worke,) & that this honoured Court will, in their wisdomes, see meete vigerously to act for the diverting the sad omen to poore New England, if a colledge, begun & comfortably vpheld while wee were litle, should sinc, now wee are groune greate, especially after so large and proffitable an harvest that this country & other places haue reaped from the same.

“Yo^r acceptanc of our good meaning herein will further
obleige vs to endeavo^r the approving ourselues to be

Yo^r thankfull & humble servants,

J^N^O CUTT,

RICHARD CUTT,

JOSHUA MOODY.

“In the name & behalfe of y^e rest of y^e subscribers in
y^e toune of Portsmth.

“This addresse . . . was p^resented by M^r Richard Cutt,”
who subscribed £20 annually, “& M^r Joshua Moody,
20 May, 1669, & gratefully accepted of; & the Gouver-
no^r, in the name of the whole Court mett together, re-
turnd them the thanks of this Court for their pious
& liberall gift to the colledg therein.”

“After many serious endeavors” by the pastor in
public for nearly thirteen years, “and by several of the
inhabitants in private,” and holding numerous conferences
and prayer meetings, of which a detailed account, from
Moodey’s manuscript records, is printed by Adams,
Alden, and Moody, a church of nine male members
was organized at Portsmouth, 12 July, 1671, by rep-
resentatives from the churches in Ipswich, Rowley,
Hampton, and Cambridge, those from Cambridge bring-
ing Moodey’s letter of dismissal. “In the presence
of Governor Leverett and several of the magistrates,”
“he that was appointed pastor preached in the morning
out of Ezekiel xlviii. ult. After sermon some intermis-
sion was made, and, on their meeting again, the pastor
with all those, who were to be the beginners of the new
church, made their relations, and those, who were mem-
bers of other churches, had their dismissions, and all
made their relations whether members or non-members,
and they were approved of by the messengers of churches
and embodied into a church by an explicit covenant.
Then the pastor was ordained after the unanimous vote

of the church for choice of him and liberty given to all the congregation to object, if they had aught to say. He was ordained by several of the elders at the desire of the church, Mr. Cabot giving him his charge, and Mr. Wheelwright the right hand of fellowship. Then the pastor ordained Samuel Haines deacon, with imposition of hand and prayer. A psalm was sung and the congregation dismissed by the pastor with a prayer and blessing."

Having now effected the church organization, Moodey pursued his ministerial labors without any apparently important interruption till Edward Cranfield came into office as Lieutenant-Governor, to whom his eminent sanctity, rigid adherence to the Gospel standard of duty, strictness in church discipline, and fearlessness in rebuking sin in high places, made him an object of special hostility.

In October, 1682, a Scotch ketch, or a ketch belonging to George Janvrin, or "one Jefferys, a Scotchman," having been seized for breach of the revenue laws, "was in the night carried out of the harbor. The owner, who was a member of the church, swore that he knew nothing of it; but upon trial [in December], there appeared strong suspicions that he had perjured himself." According to Belknap, he compromised "the matter with the governor and collector; but Moodey, being concerned for the purity of his church, requested of the governor copies of the evidence, that the offender might be called to account in the way of ecclesiastical discipline. Cranfield sternly refused, saying that he had forgiven him, and that neither the church nor minister should meddle with him; and even threatened Moodey in case he should." Not intimidated, Moodey preached a sermon against false swearing. Several church meetings were held, the offender was called to account, and "at

length brought" to "a public confession." Cranfield was enraged, but, having "no way then in his power to show his resentment," he resorted to the following expedient.

At this time the penal laws against non-conformists were rigorously enforced in England, and he "determined to play off the ecclesiastical artillery here." He accordingly made some movements for this purpose; "but his capital stroke was to issue an order in council 'that after the first of January, . . . if any person should desire baptism or the other sacrament to be administered according to the liturgy of the church of England, it should be done, . . . and any minister refusing so to do should suffer the penalty of the statutes of uniformity.'"

"In pursuance of that order," writes Moodey, 12 February, 1683-4, to Governor Thomas Hinckley, Cranfield "(seeing none of the inhabitants would appear, but that I went on preaching without any such impediment, and matters were not likely to bear there) sent the Marshal Sherlock to my house, on a Tuesday in the afternoon [January 15, 1683-4], to inform me that himself, with four more, *ejusdem furinæ* (*furfuris potius*), intended to receive the sacrament next Lord's Day, and required me to prepare accordingly. I was from home, as far as Ipswich; and, before I returned, had intelligence thereof. . . . I consulted with friends, and was by some dissuaded from going home. Being providentially out of the Province, I could not be culpable for not returning, nor chargeable with flying from that which I knew nothing of before I undertook my journey. There seemed matter of argument in it: but I had no freedom in myself to withdraw; and resolved to come back, and try the utmost. I came home on Friday. The Marshal was with me on Saturday to know my answer. I told him I durst not, could not,

should not, do it. Which answer he informed the Governor of; and, accordingly, he and his gang forbare coming up on Lord's Day. On Saturday was fortnight, an order came to me (drawn up, I suppose, by the Governor, or his order), signed by Nath. Frier, justice of peace (which, it is said, he was forced to do by threats and affrightments), requiring and strictly commanding me immediately upon sight, or the next Monday by nine in the morning, to appear before him, or some other justice of peace, to answer to such things as should be in his majesty's behalf, as matter of misdemeanor, objected against me. On Monday morning, I went down to Great Island; appeared before Mr. Mason (being willing to free Mr. Frier from a business I know he had no mind to, but was constrained to *volens nolens*). Mr. Mason answered, that he knew nothing of it, and should not be concerned therein. I could then have fairly returned home again; but, being willing to make but one work of it, we[nt to Mr.] Frier. He was much afflicted to see me. . . . The business was to bind me over to Quarter [Sessions]. . . . I would give no bond. . . . At length, Mr. Eliot offered to be bound."

Being brought into court, says Belknap, Moodey "pleaded that he was not episcopally ordained as the statutes required; nor did he receive his maintenance according to them," having had none for twelve months but what the people voluntarily gave, "and therefore was not obliged" to obey; "that the alleged statutes were not intended for these plantations, the known and avowed end of their settlement being the enjoyment of freedom from the imposition of those laws; which freedom was allowed and confirmed by the king, in the liberty of conscience granted to all protestants, in the governor's commission."

Of the six members of the Court, Henry Greene and

Nathaniel Fryer, who were Assistants, with Henry Robie and Thomas Edgerly, Justices, "entered their thoughts that" he "was quit, and the clerk recorded it"; but Walter Barefoote, who was captain of the fort, and Peter Coffin, Justice, were for Moodey's condemnation. "The matter being adjourned till the next day, Cranfield found means before morning to gain Robie and Greene, who then joined with Barefoote and Coffin, in sentencing him to six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize."¹ Fryer and Edgerly persisted in their opinion, and were soon after removed from all their offices.² Moodey, without being permitted to see his family, was immediately ordered into custody. "I desired liberty," he says, "to go up to my house to settle matters there, and that I might not go to the common prison; it being so cold and nasty a place, that it would be cruelty to send me thither, considering my education, and manner of living. They owned it rational, but said they could not grant it; advised me to apply to the Governor; which I did in writing, desiring also a little time of discourse with him. He peremptorily refused both. However, just at night, when going to the prison, he ordered the Marshal

¹ The warrant of commitment, dated 6 February, 1683-4, commanded the Marshal to "apprehend the body and person of Joshua Moodey, . . . and carry him to the prison on Great Island; . . . and the prison-keeper, Rich. Abbott" was "required to receive . . . and keep him in safe custody, in the said prison, — he having been convicted of administering the sacraments contrary to the laws and statutes of England, and refusing to administer the sacraments according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England and the form enjoined in the said statutes, — there to remain

for the space of six months next ensuing, without bail or mainprize."

² "Not long after, Green repented," writes Moodey, "and made his acknowledgment to the pastor, who frankly forgave him. Robey was excommunicated out of Hampton church for a common drunkard, and died excommunicate, and was by his friends thrown into a hole, near his house, for fear of an arrest of his carcase. Barefoot fell into a languishing distemper, whereof he died. Coffin was taken by the Indians and his house and mills burnt, himself not slain but dismissed."

to drop me at Captain [Elias] Stileman's, and confine me to a chamber."

Moodey remained in confinement at Stileman's house, "though not without leave to go down stairs, or into the back side"; and his "benefice" was declared forfeited to the crown. "Cranfield would neither suffer him to go up to the town to preach, nor the people to assemble at the island to hear, nor the neighboring ministers to supply his place; only the family where he was confined were permitted to be present with him at sabbath exercises. But whilst" Cranfield "was absent on a tour to New-York, Mason gave leave for opening the meeting-house," and Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, H. U. 1650, in consequence of a touching appeal made to him by Moodey, came and preached 13 and 20 April, the people "having been nine Lord's days without a sermon"; and Moodey, moreover, was allowed "to make a short visit to his family." After about thirteen weeks' imprisonment, "by the interposition of friends, Moodey obtained a release, though under a strict charge to preach no more within the province, on penalty of further imprisonment."

"He had the Honour," says Cotton Mather, "to be the *First*, that suffered in that way for that *Cause* in these parts of the World."

"The persecution being personal, and his mouth utterly stopped, while the other ministers in the province," except Seaborne Cotton, H. U. 1651, "were undisturbed," he went immediately to Boston, where 11 May, 1684, the First Church voted him an invitation, "during his abode and residence here, to be constantly helpful to our teacher, Mr. James Allen, in preaching."

During this persecution, writes Bacon, the church at New Haven "'had intelligence from some friends, that Mr. Moody was attainable if he were looked after.' Thereupon the Church considering Mr. Moody to be

'a man, by report, singularly fit for the ministry,' wrote a letter¹ to be conveyed to him by Mr. [John] Whiting, of Hartford," H. U. 1650, who had married his wife's sister. At the town meeting, 17 March, 1684, the matter was brought forward by Deputy-Governor Bishop; and the result was, that William Jones, one of the principal inhabitants, and James Heaton, son-in-law of Nicholas Street, the former minister, were sent to treat with him. One of the messengers he saw at Portsmouth about the time of his release, and "conferred with both of them at Boston at the time of the election there," but he "declined the invitation, because he still felt himself bound to his former people, and 'would try the providence of God, if he might not preach near them, and they have liberty to hear him.'"

Almost immediately afterward, 21 July, 1684, the Corporation of Harvard College chose him President, as successor of John Rogers, H. U. 1649, who had died on the second day of the same month. In September the "Overseers declared their consent to and approbation thereof"; but, 14 October, "the Committee appointed to treat" with him "made return to the Overseers, That M^r Moodey's answer was on the Negative."

In the following year, 1685, Cranfield left the country in disgrace. "Moodey resumed his active interest" in the society at Portsmouth, "making them frequent visits, aiding them by his counsel, and observing, by special exercises of devotion in their behalf, all their stated seasons of fasting and prayer."

Edward Randolph says, Moodey was one of the "Five Ministers of Boston" who "were in the Councill Cham-

¹ About 20 March, 1683-4, while Moodey was in prison, he wrote to Increase Mather: "I lately rec^d two letters, one from the church of N. Haven, a 2^d from 3 Magistrates there, in order to my removing thither; & I may add, a 3^d & 4th from Bro: Whyting & Collins to back theyr motion. But I am at present too fast fixed for moving."

ber on the eighteenth of Aprill [1689] when the Govern^r [Sir Edmund Andros] and myselfe were brought out of the Fort before them, writeing orders, and were authors of some of their printed papers.”

In 1691, John Cotton, H. U. 1678, having received a call to Portsmouth, Moodey wrote to the town, 29 May, as he had previously written to the church, that he would return, if it were their wish: but he was reluctant to go back without the advice and sanction of an ecclesiastical council. The society not considering this necessary, negotiations were protracted till 1693, when, Cotton having for some time favored the movement, Moodey yielded to repeated solicitations, and by advice of an ecclesiastical council resumed his charge.

During the time when his proposal to return to Portsmouth was under consideration, the witchcraft delusion was at its height. Moodey's views as to the course to be justifiably pursued by the accused may be learned from a letter written by the Reverend William Bentley, H. U. 1777. “As early as 21 April, 1692,” Philip English's wife “was accused of witchcraft, examined, and committed to prison. . . . Six weeks she was confined.” Her husband, for visiting her, “was also accused, and confined in the same prison. By the intercession of friends, and by a plea that the prison was crowded, they were removed to Arnold's gaol in Boston. . . . Willard [H. U. 1659] and Moodey visited them, and discovered every disposition to console them in their distress. On the day before they were to return to Salem for trial, Mr. Moodey waited upon them in the prison, and invited them to the publick worship. . . . He chose for the text, IF THEY PERSECUTE YOU IN ONE CITY, FLEE TO ANOTHER. In the discourse, with a manly freedom he justified every attempt to escape from the forms of justice, when justice was violated in them. After ser-

vice Mr. Moodey visited the prisoners in the gaol, . . . frankly told" English "that his life was in danger, and he ought by all means to provide for an escape. Many, said he, have suffered. Mr. English then replied, God will not suffer them to hurt me. Upon this reply, Mrs. English said to her husband, do you not think that they, who have suffered already, are innocent? He said, yes. Why then may not we suffer also? Take Mr. Moodey's advice. Mr. Moodey then told Mr. English that, if he would not carry his wife away, he would." He finally succeeded in quieting English's scruples of conscience, and, through arrangements already made, "English, his wife, and daughter were taken and conveyed to New-York," where, kindly cared for by the Governor and others, they remained till the next year.

"In all this business," says Bentley, "Mr. Moodey openly justified Mr. English, and, in defiance of all the prejudices which prevailed, expressed his abhorrence of the measures, which had obliged a useful citizen to flee from the executioners. Mr. Moodey was commended by all discerning men, but he felt the angry resentment of the deluded multitude of his own times, among whom some of high rank were included. He soon after left Boston and returned to Portsmouth," agreeably to his inclinations expressed a year or two previously.

Although "he was of a very Robust and Hardy Constitution," his intense application "in doing the Service whereto a Good Master called him" brought on "a *Complication* of Distempers." He went for medical advice to Boston, and there died, "at Cotton Hill," opposite King's Chapel Burying-Ground, on Sunday, 4 July, 1697, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was "interred in the tomb of the worshipful John Hull," the day before Commencement. "Was a very Great Funeral. Many Ministers & Magistrates there." Cotton Mather preached the funeral sermon.

In his will Moodey wrote: "If I die in Portsmouth, my body shall be laid in the burying-place there, under the great stone, by the side of the oak, where I buried my first wife and the deceased children I had by her; — hereby strictly inhibiting those profuse expenses in mourning, or otherwise so frequently wasted at funerals. . . . I do also lay the solemn injunctions of a tender and dying father upon all my children, that they love one another dearly, and that there be no difference between them about any thing I shall leave them. And in order to the preventing any difference, I advise them to meet as soon as they may after my decease, and discourse and share matters between them, while the remembrance of a dead father is fresh and warm upon their souls."

Peabody says, Moodey "was regarded as a pattern of parochial fidelity; nor is there any surviving memento of the slightest mark of alienation or disesteem among the actual members of his church in Portsmouth, or among those to whom he ministered in Boston. He seems to have given himself wholly to his work, and to have had no other aim than the conversion of sinners and the edification of God's heritage. Equally firm and prudent, loyal to his Master and meek and gentle towards all men, uncompromising in duty and conciliatory where conscience suffered him to yield, he was admirably fitted to occupy a frontier post in our Zion."

He was succeeded at Portsmouth by Nathaniel Rogers.

From Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers, page 464, Moodey's first wife, Martha(?), daughter of Edward Collins, of Cambridge, and sister of John Collins, H. U. 1649, appears to have died as early as August, 1674. His second wife was the widow Ann Jacobs, of Ipswich. The children who survived him were Samuel, H. U. 1689; Martha, wife of Jonathan Russell, H. U. 1675; Sarah, wife of John Pike, H. U. 1675; and Hannah.

WORKS.

1. Souldiery Spiritualized, | Or | the Christian Souldier | Orderly, and Strenuously Engaged in the | Spiritual Warre, | And so fighting the good Fight: | Represented in a Sermon Preached at Boston in | New England on the Day of the Artil- | lery Election there, June 1. 1674. || Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green. 1674. 4to. pp. (2), 47. *H, W.*

2. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay, 12 May, 1675, "considering the elaborate & seasonable discourse of the Reūend Mr Joshua Moody enterteined the Generall Assembly with on the day of elecōn, judge meete to entreate the sajd Mr Moody to transcribe a copy thereof meete for the presse, that it may be printed."

I have not met with a copy, and think the sermon may not have been printed.

3. A letter from John Higginson to Increase Mather, dated "Aug. 22, '82," says: "Iust as I had finished, Mr Moody came in, & told me that he hath kept 30 years' Almanacks together with fayr paper between every year, setting down remarkable Providences; so that I doubt not but besides those he hath sent you, you may have many more from him."

4. A | Practical | Discourse | Concerning the Choice Benefit | of Communion with God in His | House, | Witnessed unto by the Experience of Saints as | The best Improvement of Time. Being the | Summe of Several Sermons on Psal. 84. 10. Preach'd in Boston on Lecture-Dayes. || Boston. 1685. 16mo. Pp. 4 To the Reader by James Allen; Text 109. *M, P.*

The same. Boston. 1746. 16mo. Pp. 6 The Preface signed by Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb. Mar. 27, 1746; and Text 88. *H, M.*

5. An | Exhortation | to [James Morgan] a Condemned | Malefactor | Delivered March the 7th 1686. || Printed at Boston, by R. P. Anno. 1687. sm. 8vo. P. (83) Title; p. 84 To the Reader; and Text pp. 85-113 of I. Mather's Sermon Occasioned by the Execution of a Man found Guilty of Murder. *H, P.*

6. Letters in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxv. 73, 116; xxxviii. 357-373.

7. The ninety-third volume of his "manuscript sermons, the last of which is numbered 4070, and dated 30 September, 1688,"

formerly owned by the Reverend Timothy Alden, H. U. 1794, is now in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

8. Epitaphs on Thomas Bailey, and on Lydia, wife of the Reverend John Bailey of Watertown, Massachusetts; supposed to be by him.

9. A Sermon on the Great Sin of Formality in G^l Worship; or the Formal Worshipper proved a Liar and Deceiver; preached on the weekly Lecture in Boston from Hosea xi. 12. Boston. 1691. 8vo. pp. 42.

10. People of New England Reasoned wth, &c: G Elec. Sermon on 1 Sam xii. 7. May 4. 1692. Boston. 1692. 8vo.

11. Believers Happy Change by Death: Funeral Sermon on Thomas ——. Boston. 1697. 8vo. pp. 32.

AUTHORITIES. — N. Adams, Annals of Portsmouth. T. Alden, Epitaphs, ii. 175; also Religious Societies of Portsmouth, 8-14, 32; and in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 40-46, 64. American Congregational Year-Book, iii. 133. American Quarterly Register, vi. 245; vii. 28; xiv. 252. L. Bacon, Thirteen Historical Discourses, 171. J. Belknap, History of New Hampshire, Farmer's ed., 64, 104, 467-469, 476-478, 499, 501. W. Bentley, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vi. 270; x. 64; and in Alden's Religious Societies, 32. C. W. Brewster, Rambles about Portsmouth. J. R. Brodhead, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii. 582. W. Emerson, History of First Church in Boston, 134, 140. Essex Institute, Histor. Collections, i. 164. J. Farmer, Genealog. Reg., 198; and Amer. Quarterly Register, ix. 231; Farmer and Moore's Collections, ii. 261. C. Francis, History of Watertown, 141. W. T. Harris, Watertown Epi-

taphs, 2. Harvard College Manuscript Corp. Records, i. 67; iii. 40, 85; and Steward's Account-Books, i. 87, 299; Manuscript Papers, i. 58. A. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 467. E. Holt, Historical Sketch of North Church in Portsmouth, 6. R. F. Lawrence, New Hampshire Churches, 95, 118. J. McKean, Sermon at Ordination of N. L. Frothingham, 41. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (ii.) 433; v. 34. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, vi. 270; x. 40, 69, 167; xii. 101; xxxv. 73, 115-121; xxxviii. 57, 282, 357, 363. C. Mather, Way to Excel: Meditations Awakened by J. M.'s Death; also Magnalia, iv. 192-198. C. C. P. Moody, Biographical Sketches of the Moody Family, 9, 13. New Hampshire Provincial Records, i. 163, 169, 183, 186. A. P. Peabody, in W. B. Sprague's Annals, i. 160. S. Sewall, Manuscript Diary. W. B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 160. C. W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft, ii. 309.

JOSHUA AMBROSE.

REV. JOSHUA AMBROSE, entered as "Ambros Senior" on the College Steward's books, was probably a native of England, though I find no particulars respecting either his parentage or the time or place of his birth. With the exception of £3 15s. as a "schollership," all his college bills were paid by "m^r John Glouer of Dorchester." Among the last of the charges are nine shillings for "Commones & Sizings from 9 of Septem [1653] till he left the Colledge." He went to England, and was settled in the ministry at Darby, in Lancashire. In 1662 he became a Conformist. From the University at Oxford he received the degree of Master of Arts. Not being starred in Mather's *Magnalia* or in the Catalogue of Harvard Graduates issued in 1700, he may have lived till the eighteenth century.

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 419. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 89. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 48. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 16.

NEHEMIAH AMBROSE.

Died before 1700.

REV. NEHEMIAH AMBROSE, M. A., entered as "Ambros Jeunior" on the College Steward's Account-Books, may have been a brother of his classmate, Joshua Ambrose, as the bills of both were "Payd by m^r John Glouer," but nothing is known of him before he entered college. The latest charge against him is "9-10-

53" for "discontinuance" and for "study rente for 3 quarters and som sizinges."

November 27, 1654, he was chosen Fellow of the College, and the Steward makes record of a payment to him as late as 5 September, 1657.

He went to England, and was settled in the ministry at Kirkby, in Lancashire, whence in 1662 he was ejected for non-conformity. Being starred in Mather's *Magnalia*, he probably died before the close of the seventeenth century.

AUTHORITIES. — E. Calamy, *Ejected or Silenced Ministers*, ii. 417. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 16. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 91, 297; and Corp. Rec., iii. 39; Manuscript Papers, i. 58. S. Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial*, ii. 97. J. Savage, *Geneal. Dict.* i. 89.

THOMAS CROSBY.

Born 1635, died 1702, aged 67.

THOMAS CROSBY, B. A., of Eastham and of Harwich, Massachusetts, oldest son of Simon and Ann Crosby, was born in England. In 1635, when eight weeks old, he was taken on board the "Suzan and Ellin" by his father, who came to Massachusetts and settled in Cambridge on what was afterward known as the Brattle estate, part of which is now occupied by the University Press.

The latest college charges against the graduate are on quarter-day, 9 December, 1653, for "discontinuances 6 quarters and fier and Candell £1 12s," with 3s. 4d. for "Commones & Sizinges," the latter charge probably being for sizings only.

Several payments on his account were made in Indian corn "by John Couper"; others by "Deackon Trusdell of boston," "Deacken Stone of Cambridge," and by "goodman Longhorne," the town drummer. One item

put to his credit is "a Cow which did amount to 5^l," and he is charged with "Payd to goodman Longhorne by killinge a Cow, 4^s."

In 1655 the Reverend John Mayo, of Eastham, having been called to settle over the Second Church in Boston, Crosby succeeded him, being "'employed to conduct public service on Lord's days'; to whom was promised a salary of £50 per annum." He continued his ministerial labors till 1670 without being ordained. Subsequently he became a merchant in Harwich. He was found dead in bed at Boston, 27 June, 1702.

By his wife, Sarah, he had twins and triplets, besides seven other children.

WORKS.

The Work of a Christian. | — | An Important Case | of | Practical Religion: | Or, Directions | How to make Religion one's Business. | Found in the Hand-Writing of the truly | Religious Mr. Thomas Crosby, | Educated at Harvard College in Cambridge. | Sometime a Preacher of God's Word, and | afterward a Merchant in Harwich in N. E. | Who Died Suddenly at Boston, June 27. | 1702. | Accompanied with another Discourse on Preparation for Sudden Death; | which also bears this Company | in the present Publication. || Boston. 1736. sm. 12mo. pp. 34.

The Discourse, pp. 17-28, has the following separate title:—

An Important Case | of | Practical Christianity, | Daily and Deeply to be Consider'd | by every Christian: | Or, | A Brief Discourse on that Question, | Seeing no Man hath one Days certainty | of Life, what may we do to be secured | from being surpriz'd by Death? | Found in the Hand-writing of the Exem- | plary Religious, | Mr. Thomas Crosby, | Of Harwich. | Who Died very Suddenly at his Friends House in Boston. (going to Bed well at | Night, was found Dead in the Morning) | June 27. 1702. P.

AUTHORITIES. — S. G. Drake, Result of Researches, 25. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 73. J. E. Freeman, History of Cape Cod, ii. 358, 365. Harv. College Steward's Account-Books, i. 93. New England Histor. and Genealog. Reg., vi. 44; x. 159. E. Pratt, Comp. History of Eastham, 23. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 477.

CLASS OF 1654.

PHILLIP NELSON.

Born about 1633, died 1691, aged about 58.

PHILLIP NELSON, B. A., of Rowley, Massachusetts, born in England about 1633, was the only graduate in 1654. He probably came to New England in 1638 with his father, Thomas Nelson, in the company of the Reverend Ezekiel Rogers and others, who settled at Rowley, and was the first person from that place who received a collegiate education. The father, being called "to make a voyage into Ould England," made his will, 24 December, 1645, giving to his "oldest son *Phillip* a double portion," besides "ten pound w^{ch} was giuen him by my Aunt *Katherine Witham*, & his plate marked with his own name P. N.," and directing that "*Ri: Bellingham*, Esq., & my honoured vnclē *Richard Dumer*, gent.," whom he appoints his executors, "shall haue the education of my son *Phillip Nelson & Thomas Nelson*."

In addition to the ordinary college expenses, the graduate is charged in his Freshman year 1s. 4d. for "a knife att m^r Angeirs payd for by y^e Steward"; in his Sophomore year, "Puneshd by the Psidente" £1 1s. 6d., and "Payd to frances mor for shooe mendinge" 1s. 2d.; and in the Junior year, for "Tuition study rent beed" and "mending glasse windowes," 11s. 6d.; and, what is noticeable, the only omission of a quarter-bill during his

connection with the College occurs immediately after the date of the last item.

The payments on nearly all his bills were made by "Jonathan hides," "Sam hides," and "goodman vnderwood," in "wheatt," Indian corn, rye, "malte," "beaffe," "a Calfe," 12s. 6d., "a fatt Cow," £5 15s., "a old Cow," £4 5s., etc.

At the end of the account the College Steward writes: "The wholl sume sence his Entrunce Into the Colledge is 55-17-07."

As the last charges are dated "8 September, 1654," he probably returned to Rowley immediately after graduating.

He was soon appointed to offices of honor and trust.

In a few years he became engaged in a long and vexatious controversy between the minister and the widow of his predecessor, the Reverend Ezekiel Rogers. In 1660 the Selectmen of Rowley levied a tax of sixty pounds to pay Rogers's salary "for the then current year, which began in April: in January he died, about three months before the expiration of the year; soon after his death, the selectmen recalled the tax list from the collector... and made a new assessment of £50, committing the list to the same collector," with instructions to pay Rogers's widow forty-five pounds for the three fourths of a year preceding her husband's death, and Samuel Phillips, H. U. 1650, the remaining five pounds, "in consideration of his having carried on the work of the ministry alone, during Mr. Rogers's sickness, &c." Mrs. Rogers "accused Phillips of receiving and retaining £5, which of right belonged to her." Nelson, although "all the selectmen were well agreed in reducing the tax list," and the new list was written by himself, undertook to assist her in enforcing her claim. The controversy, details of which have already appeared on pages

222-226, in the notice of Phillips, was continued nearly eighteen years, and finally resulted in Phillips's favor.

According to Gage, Nelson was also "the occasion of other difficulties in the church by pretending to cure a deaf and dumb boy in imitation of our Saviour, by saying *Epphatha*. The ministers of the neighbouring churches were called together, and the boy was brought before them, to see whether he could speak or not. He was interrogated, but 'there he stood,' says the church records, 'like a deaf and dumb boy as he was.'"

May 3, 1665, Nelson was made freeman.

In the laying out of "the village lands," in 1666 or 1667, Nelson had "2000 acres; bounded by Andover line on the southwest; the line of the Merrimack land on the northwest," etc. In 1670, of the Merrimack lands there were laid out to him "between Newbury line, and Mr. Rogers's farm," "483 acres, 67 rods wide at the river and wider at the Rowley line," being "eleven hundred rods, or three miles, and one hundred and forty rods in length."

October 15, 1673, Nelson was appointed by the General Court "leiftenant... to the military company at Rowley," Samuel Brocklebank, who was killed at Sudbury in April, 1676, being at the same time appointed Captain. May 5, 1676, "in answer to the motion of Phillip Nelson, relating to the strengthening of Bradford garrison," the General Court "ordered, that the major generall send them out of Rowley twelve men, according to their owne proposition, to be at the chardg thereof themselues."

September 16, 1687, Nelson, as "*Justice of the Peace in Essex*," gave information to Governor Andros that the town of Rowley chose John Pearson a commissioner to join the Selectmen in the assessment of taxes ordered by him and his Council, but Pearson "afterward finding

it inconvenient to attend," and at a subsequent meeting the vote of Ipswich refusing to choose a commissioner having been read, the town thereupon voted not to elect a substitute. "Upon the foregoing information being given, the selectmen were called upon to recognize in the sum of £100 to appear before the Governor and Council."

Andros declared titles to estates invalidated by the vacating of the charter, and required new titles to be taken out, at great expense. Nelson appears to have been the only person in Rowley who submitted. He sent a petition to Andros, that, on paying a quit rent, he might be allowed a patent for his estate, "consisting of a tenem^t, containing a house, barn, orchard, and fourteen acres of upland, a certain tract of Arable Land of about six acres, and another of eight acres, as also fourteen acres of salt marsh, and five acres of fresh meadow, and also of three score and six acres of woodland in divers places, and a certain tenem^t, consisting of a Mill, and the houses and edifices thereto belonging, and land adjoining thereto of about forty-six acres, the same tracts lying and being in the said Town of Rowley."

In Sir William Phips's unsuccessful expedition against Quebec in 1690, Nelson commanded the thirty non-commissioned officers and soldiers furnished by Rowley. On his return he was blown off the coast to Barbadoes. In anticipation of this expedition, he made his will 9 April, 1690, appointing his wife Elizabeth his "exequitrix," and his "Louinge brother Nehemiah Jewet of Ipswitch exequitor, ioint with he^r." According to the inventory he died 20, but Gage says 19, August, 1691.

Of more than one hundred and thirty parties in Rowley assessed for taxes, according to an order, 9 June, 1691, there were but five whose estates paid more than his.

June 24, 1657, he married Sarah, daughter of Joseph

Jewett, of Rowley, and had Philip, born 1659, besides a daughter. January 1, 1666-7, he married Elizabeth, born 16 February, 1646, daughter of John Lowell, of Newbury, by his second wife, Elizabeth Goodale, and had John, born in 1668, and perhaps other children. It has been said that he had a third wife, Mary, widow of John Hobson; but this is not probable, Elizabeth being the wife named in his will.

AUTHORITIES. — Essex County Books, i. 97. Mass. Bay Records, Probate Records, v. 364. Essex Institute, Historical Collections, v. 204; vi. 37, 39. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 204. T. Gage, History of Rowley, 68, 72, 152, 158-163, 179, 198, 347, 348, 360, 387, 399, 410, 411. Harv. Coll. Steward's Account-
 Books, i. 97. Mass. Bay Records, iv. (ii.) 567; v. 92, 233, 336. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 239, 267; vii. 86, 87. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 438; iii. 126, 267. E. Washburn, Judicial History of Massachusetts, 101.

CLASS OF 1655.

Gershom Bulkeley,

Mordecai Mathews.

GERSHOM BULKELEY.

Died 1713, aged about 78 (?).

REV. GERSHOM BULKELEY (so written by himself), M. A., of New London, Wethersfield, and Glastenbury, in Connecticut, born, perhaps, at Concord, Massachusetts, 2 December, 1636, or 2 January, 1637, or it may have been a year earlier, half-brother of John Bulkley, H. U. 1642, was son of the Reverend Peter Bulkley, who came to New England in 1635, in the "Suzan and Ellin"; his mother, Grace, a second wife, being daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood, or, as anciently spelt, Chetwode.

He is the earliest graduate of whose college accounts, which embrace an unprecedented variety and number of items, the Steward's books contain a full record from the time of admission, when there is a charge of one shilling for "Entrance," till 5 September, 1656, the date of his last quarter-bill. One charge is, "Payd to Sam grean for a Ps [?] book alminackes and Cuttinge his haire," and another for "shoo-mending." July 8, 1655, he is charged with "detrementes" for the two winter

¹ The word "detriment" appears from this time to be substituted for "discontinuance," the charge being the same. Since the note on page 326 was printed, I have found, in the handwriting of President Wadsworth, an Index to old college records or memoranda, some of which have dis-

quarters dessem march 10s." The credits are rye, Indian, "wheatt," "wheatte-meall," butter, cheese, "appelles," "backen," "beaff," "turkey henes," "lambes," "sheepe," "on Cow," "on oxe," "430^{ft} bords," etc.

The word "Socius" is affixed to his name, doubtless properly, as it is in all the catalogues of the graduates, though I do not find his appointment as Fellow on the College records.

In 1661, after preaching at New London several months, as successor of Richard Blinman, Miss Caulkins says he "entered into a contract," containing, however, "no reference to a settlement or ordination," "to become the minister of the town," on "a salary of £80 yearly for three years, and afterward more, if the people found themselves able to give more, or 'as much more as God shall move their hearts to give, and they do find it needful to be paid.' It was to be reckoned in provisions or English goods; and for the first three years he was to have 'all such silver as is weekly contributed by strangers, to help towards the buying of books.' The town was to pay for the transportation of himself, family, and effects from Concord; provide him with a dwelling-house, orchard, garden, and pasture, and with upland and meadow for a small farm; supply him yearly with fire-wood for the use of his family, and 'do their endeavor to suit him with a servant-man or youth, and a maid, he paying for their time.'" If he died in the

appeared. Among the references are "*Detriment*, 5s. a quarter for those who live out of Coll. A. D. 1660. B. 2. p. 21," and "that every one who stands for his second degree, & has not resided at coll. for y^e 3 years preceding, shall pay to the coll. 20^s. *Detriment*, & so proportionably &c. B. 4 p. 9. See p. 35. at m^r Jared Eliot,"

the latter reference being to a graduate of Yale College who received the degree of Master of Arts at Harvard College in 1709. "*Detriments from Masters*, might be remitted by y^e President for An. 1693. B. 4. p. 7," and "not to be paid. 1717. by scholars y^t could not get room in y^e College, B. 4. p. 60."

ministry, his wife and children were to receive sixty pounds sterling.

“To obviate some difficulty which occurred in building the parsonage,” Bulkeley afterward offered “to provide himself with a house, and free the town from the engagement to pay £60 to his family in case of his decease, for the sum of £80 in hand.” The proposition was acceded to, though, “‘in case he remove before . . . 7 year, he is to return the 80*l.* agen, but if he stay the 7 yeere out, the 80*l.* is wholly given him, or if God take him away before this tyme of 7 yeeres, the whole is given his wife and children.’”

February 25, 1663-4, it is agreed, “that henceforward Mr. Buckley shall have sixe score pound a yeere, in provision pay, good and marchandable, he freeing the towne from all other ingagements.”

February 25, 1664-5, there appeared to be some uneasiness,¹ for the town voted that “they were willing to leave Mr. Bulkley to the libertye of his conscience without compelling him or enforcing him to anything in the execution of his place and office contrarye to his light according to the laws of the commonwelth.”

June 10, 1665, “The Towne understanding Mr. Buckleys intention to goe into the Bay have sent James Morgan and Mr. Douglas to desire him to stay untill

¹ J. Hammond Trumbull writes: “Uneasiness was, just then, an epidemic in Connecticut. It grew out of opposition to the ‘half-way covenant’ and (what was termed) ‘the presbyterial way’ of consociation recommended by the Synod of 1662; and specially, out of the action of the Connecticut General Court in October, 1664 (see Conn. Col. Rec., i. 437-438), favoring the adoption of the half-way covenant by the churches

of Connecticut. I find a hint of the uneasiness at New London in The (MS.) Diary of Thomas Minor of Stonington, who ‘was informed,’ March 23, 1663-64, ‘that Mr. Buckley would be at the Fast at R. H. his house, and would be helpfull to gather a church *after the Presbyteriall way*, 24th day of March.’

“Bulkley’s successor at New London . . . was no friend of the presbyterial way.”

seacond day com seventnight which day the Towne have agreed to ask againe Mr. Fitch to speake with him in order to know Mr. Buckleys mynde fullye whether he will continue with us or no to preach the gospell." The application was unsuccessful and, 10 July, measures were taken to obtain another minister.

February 26, 1665-6, "Mr. Douglas and goodman Hough are voted by ye Towne to demand the 80 pound of Mr. Buckley which he stands ingaged to pay to ye towne."

There seems to have been no ill feeling between Mr. Bulkeley and the people, for, "though he had ceased to be considered as their minister, he remained in the town, and occupied the pulpit with acceptance until a successor was obtained"; moreover, on the day when the committee was appointed to "demand the 80 pound," it was "voated and agreed that Mr. Buckley for his time and paines taken in preaching the word of God to us since the time of his yeere was expired shall have thirty pounds to be gathered by a rate."

Miss Caulkins says: "The thirty pounds voted him by the town, was relinquished, in part payment of the eighty pounds for which he stood indebted. The town was inveterate and persevering in its attempts to recover the remaining fifty pounds, and kept up the dunning process until Mr. Bulkley, in 1668, mortgaged his house and lot to Samuel Shrimpton of Boston, and obtained means to liquidate the debt."

In 1666 Bulkeley was succeeded in the ministry at New London by Simon Bradstreet, H. U. 1660, for whose immediate accomodation "the house vacated by Mr. Bulkley was hired for one year from April 1, 1667."

June 1, 1666, "At a town meeting in Wethersfield, it was voted and agreed that there should forthwith a letter be sent (by M^r John Alyn,) to M^r Gershom

Bulkeley, at New London, to invite and request him to come and to be helpful to us, and to settle among us in the work of the ministry, if God shall incline his heart thereto. The townsmen were chosen of the town to write the aforesaid letter . . . and to sign it in the name and behalf of the town." He accepted the invitation, on condition that he should have a colleague. Samuel Stone was accordingly associated with him till 9 June, 1669, when Stone was discharged, and 27 October Bulkeley was ordained "by M^r Joseph Rowlandson [H. U. 1652] and M^r Samuel Willard," H. U. 1659.

Bulkeley's talents and attainments gave him influence, and he was frequently appointed by the General Court on committees to settle ecclesiastical and civil controversies.

In July, 1675, he participated in the opposition to Governor Andros, who came from New York to Saybrook, ostensibly to protect the inhabitants against the Indians, but really to get control of the part of Connecticut claimed by the Duke of York. "The letters addressed to the General Court" on this subject, which are printed in the Public Records of Connecticut, ii. 582 - 584, "are in" Bulkeley's "handwriting, and suggest that he was *magna pars* of this affair, which was very adroitly managed." Andros's purposes were defeated.

During a great part of Philip's war Bulkeley served with the Connecticut troops. October 20, 1675, a movement being projected against the Indians, the General Court order him "to be improved in this present expedition, to be chyrurgion to our army"; and, 1 December, the Council "commissionat Major Treat to take the conduct of o^r army, and to take speciall care of the Reverend Mr. Bulkly and Mr. [James] Noyse." The labors of these men were not merely professional, for the surgeon and chaplain, with the commissioned officers, constituted the council of war.

January 14, 1675-6, "The Councill appointed Mr. John Brackett of Wallingford, to goe forthth to New London, there to take care of and assist in the dressing of the wounded men, in the absence of Mr. Bulkley whilst he goeth out wth the army."

January 26, Bulkeley took his departure with Treat and his forces on an expedition against the Indians, and was absent till 5 February.

February 18, another expedition being planned, Bulkeley received orders "to hasten up to goe forth with the army." Early in March he was wounded in the thigh, a sudden attack being made on the forces by a small party of Indians in the vicinity of Wachusett, now Princeton, Massachusetts. March 27, Israel Chauncy, H. U. 1661, then chaplain, wishing to be relieved on account of death and sickness in his family, writes: "I hope my brother Bulkly, provided he have an easy and able horse, will attend the army, upon their present motion; only, if it be expected, he doth desire care may be taken for an easy horse, and that it may be sent him this night."

April 10, 1676, "Bulkly is granted liberty to transport 60 bush: corn to Boston on Mr. Goodall's Ketch, to purchass som necessaries and phissicall druggs"; the scarcity of corn in Connecticut being so great that the General Court had restricted its exportation. October 10, 1677, probably for the same object, he had "liberty to transport two hundred of deere skinns out of this Colony this next yeare, any law to the contrary notwithstanding."

May 13, "being informed that sundry wounded men are come to Mr. Bulckly," the General Court "desired Mr. Bulckly to take the care and trouble of dressing the s^d wounded souldiers till God bless his endeauoures with a cure; and Mr. Stone is desired and ordered to assist

Mr. Bulkley in the worke of the ministry so long as Mr. Bulkly shall be improved as before."

Having been again, 15 May, "appoynted chirurgeon of the army," he accompanied Major John Talcott, who marched, early in June, with about two hundred and fifty English soldiers and two hundred Mohegan and Pequot Indians from Norwich to Wabaquasset, where they destroyed the fort and about forty acres of corn. "From thence," writes Talcott, "made Chanagongum [Dudley], in the Ninap [Nipmuck] country, on the 5th of June, and took 52 of the enemy, of which 19 slain and one shot and made an escape; and on the 6th instant made towards Quabaug and gained it on the 7th day about 12 o'clock; took 2 of the enemy. . . . We sent 27 women and children to Norwich. . . . This eighth instant we made Hadley." June 12, about seven hundred Indians, ignorant of the arrival of so large a body of troops, made an assault on Hadley and were driven off. The Massachusetts forces, who had been delayed, arriving soon afterward, the woods on both sides of the Connecticut River were scoured, and, 20 June, Talcott returned to Connecticut, a fortnight after which he was killing and capturing Indians with great success in Rhode Island, Bulkeley probably continuing with him.

January 2, 1676-7, the Council of Connecticut return Bulkeley "their hearty thankes . . . for his good service to the country this present war, and doe order the Treasurer to pay unto him the sume of thirty pownds as an acknowledgment, . . . besides the satisfying of those that haue supplied his place in the ministry."

October 20, 1676, the town of Wethersfield, "being informed by their Reverend pastor, M^r Bulkeley, that it was too hard for him and beyond his powers, by reason of the weakness of his voice to carry on the whole work of the ministry among us—did therefore

by vote declare themselves freely willing to provide another minister to assist him, and to be a comfort and help to him in that work, and did declare it to be their desire that their Reverend pastor would afford them his advice and direction respecting a meet person for that work, for which they shall be thankful to him, and take it into serious consideration."

"Although Mr. Bulkley was in the pastoral office" at Wethersfield "about ten years, nothing is known of the history of the church during his ministry. It does not appear, however, that anything occurred to interrupt its harmony, or hinder its prosperity. Mr. Bulkley was dismissed, at his own request, in the early part of 1677," and was succeeded in the same year by the Reverend Joseph Rowlandson, who had taken part in his ordination. He removed to Glastenbury, on the east side of the Connecticut River, where he practised medicine and surgery, to which and to politics he thenceforward devoted himself.

In 1679 he was Deputy from Wethersfield to the General Court.

He is "identified," says Chapin, "with the history of the Naubuc farms, by the great case of Bulkley and Hollister, which was before the General Court in 1684 and 1685, and which led to a re-survey of all the 'lots' from Hartford line to Nayaug, by order of the General Court, and which has been preserved in the Archives of the State."

Notwithstanding all the experience in the Colony of Bulkeley's distinguished ability as a surgeon, I find the following license issued 14 October, 1686: "This Court being well acquainted with the ability, skill and knowledg of Mr. Gershom Bulckley, in the arts of phissick and chirurgery, doe grant him full and free liberty and license to practice in the administration of phissick and chirur-

gerie as there shall be occassion and he shall be capeable to atend."

Though the General Court as early as 10 May, 1666, requested the Deputy-Governor to administer the free-man's oath to Bulkeley among others, and he was afterward Deputy from Wethersfield, he says in 1689 that he is "no freeman of the Colony."

He received from Andros a commission as Justice of the Peace for the County of Hartford, which "was of course vacated by the revolution." He was an earnest advocate of Andros's policy at this time, and in a paper of "Objections," etc., of which he was the author, he declares himself "no Morellian nor Oliverian Republican, but a true friend to the true, legal English monarchy"; and his "subsequent writings," says J. H. Trumbull "bear evidence that his loyalty was of the high-tory and passive obedience type."

He died 1 or 2 December, 1713. The Boston News Letter, in announcing his death, represents him as being "Eminent for his great Parts, both Natural and Acquired, being Universally acknowledged, besides his good Religion and Vertue, to be a Person of Great Penetration, and a sound Judgment, as well in Divinity as Politicks and Physick; having Served his Country many Years successively as a Minister, a Judge, and a Physitian with great Honour to himself and advantage to others," and adds, "He was Born in England, . . . lived to the Age of 78 Years"; the Wethersfield Records, according to Hinman, making him "77 years and 11 months old."

His monument is said to bear the following inscription:

"He was honorable in his descent, of rare abilities, extraordinary industry, excellent in learning, master of many languages; exquisite in his skill in divinity, physic, and law, and of a most exemplary and Christian life.

"In certam spem beatæ resurrectionis repositus."

In the Boston Athenæum is a mutilated broadside containing several poetical effusions upon Bulkeley, with the name "Johannes Jamesius Londinensis. Brookfield Decemb. 7. 1713" attached, of which the following are specimens.

"On the DEATH of the very learned, Pious and Excelling |
Gershom Bulkley Esq. M. D. | Who had his Mortality swal-
lowed up of Life, *December the Second* 1713. Aetatis Suxæ 78. |

"Sanctus erat Quanquam Lucas, Medicusque, Sepulchri
Jura subit, factus Victima dira necis:

*A Saint tho' Luke, and a Physician too,
Struck Sail to Death, as other Mortals do.*

[1]

"HOW vast acquests of Learnings store }
Had he amass'd! still gathering more: }
Resolv'd therein ne'r to be Poor. }
Jurist, Divine, and Med'cines Votary }
Where's he in each him matcht, or came but nigh }
That had them all in a Transcendency? }
His Graces and his Vertues brave
A Golden tincture thereto gave:
And do perfume his Precious Name,
That all who know and hear the same;
Thereto such Epithets will give,
That he tho' Dead, Renown'd will Live.

[2]

"*Gershom*¹ no more! Fatigues & Hazards past:
He's safe arriv'd to th' Promis'd Land at last.
In Heavens Academy, he
Adeptist: O how glad to be!
Where none do longer rack their Brains
In quest of Scientifick Gains.
He in a Nobler Orb does move
Encyclopedian Tract Above;

¹ Exodus ii. 22.

That Atmosphere beyond now got }
 (Farewell bid to *Connecticot* }
 Of Revolutions strange the spot) }
 Has in Immanuel's Land his Lot: }

Where the dire and malignant Aspects fail
 Shed from Medusa's Head and Dragons Tail."

" A Pure Extract and Quintessential wrought,
 The *Caput Mortuum* is hereto brought.
 Brave Chymist Death! how Noble is thine Art?
 The Spirits thus who from the Lees canst part,
 'By Sacred Chymistry the Spirit must
 'Ascend, and leave the Sediment to Dust.'"

B. Trumbull says: "Mr. Bulkley was viewed as one of the greatest physicians and surgeons then in Connecticut."

Charles Chauncy, H. U. 1721, writes: "I have heard [him] mentioned as a truly great man, and eminent for his skill in chemistry."

J. H. Trumbull says: "Bulkeley had few superiors in the colony, in natural ability, professional learning, or general scholarship. . . . Overweening self-importance, obstinate adherence to his own opinions or prejudices, a litigious spirit, and the peculiarities of his political creed, detracted from his usefulness, and kept him almost constantly at strife with his parish, his neighbours, or the government of the colony."

Palfrey says: "He was always a discontented and troublesome person, and what he has written respecting these times is to be read with large allowance for his being a bigoted partisan of Andros."

Chapin says: "As a minister, Mr. B. was of the first class, while as a physician he stood at the head of the profession. He devoted much time to chemistry with its useful researches, and to philosophy as a cardinal branch of medical knowledge. Even to alchemy, with its visionary speculations, then so closely allied to chem-

istry, he seems to have paid considerable attention. He was master of several languages, among which may be reckoned the Greek, Latin, and Dutch. . . .

“He was a man of peace, but at the same time was one who expected unqualified obedience to authority. A slight questioning of this led to his resignation of the parish of New London, and something of the kind may have operated at Wethersfield. At least, as a politician he was opposed to the assumption of the government by the colonial authorities in 1689, after the time of Sir Edmund Andrus. The political sagacity and foresight of Mr. B. enabled him to foresee that the course the colonists were pursuing would finally lead to the triumph of those democratic principles which they all disavowed, and consequently he set his face against them.”

An engraving of his coat of arms may be found in Whitmore's *Elements of Heraldry*.

A considerable part of his library, mostly medical, is in the Library of Trinity College at Hartford.

October 24 or 26, 1659, Bulkeley married, at Concord, Massachusetts, President Charles Chauncy's oldest daughter, Sarah, a native of Ware, England, who died 3 June, 1699. Their children were Catharine, who married Richard Treat, of Wethersfield; Dorothy, who married Thomas Treat, of Glastenbury; Charles, a physician; Peter, lost at sea; Edward, born 1672; John, a graduate in 1699.

WORKS.

1. The People's | Right to Election. | or Alteration of Government in Connecticut, | Argued | in a Letter; | By Gershom Bulkeley, Esq; one of their Majesties Justices of the peace | in the County of Hartford. || Philadelphia, Printed by Assignes of William Bradford, anno 1689. 4to. pp. 18.

“This rare tract (of which the only copies known . . . are those in the library of the British Museum and in that of George Brinley, Esq., of Hartford,)” is reprinted, from the latter copy, in the

Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 57, and appears again in *The Andros Tracts*, ii. 83.

2. Some objections against the present pretended Government in Connecticut in N. England in America. Humbly tendered to consideration by Edward Palms Will. Rosewell. Greshem Bulkeley. Sept. 16. 1692. Pages 849–854 of vol. iii. of J. R. Brodhead's Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.

3. "In December, 1692," writes J. H. Trumbull, "these 'Objections' were re-modelled, amplified, much additional matter introduced, and formally attested by the same individuals who had subscribed the original paper. The title of 'Will and Doom,' was now prefixed, — 'or the Miseries of Connecticut by and under an Usurped and Arbitrary Power, being A Narrative of the first erection and exercise, but especially of the late changes and administration of Government, in their Majesties Colony of Connecticut,' &c. The preface is dated Dec. 12, 1692, and signed *Philanax*.

"In 1703, 'Will and Doom' was placed in the hands of Lord Cornbury, (who, in concert with Joseph Dudley [H. U. 1665], was employing every means in his power to procure the abrogation or forfeiture of the Connecticut charter,) and by him forwarded to the Lords of Trade, June 30th, 1703, as 'a book writ by Mr. Buckley, who is an inhabitant of Connecticut,' showing 'the methods of proceedings in that colony.'" Sir Henry Ashurst wrote to Governor Winthrop, February, 1704–5, that "one Mr. Buckley, all by Mr. D's [Dudley's] contrivance has sent a large folio book, which he calls p^r the name of Will and Doom, or a history, &c. wherein he mightily commends Sir Edmund Andros's government, and says all the malicious things he possibly can invent, with great cunning and art." The manuscript is now in the State Paper Office, in London, whence a copy was procured for the Connecticut Historical Society.

Trumbull adds: "The title of 'Will and Doom' is derived from a colony law, made at the September Court, 1689. The authority of the revolutionary government had been called in question, and the collection of rates was likely to be thereby embarrassed. The Court ordered that if any persons should fail to give in their lists

of ratable estate, before the October Court, the listers or General Court might 'rate them, *will and doom*,' or at discretion."

Extracts from Will and Doom are printed in the Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, iii. 389, 455.

4. Some Seasonable Considerations for the Good people of Connecticut. Printed at New York, 1694. Anonymous.

"An Answer Thereunto," of which there are copies in the libraries of George Brinley and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, was printed at Boston, in the same year, by order of the Governor and Assistants, and is reprinted in the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, i. 83-130. It is entitled, "Their Majesties Colony of Connecticut in New England Vindicated, From the Abuses Of a Pamphlet, Licensed and printed at New York 1694," etc. "Its allusions to the anonymous author of the 'Seasonable Considerations,'" writes Trumbull, "point unmistakably to Bulkeley, — showing that he was the reputed author, and in this supposition the Assistants were not likely to be mistaken."

5. Bulkeley's descendants have briefs for law cases, medical prescriptions, and sermons, in his handwriting.

AUTHORITIES. — Boston News Letter, 1713, December 28. G. Brinley, Letter, 1872, Feb. 13. J. R. Brodhead, Documents relative to the Colonial Hist. of the State of New York, iii. 849. Catalogue of the Members of the First Congregational Church in Wethersfield, 3, 4. F. M. Caulkins, History of New London, 131, 136, 137, 139, 140, 185, 186; and of Norwich, 111. A. B. Chapin, Glastenbury for Two Hundred Years, 39-42. C. Chauncy, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 155. Connecticut Historical Society, Collections, i. 57. Connecticut Colony Rec., ed. J. H. Trumbull, ii. 33, 271, 277, 279, 325, 388, 399, 402, 409, 424, 433, 444, 453, 582; iii. 26, 163, 167, 173, 218, 388, 389, 455, 510; and ed. C. J. Hoadly, iv. 111. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 47; and American Quarterly Register, ix. 366. J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England, ii. 331, 412, 473, 672, 677, 679. W. C. Fowler, Memorials of the Chaunceys, 232, 280. N. Goodwin, Foote Family, xxxix. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 105. Historical Magazine, i. 250. C. J. Hoadly, Letter, 1871, March 7. W. Hubbard, Indian Wars, 77. S. Judd, Hist. of Hadley, 177-179. J. E. Kittredge, Letters, 1872, March 8, 15, April 4, 9. I. Mather, Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England, 23. New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg., viii. 327; ix. 45; xvi. 22; xxiii. 459. J. G. Palfrey, Hist. of New England, iii. 544. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 290, 291. L. Shattuck, Hist. of Concord, 241. B. Trumbull, Complete History of Connecticut, i. 310, 346, 492. J. H. Trumbull, Letter, 1872, February 12. W. H. Whitmore, Elements of Heraldry, 68.

MORDECAI MATTHEWS.

MORDECAI MATTHEWS, B. A., was probably son of the Reverend Marmaduke Matthews, a preacher at Yarmouth, in the Colony of Plymouth, from 1639 to 1643, who went to Hull about 1644, and afterward settled at Malden, whence he was obliged to remove in consequence of persecution by the clergy and General Court, ostensibly on account of the proceedings at his ordination, but in reality because of his religious sentiments. Subsequently, after being employed at Lynn and other places, he "went home," and died about 1683, at his native place, Swansea, in Glamorganshire, South Wales.

There were two contemporary residents at the College, whose accounts were kept under the one entry of "M^r Mathewes."

The first, "mathewes senior," is charged, 12 September, 1651, for "Entrance Into the Colledge," 1s., and has a continuous account against him for tuition, commons and sizings, study-rent, etc., until "8-4-55." The second, "mathewes Jeunior," did not take his degree, though, with the exception of the quarter ending in December, 1653, he has regular charges against him from 10 December, 1651, to "8-4-55," the date of the last item against the other Matthews; but there is no mention of an entrance fee, the only items before 10 March, 1654, being commons and sizings, after which come the regular charges for tuition, and, "8-4-55," "paid for goody Sanders of brantree," 8s.

The sum total of their bills was £49 4½d., for which the credits are entered as though there were but one person. Among the payments are "siluer," "porke," "wheatt," "backen," rye, Indian, "suger," butter, "a

Calfe, 10s.," "a small fatt Cowe, £4 5s. 6d.," "a small milch Cow, £4"; one payment being by the "Constipell of watter towne."

All endeavors to obtain further positive information respecting either of these Matthewses have been unsuccessful. Probably they went to England with their father soon after the date of their last quarter-bill at the College, when the elder of them took his first degree.

The star is prefixed to the graduate's name in the Triennial Catalogue of 1727, but, as it does not appear in that of 1715, he probably lived several years in the eighteenth century.

WORKS.

The Christians daily | Exercise ; | Or, | Directions, shewing how every Day of our | Lives may be so spent, that our Accounts to | God at Death will be both safe and un- | speakably Comfortable. | — | Composed for the Glory of God, and the | common Good of Men, by Mordeca | Matthews, Minister of God's Word at | Roinolston in Glamorganshire. || Boston, N. E. Reprinted in the Year M,DCC,XXX. 24mo. pp. 12. M.

If this pamphlet, which is in verse, be by the graduate, we learn from it his profession and residence.

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CLASS OF 1656.

Eleazar Mather,
Increase Mather,
Robert Paine,⁴
Shubael Dummer,

John Haynes,
John Eliot,
Thomas Graves,
John Emerson.

ELEAZAR MATHER.

Born 1637, died 1669, aged 32.

REV. ELEAZAR MATHER, B. A., first minister of Northampton, Massachusetts, born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, 13 May, 1637, was son of the Reverend Richard Mather, by his first wife, Katharine, daughter of Edmund Holt, and brother of Samuel Mather, H. U. 1643, of Nathaniel Mather, H. U. 1647, and of his classmate, Increase Mather.

The two brothers, Eleazar and Increase, entered college together, and appear as "The mathers" on the Steward's Account-Books, which show only three quarter-bills against them; the first, on which they are charged "by their Admition Into the Colledg," being dated "11-4-52," and the last "10-10-52." The credits are "20 bush of wheatt" £5, "a blacke Cow from george badcook" £5 12s., and "a fatt Cow from george badCook to goodm longhorn" £5 12s.

May 26, 1658, the General Court, "being solicjted, by one of the inhabitants of Northampton in the name

of the rest, to comēd their condition, wanting an able minister of the gospell to administer the things of God vnto them, to the reuerend elders, w^{ch} this Court take themselves bound to further what ljetth in their power, and vnderstanding that some of the sajd inhabitants haue an eye vnto M^r Eliazer Mather as a fitt man to administer the things of God vnto them, this Court judgeth it meete to declare y^t, in case God so encljnes the harts of those who are concerned therein, y^t M^r Mather goe vnto North Hampton to minister vnto the inhabitants there in the things of God, they both approve thereof, & shall be ready at all times to encourage him in that service as there shall be occasion, in whatsoever may rationally and meetly be expected.”

June 7, 1658, the inhabitants of Northampton unanimously voted to desire him “to be a minister to them in a way of trial in dispensing his gifts.” In December it was voted to raise one hundred pounds to build a house, and 4 January, 1659, to lay out eighty acres of meadow for the ministry. Mather preached three years, till 18 or 23 June, 1661, when a church was organized and he was ordained.

Increase Mather writes: “*It is well known that he was a Common Father unto all those Plantations in this Wilderness, where God had cast his Habitation. He was for several years, very much exercised with inward, spiritual Temptations. Temptation (said Luther) maketh a Divine: It doth so indeed, though it may be the Temptations are sometimes Horribillia de Deo, Terribillia de Fide. The Lord did sanctifie the Temptations of this my Brother, so as to keep him humble and low thoughted of himself; And doubtless they were one Reason of his being such an inward searching Preacher, as I know not whether he hath left any amongst us, in that respect going beyond him. Howbeit, just before his last sickness, God did graciously lift up the Light of his*

Countenance and shine in upon his Soul. For the last words which I find written in his Diary, are these, July 10, 1669. 'This Evening if my heart deceive me not, some sweet workings of Soul after God in Christ, according to the Terms of the Covenant of grace; The general and Indefinite expression of the Promise was an encouragement to look to Christ, that he would do that for me, which he hath promised to do for some, and I need as much as any; The Lord hath not excluded me, nor dare I exclude myself. But if the Lord will help I desire to lye at his Feet, and accept of grace in his own way, and to wait his own Time, through his Power enabling of me; Though I am dead, without strength, help or hope in my self, yet the Lord requireth nothing at my hand in my own strength, but that by his Power I should look to him, to work all my works in me and for me. When I find a dead heart the thoughts of this are exceeding sweet and reviving, being full of grace, and discovering the very heart and love of Jesus.' These were (so far as doth appear) the last words that ever he wrote in his Life. The next day, finding himself not well, he set his House in order, his sickness proving a violent Feaver. After twelve dayes Conflict with that disease he went to the Bosome of that Jesus, of whose heart and love towards him, he had such a late and blessed discovery."

Cotton Mather says: "Here he laboured for *Eleven Years* in the *Vineyard* of our Lord; and then the *Twelve Hours* of his *Days Labour* did expire, not without the deepest Lamentations of all the Churches, as well as *his own*; then sitting along the River of *Connecticut*. As he was a very zealous *Preacher*, and accordingly saw many *Seals* of his Ministry, so he was a very pious *Walker*; and as he drew towards the *End* of his Days, he grew so remarkably *Ripe* for Heaven, in an Holy, Watchful, Fruitful Disposition, that many observing Persons did prognosticate his being not far from his *End*."

He also states, in his "Parentator," that Increase Mather, 24 July, 1669, "felt a *Soul so on the Wing for Heaven*, for a Night and a Day together, as he had scarce felt in his Life before; He wrote at the Time, how strangely his *Heart was Moved and Melted within him*, from the Thoughts of *Heaven Working* there. On the Third Day after this, Messengers brought him the Heavy Tidings, that at *That very Time*, the *Soul* of his Brother *Eleazar* (above an Hundred Miles off,) which had been strung so much to an *Unison* with his, *Actually took Wing for the Heavenly World.*"

September 29, 1659, he married Esther, baptized 8 December, 1644, youngest daughter of the Reverend John Warham, of Dorchester, and afterward of Windsor, Connecticut. They had, besides other children, Warham, H. U. 1685; and Eunice, an only daughter, born 2 August, 1664, who married John Williams, H. U. 1683, of Deerfield, and was killed by the Indians the day after the destruction of Deerfield in 1704, while on her way to Canada, with her husband and other prisoners. Mrs. Mather married her husband's successor, Solomon Stoddard, H. U. 1662, and died 10 February, 1736, in the ninety-second year of her age.

WORKS.

A Serious | Exhortation | to the | Present and Succeeding | Generation | in | New-England; | Earnestly calling upon all to Endeavour that the Lords | Gracious Presence may be continued with Posterity. | Being the Substance of the | Last Sermons | Preached | — | by Eleazar Mather, late Pastor of the Church in | Northampton in New-England. || Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1671. 4to. Pp. (5) To the Church and Inhabitants of Northampton; by Increase Mather. 1. 1. 1671; and Text pp. 31. T.

Cotton Mather says: "The *Dying Words* of his *Father* unto his *Brother*, about the *Rising Generation*, caused him," during the few weeks that he survived him, "to preach several Sermons" upon the subject.

In the Dedication Increase Mather writes: "*What is here Published, is done from your Pastors Notes, as left written with his own hand, which indeed come every way short of what the same Sermons were when delivered vivâ voce. Had himself emitted them, they would have been farre more accurate.*" On one of the copies he also wrote: "The first Sermon was preached June 13, 1669; the second, June 27 following; the third, July 4th; the fourth and last, July 11th; after which day my brother Eleazer lived not in health able to preach; for July 13th he took to his bed, and July 24. he went to rest in the Lord, to keep an everlasting rest in heaven."

The same. Second Edition. Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1678. 4to. Pp. (2) To the Reader, Boston 28. of 12 m. 1677. Increase Mather; Text pp. 31. P.

In this edition Increase Mather says: "*These Sermons . . . when first . . . made publick found great acceptance with the Lords People. As for the second Impression it hath been promovcd by the charity of a pious Gentle woman (a Mother in this Israel) who out of respect to her own Children and Posterity, as also the good of the Rising Generation in New-England, was desirous (God having put it into her heart) to encourage the Republication and dispersion of what is here presented.*"

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INCREASE MATHER.

Born 1639, died 1723, aged 84.

INCREASE MATHER, D. D., of whom mention has been made on page 405, in the notice of his brother, Eleazar Mather, was the first native American who became President of Harvard College. He was the youngest son of the Reverend Richard and Katharine (Holt) Mather, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, where he was born 21 June, 1639. The name Increase was given him "because of the never-to-be-forgotten *Increase*, of every sort, wherewith GOD favoured the Country, about the time of his Nativity."

His mother used to tell him, "while he was yet scarce more than an *Infant*," that there were only two things that she desired God to give him, *Grace* and *Learning*. "*Child*," said she, "*if GOD make thee a Good Christian and a Good Scholar, thou hast all that ever thy Mother Asked for thee. . . .* She mightily Inculcated the Lesson of *Diligence* upon him, and often put him in Mind of that Word, *Seest thou a man Diligent in his Business; He shall STAND BEFORE KINGS; he shall not stand before mean men. . . .* On her Death-Bed, she Earnestly Exhorted him, to Resolve upon Serving of CHRIST in the Work of the *Ministry*."

He entered college at the age of twelve, in company with his brother, Eleazar Mather. In about a year, on account of his "*Weakly Constitution*," his parents, who were "willing to have him under a more than Ordinary Inspection and Instruction, sent him to Live with the Famous Mr. *Norton*, at *Ipswich*; and with him he removed unto *Boston* A. C. 1653. continuing several Years a *Pupil* under him."

In 1654 he was visited "with a sore Disease," which, he writes, was the "Means of the first Saving *Awakenings* to my Soul. . . . My Heart sometimes was even Sinking and Dying." I sought "unto GOD, by *Fasting* as well as by *Praying*, that He would Pardon all the Sins that were brought unto my Remembrance, and all the other Sins that I had been Guilty of. . . . At *Dorchester*, shutting myself up in my Fathers Study, when he was gone abroad. . . . not to Return for a Day or Two. . . . I wrote down those *Particular Sins* which lay most of all upon my Conscience, and spread them before the Lord in Secret. . . . And I Pleaded hard with GOD that Promise, which says, *That He will take away the Heart of Stone, and give an Heart of Flesh. . . .* Sometimes I was afraid, I was Guilty of the *Unpardonable Sin. . . .* I was foolishly ashamed to Acquaint any Body with my Troubles; . . . Till at last, not being Able to hold or bear any longer, the Hand of GOD Pressing me so sore, I Acquainted my Father with some of my Soul-Distresses, and (Living at *Boston*) I wrote unto him, how it was with me, & Begg'd him to Pray for me." Some time subsequently, "On the Day of our Anniversary *Election*, the Greatest Anniversary Solemnity of the Countrey, the Scholars which Boarded at Mr. *Nortons*, being all Abroad on their Diversions, I took this Opportunity of a Private Chamber; and shutting the Door I spent all the Day, in Pouring out my Complaints unto the Lord." After much anguish and self-examination, and profit from sermons preached by Norton, by Mitchel, and by his father, he "went on cheerfully in the Ways of GOD."

When the time drew near for him to take his bachelor's degree, as stated by his son and biographer, Cotton Mather, "There was for I know not what Reasons of State, an Order Procured, That the *Class* whereto he belonged, & some others also, should be detained a good

part of a Year longer at the College, than of right they should have been. This gave so great a Dissatisfaction, that no fewer than *Seventeen* of the Scholars withdrew from the College without any *Degree* at all. . . . However the Father of this Young Man (though greatly Troubled, as diverse others of the Overseers were, at this Hardship on the Students,) would not have him take his Name out of the College-Register, which had been done by others. And when he afterwards Travelled with a *Testimonial*, which Expressed the Year of his *Admission*, and not of his *Graduation*, and elsewhere Claimed the *Next-Degree*, he found some *Reward* of his *Patience*.

“In the Year 1656. he took his *First Degree*; At which time the Præsident, [Chauncy,] . . . upon a Dislike of the *Ramean* Strains in which our Young Disputant was carrying on his Thesis, would have cut him Short; but Mr. *Mitchel* Publickly Interposed, *Pergat, Quæso, nam-doctissime disputat.*”

The next year, “on his *Birth-Day*, he Preached his *First Sermon*, at a Village belonging to *Dorchester*. And on the next Lord’s-Day he Preached in his Fathers Pulpit at *Dorchester*: When the whole Auditory were greatly Affected with the *Light* and *Flame*, in which the Rare Youth Appear’d unto them.”

“At this Time, his Eldest Brother, Mr. *Samuel Mather* [H. U. 1643], . . . one of the Principal Ministers in *Dublin*, wrote unto his Father, to Encourage his going over unto him. He had a strong Inclination that way; and Obtained his Fathers Acquiescence. . . . He sail’d from *New-England*, July 3. 1657,” for London, and arrived at Dublin in September.

By his brother’s “Advice he Entred his Name in *Trinity-College*,” and “*June 24*. When he was Nineteen Years of Age, he Proceeded *Master of Arts*; . . . having first Performed the Exercises required by the Statutes. . . . The

Proctor & some of the *Fellows*, who were Prelatically Disposed, gave him all the Discouragement they could, or durst; because of his being what they called, *A Pæcisian*. Nevertheless the Scholars... Publickly *Hummed* him; ... a Complement that he had never heard Paid unto any one before... By the Influence of the *Provost*, he was chosen a *Fellow* of the College: but he did not Accept it. Motions came to him from diverse Places, to come and Preach the Gospel," and he was particularly befriended by the Lord-Deputy, Henry Cromwell; but "The *Irish Air* proved so Disagreeable to his Constitution," that he returned to England in July, 1658. The following winter, with the exception of about a month spent with his brother, Nathaniel Mather, at Barnstaple, he preached at Great Torrington to the society of John How, who was then a "Chaplain to the *Lord-Protector*."

In April, 1659, by invitation of Colonel Bingham, the Governor, he became chaplain to the English garrison at Guernsey, preaching in the morning of every Lord's Day at the castle, and in the afternoon at the town called Peters-port. Thence, in December, 1659, he went to Gloucester. "He was willing to have settled there. But he saw a *Change of Times* at the Door." Returning to Guernsey, and Charles the Second coming into power, rather than "Conform to the Revived Superstitions in the Church of *England*," he again "took his leave of that Island, *March* 1. 1660 [1661]... For four Months he abode partly in *Weymouth*, partly in *Dorchester*, Preaching in many Places, where he was desired; ... but without any Maintenance, or any Recompence... He was offered a Living of no less than *Four Hundred* a Year, if he would *Conform*, and Read the *Common-Prayer*. This he could not; he *durst* not." Several opportunities either to remain in England or to travel with gentlemen on the Continent being declined or frustrated,

and the times growing more and more unfavorable for the Dissenters, he "proposed what once there had been little Hope for; To see his Invaluable Father before he Died. . . . Wherefore on *June 29. 1661.* he sailed from *Weymouth*, in a Vessel Bound for *Newfoundland*," where, in "Ten Days, a Vessel bound for *New-England* Opportunely Presented," in which he took passage, and on the evening of Saturday, the last day of August, arrived at the house of his father in "*Dorchester*, very unexpected." Here he found his brother, Eleazar Mather, just come from Northampton. The next day "the Comforted Old Patriarch, sat Shining like the Sun in *Gemini*, and hearing his two Sons, in his own Pulpit entertain the People of GOD, with Performances, that made all People Proclaim him, *An Happy Father*."

"He had now Invitations to as many places," continues Cotton Mather, "as there are *Signs* for the Sun in the *Zodiac*." During the winter, "he Preached Alternately the one Lords-Day with his Father in *Dorchester*, the other to the New Church in the North-part of *Boston*, which anon swept away the prize from the *Twelve* Competitors."

The first sermon preached by him in Boston was to this, the Second Church, 8 September, 1661. For a long time he would not "accept of the teaching office, . . . partly," he says, as quoted by Robbins, "out of an awful sense of the dreadfulness of the bond of office-relations, partly out of a desire, which was in my heart, to return to England, had the Lord seen it good." But at last, after a day spent by the brethren in fasting and prayer "to entreat the Lord to bow" his "heart to accept of their call," and an expression by the officers and every one of the brethren in writing, and of the "inhabitants in this end of the town," of "their continued desires" for his settlement, he gave an affirmative answer, with certain

conditions, and was ordained 27 May, 1664: the Reverend John Mayo, who was ordained teacher 9 November, 1655, continuing in office until 1672, when, on account of infirmities, he was released from his duties.

In the spring of 1662, a synod of the churches was held at Boston, by direction of the General Court, "for the purpose, chiefly, of considering the question, 'who were the subjects of baptism.'" In the words of Peirce, "It was a question which agitated the whole country; and the decision of the Synod, which, under certain restrictions, allowed that rite to be administered to the children of those who were not communicants, was ably defended and opposed by a number of the leading ministers. Mr. Mather," yet a young man, "was among the opposers of the Synod, and employed his pen against its proceedings; but he afterwards changed his opinion, and ingenuously acknowledged himself vanquished by the cogent arguments of Mr. Mitchel," H. U. 1647: subsequently "Publishing unto the World," says Cotton Mather, "a Couple of Unanswerable Treatises, in Defence of the *Synodical Propositions*."

"*Mather* had not long made his entrance upon his Public Services, before he felt singular Assaults from the *Lion which goes about seeking whom to fall upon*.... The more *Early Years* of his Ministry were Embittered unto him, with such Furious & Boisterous *Temptations* unto *Atheism*, as were Intolerable.... Vile *Suggestions* and *Injections*, tending to question the *Being* of" God, "were shot at him as *Fiery Darts from the Wicked one*.... It was Plain," writes his son, that "*They were none of his own*; they were plainly of a *Satanic Original*.... Mr. *Mather* found the *Cudgel*, the most Proper *Logick* for these *Temptations*; and the best way of *Answering* them, to be by *Rejecting* them and *Repelling* them with all Possible *Detestation* as Infinitely Unworthy to be listned to: and

with a most flat *Contradiction* of them, to form *Thoughts* that still carried in them, the devoutest *Acknowledgements* of a GOD, and *Applications* to Him. Thus he tired out the Adversary; and the *Devil* being so *Resisted*, anon *fled from him*. . . . In *Remembrance* of the old *Wormwood & Gall*, he much more than half an Hundred Years after, Published a little Discourse Entituled, *There is a GOD in Heaven.*"

These "*Temptations* . . . were no sooner gone off, but another sort were brought on." Immediately after he "got under the Engagements of a *Settlement* with his People, . . . they that had the Ordering of those things grew very slack in Answering their Engagements to support him with a *Tolerable Maintenance*," and "he was Reduced unto Wants and Straits and . . . *Depressing Poverty*. . . . He had offers of a Settlement, where he might have mended his Condition in the World; But he generously refused them, from a Fear lest the *Way of Truth* should *be Evil-spoken of*." From his Diary it is apparent that his wants and debts caused him great perplexity and loss of time, and seriously interfered with his ministerial duties. "It came to pass," says his biographer, "that at length he found such *Filial Usages* from his Church, as took away from him all room of Repenting, that he had not . . . Prosecuted a *Removal*." To quote Peirce again, "He was rewarded for his patience and perseverance by an alteration in his circumstances, which, in that respect, left him nothing afterwards to desire; so that, whatever he was at any time called upon to do, or wherever to go, he continued the happy pastor of the same flock as long as he lived."

Mather's father died at Dorchester, 22 April, 1669, after a little more than a "Weeks Torture from that *Scourge of Students*," the stone. This was followed, 24 July, by the death of his brother, Eleazar Mather, which

as mentioned on page 408, he supposed was "felt" by him at the "very Time" the Soul "Actually took Wing for the Heavenly World." Going to Northampton "for the Assistance of the Desolate Widow and People," he was seized there, 2 September, with a fever, which brought him "nigh unto Death"; and he returned to Boston "under such Languishments, especially from that Comprehensive Mischief which they call, *The Hypochondriac Affection*, that he lay confined all the Winter; and his Recovery to any Service, was by many very much Despaired of."

In 1674, the General Court having permitted the establishment of a printing-press "elsewhere then at Cambridge," the Reverend "Mr Thomas Thatcher & Mr Increase Mather" were "added vnto the former licensers."

March 11, 1674-5, he "did by the unanimous desire of the Overseers of the College then assembled accept of a fellowship."

"Upon a Motion of Mr. *Mather* in Conjunction with others excited by him for it, the *General Court*," in May, 1679, called a synod, known as the "*Reforming Synod*," which convened 10 September, "to consider, *What are the Evils that have Provoked the Lord to bring His Judgments on New-England. And, What is to be done that so those Evils may be Reformed?*" The "Judgments" were King Philip's War, the small-pox, the fire of 1676, which was followed by a worse fire in 1679, decay of piety, and a general falling away from the strict notions and habits of the first settlers. "The Churches having first kept a *General Fast*, . . . the *Synod* also kept a Day of Prayer with Fasting; in which Mr. *Mather* was chose for one of the Preachers. . . . Several Days were then Spent in free Discourses on the Two Questions; and at last, a *Result* with a *Preface*, were agreed unto, which were of Mr. *Mathers* drawing up. On the Day, when a Com-

mittee of the Ministers Presented it unto the *General Court*, Mr. *Mather* Preached a very Potent Sermon, on the Danger of not being *Reformed by these Things*."

"On *May. 12. 1680.* The *Synod* had a Second Session at *Boston*," and "*Mather* was chosen their *Moderator*." Though threatened with a fever, "he kept them so close to their *Business*, that in *Two Days* they dispatch'd it." A Confession of Faith was agreed upon, the Preface to which was written by him.

As he recovered from the severe sickness which followed, he "grew yet more *Abounding in the Work* of his Lord"; and his conduct accorded with what the Apostle *Eliot*, not long after the death of *Mitchel*, urged upon him: "*Brother, The Lord has Bless'd you with a Leading Spirit, as he did Mr. Mitchel, who is gone unto Him. Certainly 'tis no little Notice, that is taken by our Holy Lord, of what is done in the Meeting of his Ministers. I pray, Brother, Lead us in our Meetings: Bring forward as much Good in them as you can.*"

About this time "he formed a *Philosophical Society* of Agreeable Gentlemen, who met once a Fortnight for a Conference upon Improvements in *Philosophy* and Additions to the Stores of *Natural History*; From which the Learned *Wolferdus Senguerdius* a Professor at *Leyden* had some of the Materials, wherewith his *Philosophia Naturalis* was Enriched"; and communications were transmitted to the Royal Society in London. "But the Calamity of the Times, anon gave a fatal and a total Interruption to the Generous Undertaking," the first of the kind in America.

On the death of President *Oakes*, in 1681, the Corporation offered *Mather* the Presidency of the College; but as the consent of his society could not be obtained, he declined it. He officiated, however, at Commencement, and made weekly visits, until the office was filled

by the election of John Rogers, H. U. 1649. After Rogers's death he was requested by the Overseers, 11 June, 1685, to "take special care for y^e Government of y^e Colledge; and for y^t end to act as President till a further settlem^t be orderly made." Thus established in office, he also continued his pastoral relation to his society in Boston.

In the mean time Mather was put forward to act a conspicuous part in politics.

In 1683, Massachusetts, having incurred the royal displeasure, was called upon to surrender its charter, and in case of refusal threatened with a *quo warranto*. The people were thrown into the utmost alarm and anxiety. The question was proposed to Mather, "Whether the Country could without a plain Trespass against Heaven, do what was Demanded of them." His reply was in the negative. When the freemen of Boston met, 23 January, 1683-4, to "give Instructions to their Deputies for the General Court, and the Deputies with others, desired him to be present, and give them his Thoughts on the *Case of Conscience* before them," he spoke thus: "As the Question is now Stated, *Whether you will make a full Submission and entire Resignation of your Charter and the Priviledges of it, unto his Majesties Pleasure*, I verily Believe, We shall Sin against the GOD of Heaven if we Vote an Affirmative unto it. The *Scripture* teacheth us otherwise. We know what *Jephthah* said, *That which the Lord our GOD has given us, shall we not Possess it!* And though *Naboth* ran a great Hazard by the Refusal, yet he said *GOD forbid that I should give away the Inheritance of my Fathers*. Nor would it be *Wisdom* for us to Comply. We know, *David* made a Wise Choice, when he chose to fall into the *Hands of GOD* rather than into the *Hands of Men*. If we make a *full Submission and entire Resignation to Pleasure*, we fall into the *Hands of Men*

Immediately. But if we do it not, we still keep ourselves in the *Hands of GOD*; we trust ourselves with his Providence: and who knows, what GOD may do for us? There are also Examples before our Eyes, the Consideration whereof should be of Weight with us. Our Brethren hard by us; what have They gain'd by being so Ready to part with their *Liberties*, but an Acceleration of their *Miseries*? And we hear from *London*, that when it came to, the Loyal Citizens would not make a *full Submission and entire Resignation to Pleasure*, lest their Posterity should Curse them for it. And shall *We* then do such a Thing? I hope there is not one Freeman in *Boston*, that can be guilty of it! However I have Discharged my Conscience, in what I have thus Declared unto you."

"Upon this pungent Speech, many of the Freemen fell into Tears; and there was a General Acclamation, *We Thank you, Syr! We thank you, Syr!* The Question was upon the Vote carried in the Negative, *Nemine Contradicente*; And this Act of *Boston* had a great Influence upon all the Country."

The agents of the Court became in consequence Mather's bitter enemies. Randolph and others intercepted letters sent by him to Amsterdam, and, imitating them, "forged a large Letter¹ of Three Pages in *Folio*," writes his biographer, "full of not only *Ridiculous*, but also *Treasonable* Expressions, whereof not one Sentence was *his*; and with a Date of, *Boston*, 10. m. 3. d. 1683. they Subscribed his *Name* unto it. This Letter was Read before the King and Council, and Motions were made for Mr.

¹ This letter, with Mather's letter in relation to it, and several documents respecting the proceedings against Mather, are published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 100-110,

702-704, with a criticism on the doubt expressed by Palfrey in his History of New England, iii. 556, as to its being a forgery made with Randolph's privity.

Mather, to be fetch'd over, and made a *Sacrifice*"; but they were defeated, perhaps from a suspicion that the letter was a forgery.

The charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and New England put under the tyrannical government of Dudley and Andros. The oppression became intolerable, and the principal men of Massachusetts determined to send an agent to lay their grievances before the King. Mather was selected for this purpose. Randolph and others were greatly alarmed, and, resolved, if possible, to prevent his going, arrested him for expressing a suspicion that the former was the author of the forged letter. Having been acquitted, Randolph sent an officer to arrest him again, upon the same charge; but Mather, being apprised of it, "kept upon his Guard." He "withdrew privately from his *House*, in a Changed Habit, unto the House of Colonel *Philips* in *Charlstown*," whose daughter was the wife of Cotton Mather. "From thence, he was by certain well-disposed Young Men of his Flock, transported," — as Sewall was told, — "Sabbath Ap. 1. To Aaron Ways by Hogg-Island. Tuesday Ap. 3. at night from Aaron Way's to y^e Boat near Mr. Newgate's Landing-place [Winnisimet, now Chelsea] so through Crooked Lane and Pulling Point Got to Mr. Ruck's fishing Catch, thence to y^e President Capt. Arthur Taners Ship," 7 April, 1688; "and so bore away for *England*," says his son, where, 6 May, he "went ashore at *Weymouth*, which was the last Town he had Lodged in, when he left *England*, Seven and Twenty Years before."

He remained abroad as agent of the Colony about four years, his expenses in the mean time greatly exceeding his compensation, and he pledging all his property for money which he borrowed to support himself while he was working for his country. Minute details of his ser-

vices are contained in his "Brief Account," in his son's "Parentator," and in "The Andros Tracts." As foreshadowed by his mother, he stood "*BEFORE KINGS.*" He had several interviews with James the Second, and with William and Mary. In the language of a letter signed by thirteen of the most eminent Nonconformist divines in London, he labored "*with inviolate Integrity, excellent Prudence, and unfainting Diligence,*" maintaining a "*Caution and Circumspection . . . correspondent to the weight of his Commission.*" The result, notwithstanding opposition by his colleagues, Cooke and Oakes, was a charter uniting Plymouth, Massachusetts, Maine, and all the territory from Sagadahoc to the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia; Mather's vigilance preventing Plymouth from being annexed to New York. "The nomination of the officers reserved to the crown was left, for the first time, to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, who was considered *instar omnium.*" Sir William Phips, a member of Mather's church, was nominated for Governor, and he, with Mather, arrived at Boston 14 May, 1692.

The charter, though far from giving universal satisfaction, was the best that could be obtained. "The only question with the agents was, whether to submit to this new settlement, or to . . . have no charter at all." Besides gaining new privileges, the people were relieved from some evils which were endured or dreaded, and from well-grounded apprehensions that "the bloody Kirk" would be Governor. "After some Days," writes Cotton Mather, "the *Speaker* in the Name of the whole House of *Representatives*, returned" Mather "Thanks for his *Faithful, Painful, Indefatigable Endeavours* to serve the Country; and . . . appointed a Day of Solemn THANKSGIVING" for his and the Governor's safe return.

While in England Mather preached often, and acceptably. He became acquainted with Tillotson, Burnet,

How, Bates, and Mead. Baxter "treated him with a Deference, which he paid unto few other Men." "Syr," said he, "*If you find any Errors in any of my Writings, I request you to Confute them, after I am Dead.*" He also dedicated to him a "Book, which he Published a little before he Died."

Mather was also "Eminently Instrumental in Promoting the *Union*" between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, "which had through *Devices* of the Great Adversary, kept at more of a Needless Distance from each other than they should have done. Dr. *Annesley* and Mr. *Vincent* and others, often Declared, That this *Union* would never have been Effected, if Mr. *Mather* had not been among them."

During his absence the parochial duties to his church and society were discharged by his son, Cotton Mather, who was settled as his colleague 13 May, 1684.

The administration of the College in the mean time was carried on by the Tutors, John Leverett and William Brattle, graduates in 1680, the former of whom was afterward President of the institution, and the latter the successor of Nathaniel Gookin, minister of the First Church in Cambridge. These two wise and efficient officers appear to have constituted the whole College Faculty, and to have had almost exclusive direction of the studies and discipline.

When Mather "went over to *England*," writes his son, "he carried his Care of his beloved *College* with him.... It was *His Acquaintance* with... THOMAS HOLLIS, that Introduced his Benefactions unto that *College*; to which his Incomparable Bounty... flow'd unto such a Degree, as to render him the *Greatest Benefactor* it ever had."

In 1686, after the abrogation of the Colonial charter, Governor Joseph Dudley, H. U. 1665, said, "The cow

was dead, and therefore the calf in her belly; meaning the charter of the college and colony." The property, and even the existence, of the College were imperilled. In consequence of a special appeal by Mather, a confirmation of the College charter was promised by James; and the Provincial charter granted by William and Mary, though not so explicit as had been promised, protected the institution to the extent of confirming to "Colleges" generally all gifts and grants. A final appeal, at his parting interview with the King, was likewise graciously received; and the College, though occasionally interfered with, was not deprived of its essential rights.

When Dudley became President of the Colony, Mather's title was changed from President to Rector. May 27, 1692, thirteen days after his return from England, it was ordered by the Governor, that he "be desired and is hereby impowred to continue his care . . . as Rector . . . until further Order, and to give direction about the com̄encement now Drawing on, and to manage the same as formerly."

According to the Parentator, "One of the first Things" Mather did after his return "was to Obtain from the *General Assembly* . . . (what he was in England advis'd unto . . .) *An Act for the Incorporation of the College*, upon a larger Foundation than the Former Settlement. By this Act," which was signed by Phips 27 June, 1692, wherein Mather is made President, "The *College* was enabled among other Things, to Confer *Degrees*, which could not by its former *Charter* be pretended to; and Particularly, to Create *Batchelours*, and *Doctors of Theology*. At this Time, and while that *Act* was yet in Force, this *University* (as *now* it was) thought it their Duty to Present unto their Præsident, a *Diploma* for a Doctorate, under their *Seal*, with the Hands of the Fellows annexed; . . . being the *First* and the *Sole* Instance of such a Thing done in the

whole English *America.*" It was seventy-nine years before another similar degree was conferred, as the charter under which this was given was disallowed.

Mather's time was thenceforward devoted principally to the College. "He required a Conforming to the *Statutes* of the College, with a *Stedy Government*, and *Faithful Discipline.*" He gave directions about the studies, and advice as to books; "kept alive the *Disputations* of the Batchelours, in which he Moderated; and assigned them especially such *Questions* as led them to an Establishment in the *Truths* which the *Temptations of the Day* rendred most needful to be Defended. He usually *Preached* unto the Scholars every Week"; sometimes "Illuminated the *College-Hall* with Elaborate Expositions"; and frequently sent "for the *Scholars* one by one into the *Library*," to "confer with them about their *Interiour State*. . . . Doubtless it was needful," concludes Cotton Mather, tauntingly, "and much for the Welfare and Honour of the *College*, to take it out of the Hands of such a *Præident!*"

Some persons, however, thought "it was needful," and movements which led to it were begun within nine months after his return from England. His course in relation to the charter and his sentiments upon the witchcraft persecution probably contributed to the result, but the ostensible opposition to his administration arose from his non-residence at Cambridge.

As early as 16 February, 1692-3, the House of Representatives sent to the Governor and Council a vote expressive of a desire "for y^e ffuture that y^e President shall be Resident at y^e Colledge"; upon which, however, no action appears to have been taken.

In June, 1695, the House, after granting him the usual salary of fifty pounds, and thanking him for his service the past year, voted that he "be desired to goe and settle at the Colledge, that the Colledge may not be

destitute any longer of a settled President, And that if he take up with said proposal he shall be allowed annually . . . one hundred and fifty pounds, and if said m^r Mather doe not settle there y^t the Corporation do propose some other meet person to the Gen^l Court who may be treated with.”

Mather was disturbed by the demonstration of dissatisfaction, and manifested an inclination to resign. But the Corporation and the Governor and Council probably regarded him not only as an honor to the institution, because of his talents, learning, and eminence, but, considering his political experience and his acquaintance and influence in England, as the most suitable person to defend the College in this hour of peril.

Rather more point was given to the project on the sixteenth of August, when it was voted that he “be earnestly requested . . . to Remove his habitation unto Cambridge least the Colledge & Churches Suffer for want of his Residence there”; and in addition to thanks “for his good Service already done at the Colledge,” it was ordered “that it be Signified to him that we desire no Pson so much as himselfe to take the Care of that Society.”

November 28, 1698, a Petition from the Corporation for giving encouragement “to a Vice President to reside constantly at the Colledge was read, debated, & referred to further consideration; and according to the Council and Court Records, 3 December, 1698, it was,

“Upon Consideration of the State of the Colledge, and for encouragement unto the Reverend M^r Increase Mather Presid^t to remove and take up his Residence there

“Ordered That the said President have a Salary of Two Hundred Pounds Money pr Annum . . . from the Time of his Removal during his Residence at the Colledge.”

All the proceedings in reference to a residence in Cambridge were embarrassed by the probability that the College charter was annulled, and by the preparation of new draughts in 1692, 1696, 1697, 1699, and 1700, in which, while the interests of the institution were to be protected, the necessity of framing a charter that should be acceptable to the Crown could not be ignored.

Upon the adoption of the draught of 1700, the House ordered the names of Mather and Samuel Willard, H. U. 1659, "to be inserted" respectively as President and Vice-President, and on the following day, 10 July, Resolved that "Two hundred & Twenty Pounds be allowed...to the President...already chosen or to be chosen by s^d Court," and "that the person chosen President...shall reside at Cambridge."

July 11, 1700, Mather was notified by a committee that the "Court hath chosen him President...and desires him to accept of said Office, and so expects that he repair to, and reside at Cambridge, as Soon as may be." He replied, If his church would "consent to give him up to this Work he would as to his own Person, remove, ... but could not see his Way Cleer to remove his Family while he heard of the Passing of the Charter in England."

October 10, the action of the House was concurred in by the Council.

October 17, Mather wrote from Cambridge a letter "giving an account of his inspection of the College whilst he resided there, and containing the reasons of his removal from Cambridge, as his not having his health there, &c. and desiring that another President may be thought of."

June 30, 1701, he wrote "ffrom the Colledge In Cambridge," to Stoughton "To be Cōmunicated to the General Assembly":—

“I promised the last General Court, to take care of the Colledge until the Commencem^t. Accordingly I have bin residing in Cambridge, those three months. I am determind (if the Lord will.) to return to Boston the next week, and no more to return to reside in Cambridge; for it is not reasonable to desire me to be (as out of Respect to the Publick Interest, I have bin Six months within this twelve month) any longer absent from my ffamily. And it is much more unreasonable to desire one, so circumstanced as I am to remove my ffamily to Cambridge, when the Colledge is in such an Unsettled state. I do therefore Earnestly desire that the General Court would as soon as may be, think of another Præsident for the Colledge. It would be fatal to the Interest of Religion, if a Person disaffected to the Order of the Gospel professed, and practised in these Churches, should præside over this Society. I know the general Assembly out of their Regard to the Interest of Christ, will take care to prevent it. It is, and has bin, my prayer to God, that one much more learned than I am, and more fit to inspect, & govern the Colledge may be sent hither; And one whom all the Churches in New-England, shall have cause to bless the Lord for.”

August 1, 1701, he met the General Court at their request, and acquainted them “that he was now removed from Cambridge to Boston,” and repeated in substance what he had written, adding, “but if the Court thought fit to desire he should continue his Care of the College as formerly, he would do so.”

Whereupon, in the words of the record, “As he can with no Conveniency any longer reside at Cambridge, and take the Care of the Colledge there,” the General Court sent a message to Samuel Willard “to Accept the Care, and Charge of said Colledge, and to reside at Cam-

bridge in order thereunto." Willard asked time for consideration, and to consult his church. September 5, a Resolve being sent to the Council from "the Representatives, Desiring" Mather "to take the Care of and reside at the Colledge," a committee was immediately despatched for the answer of Willard, who then "declared his readiness to do the best Service he could for the Colledge, And that he would Visit it once or twice every Week, and Continue there a Night or two, And Performe the Service used to be done by former Presidents." On the next day the Resolve from the House of Representatives "that Mr. Increase Mather be desired to take the Care of and reside at the Colledge was again read, And upon the Question put for a Concurrence, it was carried in the Negative." Willard's proposition being at once accepted, his salary began on the same day, 6 September.

I have gone much more into detail respecting what appears as the principal objection to Mather's continuance in the Presidency, because it has not received from any writer the attention it deserves. Quincy's account of Mather's administration is elaborate, but unsatisfactory. Robbins goes so far as to say of it, that its "general tone...is calculated to leave a most unfavorable impression; and that the allusions to Mather, the epithets applied, and the motives ascribed to him, are such as would condemn him to the aversion and contempt of every pure and honest mind, if the intelligent reader did not understand how much weight to subtract from these imputations, when offset against the unequivocal and substantial eulogy condensed into a single sentence, so out of tune with what precedes and follows, that one is almost tempted to suspect there is irony in it:—*'That Dr. Mather was well qualified for the office of President, and had conducted himself in it faithfully and laboriously, is attested*

by the history of the college, the language of the legislature, and the acknowledgment of his cotemporaries.' This is a satisfactory verdict as it is. But if it were brightened in the coloring — as truth would warrant it to be — half as much as the censure surrounding it is deepened beyond the demands of justice, it would give to us such a representation of this eventful Presidency as plain facts substantiate; concurrent, co-eval testimony, both private and public, justifies; and the impartial verdict of posterity will sanction."

The remaining twenty-two years of Mather's life, after leaving the Presidency, were chiefly employed in devotional and other religious exercises, preparation of books for the press, and the discharge of ministerial duties. His biographer states, that, "Besides his *Patient Continuance*, in that stroke of *Well-doing*, which lay in his course of setting apart *whole Days* for the *Religion of the Closet*, and which he continued until the last Year of his Life was coming on: His *Daily Course* was This: . . . In the Morning repairing to his Study, (where his Custom was to sit up very late, even *until* Midnight, and perhaps *after* it) he deliberately Read a *Chapter*, and made a *Prayer*, and then plied what of Reading and Writing he had before him. At Nine a Clock he came down, and Read a *Chapter* and made a *Prayer*, with his Family. He then returned unto the *Work of the Study*. Coming down to *Dinner*, he quickly went up again, and begun the Afternoon with another *Prayer*. There he went on with the *Work of the Study* till the Evening. Then with another *Prayer* he again went unto his Father; after which he did more at the *Work of the Study*. At Nine a Clock he came down to his *Family-Sacrifices*. Then he went up again to the *Work of the Study*; which anon he Concluded with another *Prayer*; And so he betook himself unto his *Repose*."

“He commonly spent *Sixteen Hours* of the Four and Twenty, in his *Laborious Hive!*... He was *There*, some thought *even to a Fault*. More of his *Pastoral Visits* were wished for.”

In April, 1715, he received a unanimous invitation from “The Ministers of the Province, by their Delegates met at *Boston*,... to take a *Voyage for England*, with an *Address* from them” to King George the First, on his accession to the throne. The proposition was very gratifying, but his advanced age and other circumstances led him to decline it, though “there was a Provision made, for the *Expences* of the *Voyage*.”

As “*Old Age* came on,” people discovered “even a growth of their Appetite, for the Enjoyment of as much as might be Obtained from him! The Churches would not permitt an *Ordination* to be carried on without him, as long as he was able to Travel in a Coach unto them.”

After preaching his Jubilee sermon, at the conclusion of the forty-ninth year of his ministry, he requested a “Dismission from any further Public Labours.” This was not granted, though some time afterward, to “render his *Old Age* as *easy* as might be to him,” his society voted that he would be expected to preach “*only when he should feel himself able and inclin’d*... On the Day of his Attaining to *Fourscore*, he Preached a Sermon full of Light and Life,” which was printed from notes taken at the time. “Within Two Days” after September 25, 1719, when “he did with an Excellent and Pathetic Prayer, in a mighty Auditory, Conclude a *Day of Prayer* kept by his Church, to obtain a *Good Success* of the *Gospel*,... he fell into an *Apoplectic* sort of *Deliquium*; (very much occasion’d, as it was thought, by too extreme a concern of his Mind on some late Occurrences at *New-Haven*:) out of which he Recovered in a few Minutes; but it so enfeebled him, that he never went abroad any more.”

His son, speaking of his last illness, says, "He was extremely tortured and enfeebled, with an obstinate *Hicket*, which would sometimes hold him a Week or perhaps a Fortnight, without Intermission... At last, he began to fall into the Torments of the *Wheel broken at the Cistern*: Which yet became not Intolerable, and forced no Ejulations from him, till about *Three Weeks before he Died*. Under these, about *Three Days* before his Expiration, coming out of a Dark Minute, he said, *It is now Revealed from Heaven to me, That I shall quickly, quickly, quickly be fetch'd away to Heaven, and that I shall Dy in the Arms of my Son*. After this, he kept very much calling for me; till *Friday, the Twenty Third of August, 1723*. ... As it grew towards Noon, I said unto him, *Syr, The Messenger is now come to tell you; This Day thou shalt be in Paradise. Do you believe it, Syr, and Rejoice in the Views and Hopes of it?* He Replied, *I do! I do! I do!* — And upon those Words, he *Dyed in my Arms.*"¹

"On the *Seventh Day* after this, ... GOD Honoured him with a Greater *Funeral*, than had ever been seen for any *Divine*, in *these* (and some Travellers at it, said, *in any other*) parts of the *World*." The sermon was preached by Thomas Foxcroft, H. U. 1714. Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, and Mather's "Honourable, Ancient, Cordial Friend, *Samuel Sewall*, Esq; the Chief Judge, of the Province; with [John Leverett] the Præsident of the College, and [Thacher, Wadsworth, and Colman] Three of the Principal Ministers, were they that held the Pall; Before which, One Hundred and Threescore *Scholars* of the College, whereof he had once been the *Præsident*, walked in Order; And there were *Followers*

¹ A *post-mortem* examination discovered, "besides a large *Polypus* on his Bladder, no less than Six Large Stones in it, of several uneven Shapes,

and some of them above an Inch Diameter, the least of which was big enough to have made a Giant roar."

of every Rank, (among which about Fifty *Ministers*) and *Spectators* that could not be numbred. . . . His Church with a noble Gratitude bore the Expences of his Funeral." He was entombed in the northeast part of Copp's Hill burying-ground.

Mather was talented, learned, and eminently fitted for the ministry. His sermons, manly and forcible, inculcated practical religion "in all the severe strictness and occasional superstition" of his time. "He used no *Notes* in his Preaching to the very Last. Though in Committing to his Memory, the Sermons which he wrote in *Quarto-Volumns*, . . . he would write a . . . *Page* or two, of *Texts* and of *Words*, . . . to help him in case he were at a loss, yet he never look'd upon it." "He spoke with a Grave and Wise *Deliberation*: But on some Subjects, his Voice would rise for the more *Emphatical Clauses*, as the Discourse went on: and anon come on with such a *Tonitruous Cogency*, that the Hearers would be struck with an *Awe*, like what would be Produced on the Fall of *Thunderbolts*."

He was zealous for Congregationalism and the Cambridge Platform, yet so tolerant that he took part in the ordination of Elisha Callender, H. U. 1710, a Baptist, though in his early days he must have regarded the sect with aversion.

He was a benevolent man. Although his means were small, "He Conscienciously and Constantly Devoted a *Tenth Part* of his Income to *Pious Uses*," in addition to other charities.

"He was one of a very *Gentlemanly Behaviour*; full of *Gravity*, with all the *Handsom Carriage*, as well as *Neatness*, of a *Gentleman*. . . . *His Words* were *Few*, as *Wise Mens* use to be; and much on the *Guard*, (*Bis prius ad Limam quam semel ad Linguam*;) *Pertinent*, and *Ponderous*, and *Forcible*."

Peirce says: "He appears to have been affected quite enough by *ungrateful* returns for his services; and had no very moderate sense of his own importance and merits, as was particularly shown in an angry letter which he wrote to Governor Dudley in 1708."¹

His piety was not untinged with enthusiasm and credulity. At times he experienced heavenly afflations, or what he believed to be "*Præsagious Impressions about Future Events.*" These, according to his credulous son, were of course marvellously fulfilled. For instance, "In the Year, 1676. he had a strange Impression on his mind, that caused him, on *Nov. 19.* to Preach a Sermon...and Conclude...with a Strange Prædiction, That a *Fire* was a coming, which would make a Deplorable Desolation." He afterwards meditated and wept and prayed upon the subject in his study, and the next Lord's day gave his people warning of the impending judgment. "The very *Night following*, a Desolating *Fire* broke forth in his Neighbourhood. The *House* in which he with his Flock, had *Praised GOD*, was *Burnt with the Fire.* Whole Streets were Consumed in the Devouring Flames."

Mather "had great faith in signs and prodigies. Comets were regarded by him as 'preachers of divine wrath'; his *Discourse* concerning those bodies is little else than a catalogue of inundations, earthquakes, wars, and other calamitous events, attending them, from a period just before the *flood* down to the *ill-starred* year 1682, in which he wrote that learned book; and his sermons, entitled, 'Heaven's Alarm to the World,' and 'The Latter Sign,' were delivered upon the appearance of 'a formidable blazing star.'" It is not improbable, however, that, with the progress made in astronomy in his time, his views were considerably changed before he died.

Concerning Witchcraft he says in a Postscript to his

¹ Printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, iii. 126.

Cases of Conscience that he has written “another Discourse, proving that there are such horrid Creatures as Witches in the World; and that they are to be extirpated and cut off from amongst the People of God, which I have Thoughts and Inclinations in due time to publish; and I am abundantly satisfied that there have been, and are still most cursed Witches in the Land. . . .

“Nor is there designed any Reflection on those worthy Persons who have been concerned in the late Proceedings at *Salam*: They are wise and good Men, and have acted with all Fidelity according to their Light, and have out of tenderness declined the doing of some things, which in our own Judgments they were satisfied about: Having therefore so arduous a Case before them, Pitty and Prayers rather than Censures are their due; on which account I am glad that there is published to the World (by my Son) a *Breviate of the Tryals* of some who were lately executed, whereby I hope the thinking part of Mankind will be satisfied, that there was more than that which is called *Spectre Evidence* for the Conviction of the Persons condemned. I was not my self present at any of the Tryals, excepting one, *viz.* that of *George Burroughs*; had I been one of his Judges, I could not have acquitted him: For several Persons did upon Oath testifie, that they saw him do such things as no Man that has not a Devil to be his Familiar could perform. . . .

“Some I hear have taken up a Notion, that the Book newly published by my Son, is contradictory to this of mine: 'Tis strange that such Imaginations should enter into the Minds of Men: I perused and approved of that Book before it was printed; and nothing but my Relation to him hindred me from recommending it to the World: But my self and Son agreed unto the humble Advice which twelve Ministers concurringly presented before his Excellency and Council, respecting the pres-

ent Difficulties, which let the World judge, whether there be any thing in its dissentany from what is attested by either of us." The Advice of the twelve Ministers is printed at the end of this Postscript and by Upham.

It is not improbable that Mather might have prevented the judicial murders at Salem, if he had resolutely opposed the proceedings. Robert Calef wrote a book on the subject, in which he severely censures the conduct of the chief participators in the prosecutions, and, according to Eliot, Mather, "then president of Harvard College, . . . ordered the wicked book to be burnt in the college yard."

If, however, we go back to the time when he lived, and consider the ignorance, credulity, and superstition which prevailed among all classes, it is obvious, that, though Mather's attainments were not what would now be expected of a man of his eminence and influence, he was greatly in advance of most of his contemporaries. "He was the father of the New England clergy," says Eliot, "and his name and character were held in veneration, not only by those, who knew him, but by succeeding generations."

In his will, on file in the Probate Office, and printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, v. 445, and in Robbins's History of the Second Church, page 212, he says: "Concerning my son Cotton Mather; he has bin a great comfort to me from his childhood, having bin a very dutifull son, & a singular blessing both to his Fathers Family & flock. If I had any Considerable estate, I ought to bequeath the greatest part of it to him. It has bin thought, y^t I have bags by me. wh. is a great mistake. I have not twenty Pound in silver; or in bills. But wh^ever I have (be it more or Less) whether in silver or Bills, I give it to him my eldest son. Item, I give to him my pendulum

watch, Item my pendulum clock, Item my silver Tankard." A fourth part of his Library he bequeaths to his "Fatherless Grandson Mather Byles, in case he shall be educated for, & employed in y^e work of y^e ministry, (w^{ch} I much desire & pray for)... What I give to my Daughter Elizabeth, I desire it may (if his Mother can) be improved towards y^e education of her only son (my grandson Mather Byles in Learning,... I leave it as my dying Request to his uncle my son Cotton Mather, to take care of y^e education of y^t child as of his owne... To pvent his being chargeable as much as I can, I give him my wearing apparel excepting my chamlet cloak w^{ch} I give to my executor."

March 6, 1661-2, Mather was married to Mary, sometimes spelt Maria, born 16 February, 1641-2, daughter of the Reverend John Cotton of Boston, and had, 1. Cotton, H. U. 1678, born 12 February, 1662-3; 2. Maria, born 7 March, 1664-5; 3. Elizabeth, born 6 January, 1666-7, who married, July, 1696, William Greenough, and next, 6 October, 1703, Josiah, father of Mather Byles, H. U. 1725; 4. Nathaniel, H. U. 1685; (these four children being born in the house of his father-in-law, where he lived eight years, and where his wife was born;) 5. Sarah, born 9 November, 1671, who married Nehemiah Walter, H. U. 1684; 6. Samuel, born 28 August, 1674, H. U. 1690; 7. Abigail, born 13 April, 1677, married Newcomb Blake, and afterward the Reverend John White, H. U. 1698; 8. Hannah, born 30 May, 1680, who married, 28 January, 1698, John Oliver; 9. Catharine, born 14 September, 1682, died 11 June, 1683; 10. Jerusha, born 16 April, 1684, married 8 March, 1710, Peter Oliver. His wife died 4 April, 1714. In 1715 he married Ann, born 12 October, 1663, daughter of Thomas Lake, and widow of the Reverend John Cotton of Hampton, H. U. 1678. She died at Brookline, 29 March, 1737.

Mather outlived all the graduates who preceded Samuel Cheever, of the class of 1659.

WORKS.

1. The | Mystery | of | Israel's Salvation, | Explained and Applied: | Or, | A Discourse | Concerning the General Conversion of the | Israelitish Nation. | Wherein is Shewed, | 1. That the Twelve Tribes shall be saved. | 2. When this is to be expected. | 3. Why this must be. | 4. What kind of Salvation the Tribes of Israel | shall partake of (viz.) A Glorious, Wonder- | ful, Spiritual, Temporal Salvation. | Being the Substance of several Ser- | mons Preached | ——— | By Increase Mather, M. A. | Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England. || Printed in the Year 1669. 8vo. Pp. (11.) An Epistle to the Reader. From my study in N. Haven in N. E. the 18th. day of Sept. 1667. Thine in the Truth truly, John Davenport; pp. (4) To the Reader, by W. G.; pp. (14) To the Reader, by W.[illiam] H.[ooke]; pp. (14) The Author's Preface to the Reader. From my Study in Boston N. E. 4th. 21. 1667. J. M.; and Text pp. 181; The Names of Writers, etc., being The Table pp. (5); and Places of Scripture opened, etc., pp. (4). *B.*

In Brinley's and the Boston Public Library are copies having the title-page repeated immediately before the text, with the imprint, "London, Printed for John Allen in Wentworth Street, near Bell-Lane, 1669."

2. The | Life and Death | Of | That Reverend Man of God, | Mr. Richard Mather, | Teacher of the Church | in | Dorchester | in | New-England. || Cambridge: Printed by S.[amuel] G[reen]. and M.[armaduke] J[ohnson]. 1670. 4to. Pp. (2) To the Church and Inhabitants of Dorchester in N. E. Yours in the Lord alwayes, Increase Mather. Boston N. E. Septemb. 6. 1670; Text pp. 38. The author's name does not appear on the title-page. *B, M, T, W.*

3. To the | Church | and | Inhabitants | of | Northampton in N. E. || Yours in the Lord Jesus, Increase Mather. From my Study in Boston in N. E. 1. 1. 1671. 4to. pp. (5). Prefixed to E. Mather's Serious Exhortation. *B, T.*

4. Wo to Drunkards. | ——— | Two | Sermons | Testifying against the Sin of | Drunkenness: | Wherein the Wofulness of that Evil,

and the Misery of all | that are addicted to it, is discovered from the | Word of God. || Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1673. And Sold by Edmund Ranger Bookbinder in Boston. 4to Pp. (2) To the Reader, signed "Thy Soul-Friend, Increase Mather Boston, Octob. 30. 1673"; and Text pp. 38. *B, M, W.*

The same. 2d ed. Boston. 1712. sm. 8vo. pp. ii, 58. *A, B.*

5. The Day of Trouble is near. | ——— | Two | Sermons | Wherein is shewed, | What are the Signs of a Day of Trouble being near. | And particularly, | What reason there is for New-England to expect | A Day of Trouble. | Also what is to be done, that we may escape these things | which shall come to pass. | Preached (the 11th day of the 12th Moneth 1673. being a day of | Humiliation | in one of the Churches in Boston. || Cambridge: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1674. 4to. Pp. (2) Christian Reader, signed by Urian Oakes; Text pp. 31. *B, P.*

Sir William Phips wrote to Cotton Mather: "The first of God's making me sensible of my *Sins*, was in the Year 1674. by hearing your Father Preach concerning, *The Day of Trouble near*. It pleased Almighty God to smite me with a deep Sence of my miserable Condition, who had lived until then in the World, and had *done nothing for God*." — *Magnalia*, ii. 46.

6. Some Important | Truths | About | Conversion, | Delivered in Sundry | Sermons. || London. 1674. sm. 8vo. Pp. (2) Contents; pp. (4) To the Reader, signed John Owen; pp. (20) To the Second Church and Congregation at Boston in New-England. Your loving (though unworthy) Teacher Increase Mather. From my Study . . . the 13 day of the 4th month. 1672; and Text pp. 1–248. *P.*

The same. 2d ed. Boston. 1684. pp. 151.

The same. The Second Edition. London. Printed 1674. Boston in N. E. Re-printed by John Allen, for John Edwards, at his Shop at the Head of King-street. 1721. 12mo. pp. (1), xxii, 260, (1). *W.*

7. To the Reader. Boston, N. E. 26. 5. 1674. 4to. pp. (6). Prefixed to S. Torrey's Exhortation unto Reformation. *B, H, M, P.*

8. A | Discourse | Concerning | the Subject of Baptisme | Wherein the present Controversies, that are agitated in | the New English Churches are from | Scripture and Reason modestly enquired into || Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green. 1675. 4to. Pp. (2) To the Reader, Boston, N. E. 1. of 2. M. 1675; and Text pp. 76.

A, B, H, P, M, W.

9. The | First Principles | of | New-England, | Concerning | The Subject of Baptisme | & | Communion of Churches. | Collected partly out of the Printed Books, but chiefly | out of the Original Manuscripts of the First and chiefe | Fathers in the New-English Churches; With the judg- | ment of Sundry Learned Divines of the Congregational | Way in England, Concerning the said Questions. | Published for the Benefit of those who are of the Rising Gene- | ration in New-England. || Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green, 1675. 4to. Pp. (6) To the Reader, From my Study in Boston N. E. i. of 3d Moneth. 1671; Text pp. 1-40; Postscript p. 1, by John Allin; and 2-7 J. Mitchel's Letter on Baptisme, dated Cambridg. December. 26. 1667.

A, B, H, M, P, W.

10. The Times of men are in the hand | of God. | ——— | Or | A Sermon | Occasioned by that awfull Providence which hapned in | Boston in New England, the 4th day of the 3^d | Moneth 1675. (when part of a Vessel was blown up in | the Harbour, and nine men hurt, and three mortally | wounded) wherein is shewed how we should | sanctifie the dreadfull Name of God | under such awfull | Dispensations. || Boston, Printed by John Foster 1675. 4to. Pp. (4) To the Reader. 9^h. of 4^h. Moneth 1675; and Text pp. 21. *A, B, M.*

This or the following appears to have been the first work printed in Boston.

11. The Wicked mans Portion. | Or | A Sermon | (Preached at the Lecture in Boston in New England the | 18th day of the 1 Moneth 1674, when two men [Nicholas Feaver and Robert Driver] | were executed, who had murdered | their Master.) | Wherein is shewed | That excesse in wickedness doth bring | untimely Death. || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1675. Pp. (2) To the Reader 15th of 2nd Moneth. 1675; and Text pp. 25.

B, W.

The same. Second Impression. Boston. 1685. sm. 8vo.

A, B, M, P, W.

12. A | Brief History of the | VVarr | With the Indians in | Nevv-England, | (From June 14, 1675. when the first English-man was mur- | dered by the Indians, to August 12. 1676. when Philip, aliàs | Metacomet, the principal Author and Beginner | of the Warr, was slain.) | Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr, | is summarily expressed. | Together with a serious | Exhor-

tation | to the Inhabitants of that Land. || Boston, Printed and Sold by John Foster over against the Sign of the Dove. 1676. 4to. Pp. (4) To the Reader; Text pp. 51; Postscript pp. 8. *B, M, W.*

The same. London, Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church-Yard, according to the Original Copy Printed in New England. 1676.

The same, entitled: The | History | of | King Philip's War, | By the Rev. Increase Mather, D. D. | Also, A | History of the same War, | By the Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D. | ——— | To which are added | An Introduction and Notes, | By Samuel G. Drake. || Boston: Printed for the Editor, and sold by him at No. 13 Bromfield-Street; also by J. Munsell, 78 State-Street, Albany. 1862. 4to. Pp. [iii] — xxxii Prefatory and Introductory; and History, etc., pp. 33 — 284. *A, B, H.*

13. An Earnest | Exhortation | To the Inhabitants of | New-England, | To hearken to the voice of God | in his late and present | Dispensations | As ever they desire to escape another Judgement, seven times | greater then any thing which as yet hath been. || Boston Printed by John Foster, 1676. 4to. Pp. (2) To the Reader. 26 of 5 mo.; Text pp. 26. *B, M.*

This is the "serious Exhortation," mentioned in No. 12.

14. A Relation | of the Troubles which have hapned in | New-England, | By reason of the Indians there. | From the Year 1614. to the Year 1675. | ——— | Wherein the frequent Conspiracies of the Indians to cutt off the | English, and the wonderfull providence of God, in disappointing | their devices, is declared. | Together with an Historical Discourse concerning the | Prevalency of Prayer; shewing that New Englands | late deliverance from the Rage of the Heathen is an eminent | Answer of Prayer. || Boston, Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. 4to. Pp. (4) To the Reader. Sept. 14. 1677; and Text pp. 76. *B, M.*

The "Discourse," paged separately, has the following title: —

15. An | Historical Discourse | Concerning the | Prevalency | of | Prayer | Wherein is shewed that New-Englands late Deliverance from the | Rage of the Heathen, is an eminent Answer of Prayer. || Boston, Printed and sold by John Foster. 1677. 4to. Pp. (2) To the Reader. August. 16. 1677; and Text pp. 19. *B, M.*

Running-Title, The Prevalency of Prayer Historically evinced.

16. Renewal of Covenant the great Duty | incumbent on decaying or distressed | Churches. | ——— | A Sermon | Concerning Re-

newing of Covenant with God in Christ, | Preached at Dorchester in New-England, the 21. Day | of the 1. Moneth 1677. being a Day of | Humiliation | There, on that Occasion. || Boston. 1677. 4to. pp. (5), 22.

17. To the Reader. Boston. 28. of 12 m. 1677. 4to. pp. (2). Prefixed to the second impression of E. Mather's Serious Exhortation. *B.*

18. Pray for the Rising Generation, | ——— | Or A | Sermon | Wherein Godly Parents are Encou- | raged to Pray and Believe | for their Children, | Preached the third Day of the fifth Moneth, 1678. | which Day was set apart by the second Church in Boston in New-England, | humbly to seek unto God by Fasting and Prayer, | for a Spirit of Converting Grace, to be poured | out upon the Children and Rising Generation in | New-England. || Cambridge. 1678. 4to. pp. 23. *B.*

The same. The second Impression. Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1679. sm. 8vo. pp. 29:—pp. 3-4 being To the Reader. Boston, August 22. 1678. Appended to the 1679 edition of A Call from Heaven. *M, P, T.*

The same. Third Impression. Printed by R. P. 1685, being pp. 161-198 of the 1685 edition of the Call from Heaven. *B, P.*

19. A Call from Heaven | To the Present and Succeeding | Generations | Or A | Discourse | Wherin is shewed, | I. That the Children of Godly Parents are under | special Advantages and Encouragements to | seek the Lord [pp. 1-32]. | II. pp. 33-94 [A Discourse Concerning] The exceeding danger of Apostasie, especially as | to those that are the Children and Posterity of | such as have been eminent for God in their Ge- | neration. [Delivered in a Sermon, preached in the Audi- | ence of the general Assembly of the Massachu- | sets Colony, at Boston in New-England, | May 23. 1677. being the day of Election | there. || Boston, Printed in the Year, 1679.] p. 33 being a full title-page. III. That Young Men ought to Remember God | their Creator pp. 95-114. || Boston, Printed by John Foster, 1679. sm. 8vo. Pp. (6) To the Reader. Boston. 3. m. 16. d. 1679; and Text 1-114 with the running title A Call to the Rising Generation. *T.*

Appended to this is Pray for the Rising Generation, the second Impression.

The same. The second Impression. Boston, Printed by R. P. for I. Brunning. 1685. sm. 8vo. Pp. 198, containing on p. 45 a

separate title for II., and on p. 123 another for the Second Impression of III., and another on p. 161 of the Third Impression of Pray for the Rising Generation, which here occupies pp. 161–198.

A, B, M, P, W.

20. A Discourse | Concerning the Danger of | Apostasy, | Especially as to those that are the Children | and Posterity of such as have been | eminent for God in their | Generation. | Delivered in a Sermon, preached in the Audi- | ence of the general Assembly of the Massachu- | sets Colony, at Boston in New-England, | May 23. 1677. being the day of Election | there. || Boston, Printed [by John Foster] in the Year, 1679. sm. 8vo. Pp. 35–36 To the Reader 22. day of the 2. Moneth. 1678; Text pp. 37–114. Being part of No. 19. *B, M, T, W.*

The same. Second Impression. sm. 8vo. Boston, being pp. 44–158 of the 1685 edition of No. 19. *B, P.*

21. Preface and Result of

The Necessity | of | Reformation | With the Expedients subservient | thereunto, asserted; | in Answer to two | Questions | I. What are the Evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his Judg- | ments on New-England? | II. What is to be done that so those Evils may be Reformed? | Agreed upon by the | Elders and Messengers | Of the Churches assembled in the | Synod | At Boston in New-England, | Sept. 10. 1679. | Boston. 1679. 4to. Pp. (4) To the General Court; Text pp. 15. *B, P.*

22. The | Divine Right | of | Infant-Baptisme | Asserted and Proved from | Scripture | And | Antiquity. || Boston, Printed by John Foster, in the Year 1680. 4to. Pp. (5) Christian Reader. Thy Servant for Christ's sake, Urian Oakes. Cambridge, Febru. 21. 1679–80; and Text pp. 27. *B, M, W.*

23. Returning unto God, the great concernment | of a Covenant People. | — | Or | A Sermon | Preached to the second Church in Boston in | New-England, March 17. 1679–80. when | that Church did solemnly and explicitly | Renew their Covenant with | God, and one with another. || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1680. 4to. Pp. (4) To the second Church, etc., April 19. 1680; Text pp. 19; and pp. (2) The Covenant which was unanimously consented unto. *B, M, P.*

24. Preface to a Confession of Faith Owned and Consented unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches Assembled at

Boston in New England, May 12. 1680. Being the second Sermon of that Synod. sm. 8vo. pp. (4). Anonymous. *B, P.*

25. Heavens Alarm to the World. | Or | A Sermon | Wherein is shewed, | That fearful Sights and Signs in Heaven | are the Presages of great Ca- | lamities at hand. || Boston, Printed by John Foster. 1681. 4to. Pp. (3) To the Reader. 12. Moneth, Vulgò Febr. 16. 1680-1; Text pp. 17. *B, P.*

The same. Second Impression. Appended to No. 32.

B, H, M, P.

26. To the Reader, Nov. 4. 1681. 4to. pp. (5). Prefixed to S. Willard's *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam.* *B, H, M.*

27. Diatriba | de signo | Filii Hominis, | et de | Secundo Messiae Adventu; | Ubi de modo futuræ Judæorum Conversionis; | Nec non de signis Novissimi diei, disseritur. || Amstelodami. 1682. sm. 8vo. Pp. (6) *Dabam è musæo meo, Bostoniæ in Nov. Angliâ, Decembris die 15;* Text pp. 98; Indexes pp. (5); Corrigenda p. (1). *B, M, P.*

28. The Latter | Sign | Discoursed of, | in a | Sermon | Preached at the Lecture of Boston in | New-England; | August, 31. 1682. | Wherein is shewed, that the Voice of | God in Signal Providences, especially | when repeated and Iterated, ought to be | Harkned unto. || [Boston]. sm. 8vo. pp. 32. Appended to *Heavens Alarm,* in No. 32, with continuous signatures, but new folios.

A, B, H, M, P, W.

29. Practical Truths | Tending to Promote the | Power of Godliness: | Wherein | Several Important Duties, are | Urged, and the Evil of divers com- | mon Sins, is Evinced: | Delivered in Sundry | Sermons. || Boston, Printed by Samuel Green upon Assignment of | Samuel Sewall. 1682. sm. 8vo. Pp. (2) The Contents; pp. (7) To the Second Church and Congregation at Boston in New-England, 19 day of 5. Moneth, (vulgò) July. 1682; p. (1) Advertisement, Errata; and Text pp. 1-220. *A, B, H, P, W.*

The running titles are: pp. 1-35 The Godly Man, is, a Praying Man; 36-55 Finding time, should be praying time; 56-74 The true Fearers of God will pray with their Families; 75-93 Sincere Christians will pray in Secret; 94-116 Baptised Persons are under awful Obligations; 117-159 The Lords Supper is an Ordinance which Believers ought to observe; 160-189 It is the Property of a Godly Man not to set with vain Persons; 190-220 Sleeping at Sermons, is, a Great and a Dangerous Evil.

30. A Sermon | Wherein is shewed that the Church of God | is sometimes a Subject of | Great Persecution ; | Preached on a Publick | Fast | At Boston in New-England : | Occasioned by the Tidings of a great Persecution Raised against | the Protestants in France. || Boston, in New-England: Printed for Samuel Sewall, in the Year, 1682. 4to. Pp. (4) To the Reader, 1. M. 28. D. 1682; Text pp. 24. *B, M.*

31. To the Reader, 2. 19. 1682. 4to. pp. (4). Prefixed to Urian Oakes's Seasonable Discourse. *B, P.*

32. *ΚΟΜΗΤΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ.* | ——— | Or A | Discourse Concerning | Comets; | Wherein the Nature of Blazing Stars | is Enquired into : | With an Historical Account of all the Comets | which have appeared from the Beginning of the | World unto this present Year, M.DC.LXXXIII. | Expressing | The Place in the Heavens, where they were seen, | Their Motion, Forms, Duration; and the Remarkable Events which have followed | in the World, so far as they have been | by Learned Men Observed. | As also two Sermons | Occasioned by the late Blazing Stars. || Boston in New-England. Printed by S. G. for S. S[ewall]. And sold by J. Browning At the corner of the Prison Lane next the Town-House 1683. sm. 8vo. Pp. (4) To the Reader, signed John Sherman. Decemb. 20. 1682; pp. (3) To the Reader, signed Increase Mather. Dec. 31. 1682; pp. (2) The Contents; Text pp. 1 — 143. *A, B, H, M, P, W.*

The Two Sermons are

1. Heaven's | Alarm | to the | World. | Or | A Sermon, wherein is shewed, | That Fearful | Sights | And Signs in Heaven, are the Presages of great Calamities at hand. | Preached at the Lecture of Boston in New-England; | January, 20. 1680. || The Second Impression. Boston in New-England, Printed for Samuel Sewall. And are to be sold by Joseph Browning at the Corner of the Prison-Lane Next the Town-House, 1682. sm. 8vo. Pp. (6) To the Reader, signed Increase Mather. Febr. 16. 1680.1; Text pp. 1 — 38.

2. The Latter | Sign. || sm. 8vo. pp. 1 — 32. See No. 28.

33. To the Reader. Boston in N. England. August 31. 1683. 4to. pp. (6). Prefixed to S. Torrey's Plea for the Life of Dying Religion. *B, H, M, P.*

34. An Arrow | against | Profane and Promiscuous | Dancing. | Drawn out of the Quiver of the | Scriptures. | ——— | By the Ministers of Christ at Boston | in New-England. || Boston: Printed by

Samuel Green, and are to be Sold by Joseph Brunning, 1684. sm. 8vo. pp. 30. *B, M.*

In C. Mather's Catalogue of I. Mather's Works. T. Prince also writes, in his Manuscript Catalogue, "By Mr. Increase Mather, as appears à his MSS I have."

35. The | Doctrine | of Divine | Providence, | opened and ap-
plied: | Also Sundry Sermons on Several | other Subjects. || Boston
in N. England Printed by Richard Pierce for Joseph Brunning,
And are to be sold at his Shop at the Corner of Prison Lane next
the Exchange 1684. sm. 8vo. Pp. (5) To the Reader, Octob.
25: 1684; Text pp. 148. *A, B, M, P.*

36. An Essay | for the | Recording | of Illustrious | Providences: |
Wherein an Account is given of many Re- | markable and very
Memorable Events, | which have hapned this last Age; | Especially
in | New-England. || Boston in New-England, Printed by Samuel
Green for Joseph Browning, And are to be Sold at his Shop at the
corner of the Prison-Lane next the Town-House, 1684. sm. 8vo.
Pp. (19) The Preface. January 1. 1683-4; Text pp. 372; and
Contents pp. (8). *A, B, M, P.*

The types for the title-page were set up twice, as appears from a comparison of the copies belonging to the Prince Library and to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Remarkable | Providences | Illustrative of the Earlier Days |
of American Colonisation. | By | Increase Mather. | With Intro-
ductory Preface, | By George Ofor | . . . | London: | John Russell
Smith, | Soho Square. | 1856. || 16mo. Introduction pp. [v]-xix.
George Ofor. Hackney, Dec. 1. 1855; Reprint of old Title-
Page p. (1); Preface, signed Increase Mather, January 1, 1683-4.
pp. 12; Contents pp. (4); Text 1-262. *B, H.*

37. The Greatest | Sinners | Exhorted and Encouraged | To
Come to Christ and that | Now | Without Delaying. | Also, The
Exceeding Danger of Men's De- | ferring their Repentance. | To-
gether with a Discourse about The Day | of Judgement. And on
Several | other Subjects. || Boston. 1686. sm. 8vo. pp. (4),
146. *W.*

38. The | Mystery | of | Christ opened and applied. | In Sev-
eral Sermons, Concerning the | Person, Office, and Glory of Jesus
Christ. || [Boston.] 1686. sm. 8vo. P. (1) Commendation by
Urian Oakes, and Errata; pp. (6) To the Second Church, Octob.
25. 1686; Text pp. 12; Contents (2). *A, B, P.*

39. A Sermon | Occasioned by the Execution of [James Morgan] | a man found Guilty of | Murder | Preached at Boston in N. E. March 11th 1685-6. | Together with the Confession, Last Expressions, | & solemn Warning of that Murderer to all persons; especially to Young men, to beware of those | Sins which brought him to his miserable end. || The Second Edition. Boston, Printed by R. P. Sold by J. Brunning Book-seller, at his Shop at the Corner of the Prison-Lane next the Exchange. Anno 1687. sm. 8vo. Pp. (2) To the Reader, dated March 26. 1686; and Text pp. 36. Appended are Cotton Mather's Call of the Gospel pp. 37-82; Joshua Moody's Exhortation to a Condemned Malefactor pp. 83-113; The Printer to the Reader p. (114); and The Discourse of the Minister with James Morgan on the Way to his Execution pp. (115)-124. *B, H, P.*

The same [without C. M.'s Sermon and J. M.'s Exhortation]. London. 1691. pp. 32. Appended to the Wonders of Free-Grace, Or, A Compleat History of all the Remarkable Penitents That have been Executed at Tyburn, etc.

40. A | Testimony | Against several Prophane and Superstitious | Customs, | Now Practised by some in | New-England, | The Evil whereof is evinced from the | Holy Scriptures, and from the | Writings both of Ancient | and Modern Divines. || London. 1687. sm. 8vo. Pp. (6) Preface. October 30, 1686; Text pp. 41 [31]. *B, M, P.*

41. A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England, By Reason of an Arbitrary Government Erected there Under Sir Edmund Andros. London, Printed for Richard Janeway in Queen's-Head-Court, in Pater-Noster-Row. And Reprinted at Boston in New-England by Richard Pierce. 1688. Anonymous.

Relating to an interview with the Prince of Orange, 21 September [December] 1688.

The same. 4to. Being pp. 29-34 of A Sixth | Collection of Papers | Relating to the | Present Juncture of Affairs in England. || London. 1689. *B, M.*

The same. Boston: Reprinted and Sold opposite the Court-House, in Queen Street. 1775. *B, H, M.*

The same. In The Andros Tracts, ii. 1-11. With a Prefatory Note on the authorship. Boston, 1869. 4to. *A, B, H, M.*

42. De | Successu Evangelij | Apud | Indos | in | Nova-Anglia | Epistola | Ad Cl. Virum | D. Johannem Lusedenum, | Linguæ Sanc-

tæ in Ultrajectina Acade- | mia Professorem, Scripta. | — | A
Crescentio Mathero | Apud Bostonienses V. D. M. nec non | Col-
legij Harvardini quod est Cantabri- | giæ Nov-Anglorum, Rectore. |
— | Londini, Typis J. G. 1688. || sm. 8vo. pp. 6, ending, Sum
Tuus dum Suus, Crescentius Matherus. Bostoniæ Nov-Anglorum
Julij 12. 1687. *B, H, M, P.*

The same. "Occidentales" after Indos, on the title-page.
Londini, Typis J. G. 1688. | Jam recusua, & successu Evangelii
apud In- | dos Orientales aucta. | Ultrajecti, | — | Apud Wil-
helmum Broedeleth, Anno 1699. || 8vo. pp. 16. *H.*

The same, in English, in C. Mather's Magnalia, iii. 194; and,
nearly all of it, in The Andros Tracts, ii. 166. Boston. 1869.
4to. *H, M.*

Ein Brieff | von dem | Glücklichen Fortgang | des Evangelii |
Bey den | West-Indianern in Neu-Engeland | An den berühmten |
Herrn Johann Leusden, | Der H. Sprache Professor auff der hohen
Schule | zu Utrecht geschrieben | von Crescentius Matherus, | Diener
des Worts Gottes bey den Bostoniensern | und Rectore des Har-
vardinischen Collegii zu Cantabrig | in Neu-Engeland | Londen,
druckts J. G. 1688. | Zum andernmahl gedruckt und mit dem
glücklichen | Fortgang des Evangelii bey den Ost-Indianern |
vermehret | Utrecht gedurckt bey W. B. 1693. | . . . | Aus dem
Lateinischen ins Hochteutsche übersetzt | Von einem Bekenner
der Wahrheit die nach der | Gottseligkeit ist. | — | Halle, Ged-
ruckt bey Christoph Salfelden, 1696. sm. 8vo. pp. (46). *H.*

43. New-England Vindicated From the Unjust Aspersion cast
on the former Government there, by some late Considerations Pre-
tending to shew that the Charters in those Colonies were Taken
from them on Account of their Destroying the Manufactures and
Navigation of England. London. 1688. pp. 8. Anonymous.

The same. In the Andros Tracts, ii. 111-121.

See J. G. Palfrey, History of New England, iii. 515; and W. H.
Whitmore, in The Andros Tracts, ii. 2, 113, 150.

Thomas Prince, H. U. 1707, an intimate acquaintance of Mather,
who often mentions the names of anonymous writers, in his Man-
uscript Catalogue, does not notice Mather as the author, though
he writes, "By a Passage on Pag. 7" the tract "appears to be wrote
in 1688."

44. A | Vindication of Nevv-England, | from | the Vile Asper-
sions Cast upon that | Country | By a Late Address of a Faction

there, | Who Denominate themselves | of the | Church of Eng-
land | in | Boston. | — | Printed with Allowance. || n. p., n. d.,
[1688?] 4to. Pp. 27 in double columns, pp. 4–6 containing the
Petition from the Episcopalians of Boston to the King's most
Excellent Majesty. Anonymous. *H, W.*

The same. In *The Andros Tracts*, ii. 19–82. Boston. 1869.
4to. Here it is said “there is every reason to assign the author-
ship” to Increase Mather; a conclusion at variance with the state-
ment near the end of the tract, that “For this Composure, the
Reader is beholden to the Pen of One, who . . . never spent Seven
Years of his Life, in any part of America.” The editor of *The
Andros Tracts* “holds that this is a technical phrase applied to the
person who wrote under the direction of Mather.” “The tract in
question was clearly inspired by a Boston man; it is full of details
that only a native could have given. Still very probably a profes-
sional writer was employed.”

45. A | Brief Discourse Concerning the | unlawfulness of the |
Common Prayer | Worship. | and Of Laying the Hand on, and |
Kissing the Booke in | Swearing. | — | By a Reverend and Learned
Divine. || n. p. [Boston], n. d., Printed in the Year. &c. [1689].
12mo. Pp. (2) To the Reader, signed T. P.; Text pp. 21.
Anonymous. *B, M.*

T. Prince writes, “Y^e author M^r I. Mather, and Dr. C. Mather
says Printed in 1689.”

The same. The Second Impression. London. 1689. sm.
8vo. pp. 2, 43. *P, W.*

A Brief Discourse concerning the Lawfulness of Worshipping
God by the Common Prayer, Being an Answer to this work, was
published at London in 1693. In the Preface, the author says,
the writer “*had dealt more sincerely, if he had acquainted his Reader,
That they hold it unlawful to communicate with us, because we are a
National Church; and that they don't joyn in the Common-Prayer
Worship, because it's a Form, and all Forms are in his Opinion unlaw-
ful. This indeed had struck at the Root of all; but this he knew was
not so easily prov'd, nor would look so popularly, as to cry out Heathen-
ism, Judaism, and Popery, which he charges our Service Book with.
This indeed will rouse the Multitude; and it's no wonder when possess'd
with this Representation of our Worship, that the deluded People broke
into the Church (Erected at Boston for the Worship of God, according*

to the Church of England) to search for the Images they supposed we worship'd." *B, M.*

46. A Brief | Relation | of the | State | of | New-England, | From the Beginning of that | Plantation | To the Present Year, 1689. | ——— | In a Letter to a Person of Quality. || London. 1689. 4to. Anonymous.

Other editions. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxi. 93; in P. Force's Tracts, iv. No. 11; and in The Andros Tracts, ii. 149, the last having remarks on the authorship.

47. The Present State of | New-English Affairs. | ——— | This is Published to prevent False Reports. || Boston, Printed and Sold by Samuel Green, 1689. fol. broadside. In Massachusetts Archives, xxxv. 83.

The same. In The Andros Tracts, ii. 15. *A, H, M.*

48. Reasons for the Confirmation of | the Charters belonging to the several | Corporations in New-England. || n. t., n. p., n. d. 4to. pp. 4. Anonymous. *A, M.*

The same. In The Andros Tracts, ii. 223. *A, H, M.*

49. Reasons | for the | Confirmation | of the | Charter | Belonging to the | Massachusetts Colony | in | New-England. || n. t., n. p., n. d. 4to. pp. 4. Anonymous. *A, M.*

The same. In The Andros Tracts, ii. 223. *A, H, M.*

50. Cotton Mather's Catalogue of Increase Mather's Works contains, under the year 1690,

"Several Papers relating to the State of New England." Most of these papers are probably entered under their distinctive titles in the present list. Remarks respecting several tracts pertaining to this period may be found in The Andros Papers, published by The Prince Society, and edited by William Henry Whitmore.

51. A Brief | Account | concerning | Several of the Agents | of | New-England, | their | Negotiation at the Court | of | England: | With | Some Remarks on the New Charter | Granted to the Colony of Massachusetts. | Shewing | That all things duely Considered, Greater Priviledges | than what are therein contained, could not at this | Time rationally be expected by the People there. | ——— | London, Printed in the Year 1691. || 4to. Text pp. 3-22, dated London, Novemb. 16. 1691, on p. 22; and An Extract of a Letter (written By some of the most Eminent Nonconformist Divines in London,) Concerning the New Charter, pp. 23, 24, dated London, Octob. 17, 1691. Anonymous. *A, B, H, M.*

The same. In *The Andros Tracts*, ii. 271–296. *A, H, M.*

52. Cases of Conscience | Concerning evil | Spirits | Personating Men, | Witchcrafts, infallible Proofs of | Guilt in such as are accused | with that Crime. | All Considered according to the Scriptures, | History, Experience, and the Judgment | of many Learned men. || Boston Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Harris at the London Coffee-House. 1693. sm. 8vo. Pp. (4) Christian Reader, signed by William Hubbard and thirteen others; pp. 1–67 Text, dated Boston, New-England, Octob. 3, 1692; pp. (7) Contents and Postscript. *B, M, P.*

The same. Re-printed at London, for John Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry, 1693. 4to. pp. (2), 39, (5). Appended to No. 53. *B, H, W.*

The same; pp. 219, etc., of C. Mather's *Wonders of The Invisible World*, etc. London. 1862. fcap. 8vo. *B, H.*

53. A further | Account | of the | Tryals | of the | New-England Witches. | With the | Observations | Of a Person who was upon the Place several | Days when the suspected Witches were | first taken into Examination. | To which is added, | Cases of Conscience | Concerning Witchcrafts and Evil Spirits Per- | sonating Men. | Written at the Request of the Ministers of New-England. | — | By Increase Mather, President of Harvard Colledge. | — | Licensed and Entred according to Order. | — | London: Printed for J. Dunton, at the Raven in the Poultry | 1693. Of whom may be had the Third Edition of Mr. Cotton | Mather's First Account of the Tryals of the New-England | Witches, Printed on the same size with this Last Account, | that they may bind up together. || 4to. P. (1) Advertisement; pp. 1–10 Text, with the running-title, *The Examination of the New-England Witches*; and pp. (2), 39, (5) Cases of Conscience. *A, B, H, W.*

Page 1 begins thus: A True Narrative of some Remarkable Passages relating to sundry Persons afflicted by Witchcraft at Salem Village in New-England, which happened from the 19th. of March to the 5th. of April, 1692. Collected by Deodat Lawson.

The same, being pp. 199 et seqq. of C. Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, etc. London. 1862. fcap. 8vo. *H.*

54. The Great | Blessing, | of | Primitive | Counsellours. | Discoursed in a | Sermon, | Preached in the Audience of the Governour, Council, | and Representatives, of the Province of the Massachusetts- | Bay, in New-England. May 31st. 1693. Being the Day for

the | Election of Counsellours, in that Province. || Boston, Printed and Sold, by Benjamin Harris, Over-against the Old-Meeting-House. 1693. 4to. Pp. [3]—8 To the Inhabitants of the Province, etc.; Text pp. 9—23. *A, H, M, P, W.*

“To the Inhabitants Of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, in New-England,” being pp. 3—8, which is a vindication of his conduct as Massachusetts agent in England, is also printed in *The Andros Tracts*, ii. 301.

55. The | Judgment | Of Several Eminent | Divines | Of The | Congregational VWay. | Concerning A | Pastors Power. | Occasionally to Exert Ministerial Acts | in another Church, besides | that which is His Own Particular | Flock | ——— | Boston Printed by Benjamin Harris, and are | to be Sold by Richard Wilkins. 1693. sm. 8vo. pp. (1), 13. Anonymous. *B, M.*

56. To the Reader. Boston, New-England. February 6th. 1693. sm. 8vo. pp. (7). Prefixed to S. Willard’s *Doctrine of the Covenant of Redemption.* *M, P.*

57. Christian Reader, signed by Increase Mather, James Allen, Samuel Willard, John Baily, Cotton Mather. sm. 8vo. pp. (3). Prefixed to F. Makemie’s *Answer to George Keith’s Libel.*

B, M, P.

58. The | Answer | Of Several | Ministers | in and near | Boston, | To that Case of Conscience, | Whether it is Lawful for a Man to Marry his Wives own Sister? || Boston in N. E., Printed and Sold by Bartholomew Green. 1695. sm. 8vo. pp. 8. Signed by Increase Mather, Charles Morton, James Allen, Samuel Willard, James Sherman, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter. *B, P.*

The Answer was against such marriages. T. Prince writes, “Drawn up by Mr. Increase Mather; as appears by y^e Original MSS. in my Hands; only y^e Preface is not in y^e MS.”

59. To the Reader. Boston, New-England, May, 16. 1695. sm. 8vo. pp. 3—12. Prefixed to C. Mather’s *Johannes in Eremo.*

B, M, P.

60. Solemn Advice to Young Men Not to Walk in the Wayes of their Heart, &c. Boston. 1695. 16mo. *W.*

61. Angelographia, | Or | A Discourse | Concerning the Nature and Power of the | Holy Angels, and the Great Benefit | which the True Fearers of God Receive | by their Ministry: | Delivered in several | Sermons: | To which is added, | A Sermon concerning

the Sin and | Misery of the Fallen Angels: | Also a Disquisition concerning | Angelical-Apparitions. || Boston. 1696. sm. 8vo. Pp. (2) The Epistle Dedicatory; pp. (12) To the Reader; and Text 130. *B, P, W.*

The Disquisition, separately paged, has the following title:—

A | Disquisition | Concerning | Angelical Apparitions, | In Answer to a Case of Conscience, | shewing that Dæmons oft appear like | Angels of Light, and what is the best | and only way to prevent deception | by them. | All Considered, according to the Scripture, | Reason, Experience and approved History. || Boston. Printed for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop. 1696. sm. 8vo. pp. 44. *B, P, W.*

62. A Case of Conscience | Concerning Eating of Blood, | Considered and Answered. || Boston in New-England, Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, 1697. pp. 8. Imprint at the end. Anonymous. *B.*

By "I. Mather, as Rev. Mr. John Bailey writes on that which Mr. Mather gave Him." T. Prince's MS. Catalogue.

63. A Discourse | Concerning the Uncertainty of the | Times of Men, | And | The Necessity of being Prepared | for Sudden | Changes & Death. | Delivered in a Sermon Preached | at Cambridge in New-England. | Decemb. 6. 1696. On Occasion of | the Sudden Death of Two Scholars [Eyre and Maxwell, who were drowned] | belonging to Harvard Colledge. || Boston in New England, Printed by B. Green and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop. 1697. sm. 8vo. Pp. (4) To my Worthy Friend Mr. John Eyre, and Text pp. 40. *B.*

"This fatal blow looks ominously on the poor College. Considering some other Circumstances there is call to fear lest suddenly there will be no Colledge in New England; and this is a sign that ere long there will be no Churches there. I know there is a blessed day to the visible Church not far off; but it is the Judgment of very Learned men that in the Glorious Times promised to the Church on Earth, America will be Hell. And altho' there is a number of the Elect of God yet to be born here, I am verily afraid that in process of Time New-England will be the wofullest place in all America."

64. The Epistle Dedicatory. | To the Church at Cambridge | in New-England, | and | To the Students of the Colledge there. ||

May 7. 1697. 8vo. pp. 3-32. Prefixed to C. Mather's Ecclesiastes or Life of J. Mitchel. *H, M, W.*

65. David | Serving His | Generation. | Or, A Sermon | Shewing | What is to be done in order to our so | Serving our Generation, as that when we | Dy, we shall Enter into a Blessed Rest. | (Wherein | Some account is given concerning many | Eminent Ministers of Christ at London, as | well as in N. E. lately gone to their Rest.) | Occasioned by the Death, of the Reverend | Mr. John Baily, | Who Deceased at Boston in New-England. | December 12th. 1697. || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen. 1698. sm. 8vo. pp. 39. *H, W.*

66. Masukkenukeeg | Matchescaenvog | Wequetoog kah Wutooanatoog | Uppevaonont Christoh kah ne | Yeuyeu | Teanuk | Wonk, abche nunnukquodt missinninnuk | uk- | quohquenaount wutaiuskoianatamooonganoo. | Kah Keketookaonk papaume Wusittum- | wae kesukodtum. Kah papaume nawhutch | onkatogeh Wunnomwayeuongash | — | Nashpe Increase Mather. | Kukootomwehteanenuh ut oomoeuwehkomong- | anit ut Bostonut, ut New England. [Five sermons of Rev. Increase Mather, translated into the Indian Language by Samuel Danforth.] || Bostonut. 1698. sm. 8vo. pp. 164. *W.*

67. A faithful Advice from several Ministers of the Gospel, relating to Dangers that may arise from Impostors. Boston. [1699.] sm. 8vo. pp. 79. *M.*

The running-title of some of the pages is "Something to be known, by all the Churches."

68. The Folly | of | Sinning, | Opened & Applyed, | In Two | Sermons, | Occasioned by the Condemnation | of one that was Executed at | Boston in New-England, on | November 17th. 1698. || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, for Michael Perry over against the Town House, and Nicholas Buttolph at the corner of Gutteridges Coffee-House. 1699. 12mo. pp. 95. *B, H, P, W.*

69. The | Surest way to the Greatest | Honour: | Discoursed in a Sermon, | Delivered | In the Audience of His Excellency the | Earl of Bellomont, Captain | General and Governour in Chief, | and of the Council, and Repre- | sentatives of the General Assembly | of the Province of Massachusetts- | Bay, Convened at Boston in New- | England, May 31st. 1699. Being | the day for the Elec-

tion of | Counsellors in that Province. || Boston. 1699. sm. 8vo. Preface, June 7, 1699, pp. (7); Text 42. *P.*

70. To the Reader. Boston, New-England, November, 1699. 12mo. pp. 3-12. Prefixed to S. Willard's Peril of the Times. *M, P.*

71. Two Plain and Practical | Discourses | Concerning | I. | Hardness of Heart. | Shewing, | That some, who live under the Gospel, | are by a Judicial Dispensation, given | up to that Judgment, and the Signs | thereof. | II. | The | Sin and Danger | of | Disobedience to the Gospel. || London. 1699. 12mo. Pp. (3-4) To the Reader, Boston, N. E. Nov. 1. 1698; Text 5-187. *M.*

72. To the Reader. sm. 8vo. pp. 2. Prefixed to C. Mather's Everlasting Gospel. *P.*

73. The Order of the | Gospel, | Professed and Practised by the | Churches of Christ in | New-England, Justified, by the | Scripture, and by the Writings | of many Learned men, both | Ancient and Modern Divines; | In Answer to several Questions, | relating to Church Discipline. || Boston, Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, for Nicholas Buttolph, at his Shop at the Corner of Gutteridges Office-House, 1700. 12mo. pp. 143, (1). *M, P, W.*

Answered "By sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New-England" in the "Gospel Order Revived." 1700. 4to. pp. (8), 40; who probably were Woodbridge, Benjamin Colman, H. U. 1692, and Simon Bradstreet, H. U. 1693, and not Stoddard as was conjectured by Eliot. *M.*

74. The Blessed | Hope, | And the Glorious Appearing of the | Great God our Saviour, | Jesus Christ. | Opened & Applied, | in [Six] Several Sermons. || Boston, Printed by Timothy Green, for Nicholas Boone, at his Shop over against the Old Meeting-House. 1701. sm. 8vo. pp. 142; p. (3) being To the Reader, dated Decemb. 18. 1700. *H, W.*

75. A | Collection, | Of Some | Of the Many | Offensive | Matters, | Contained in a | Pamphlet, | Entituled, | The Order of the Gospel Revived. || Printed at Boston, Sold by T. Green. 1701. 16mo. pp. 24. Pp. 2-5 To the Reader, signed Increase Mather. Boston, December 13. 1700; Text 5-24. Anonymous. *H, W.*

76. A Discourse | Proving that the | Christian Religion, | Is the only | True Religion: | Wherein, | The necessity of Divine Revelation | is Evinced, in several Sermons. || Boston. 1702. sm. 12mo. pp. 96, and Contents pp. (4). *P, W.*

77. The | Excellency | of a | Publick Spirit | Discoursed : | In a Sermon, Preached in the | Audience of the General Assembly | of the Province of the Massachu- | setts Bay in New-England, May 27. | 1702. Being the day for Election | of Counsellors in that Province. || Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, & J. Allen, for Nicholas Boone, near the Old Meeting House. 1702. 12mo. Pp. (3) The Epistle Dedicatory. To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq. June 24. 1702; pp. (7) To the Honoured Representatives, June, 18. 1702; Text pp. 1-38 with The Publick Spirited Man, for a running-title; pp. 39-84 The Righteous Man a Blessing, p. 39 being a full title-page, with The Morning Star for the heading of pp. 65-84. *A, H, M, P, W.*

78. The Glorious Throne: | Or, | A Sermon [Preached at Boston Nov. 16. 1701.] | Concerning | The Glory of the Throne of the | Lord Jesus Christ, | Which is now in Heaven, and | shall quickly be seen on The Earth. || Boston. 1702. 12mo; being pp. 97-122 annexed to "Ichabod." *A, P.*

79. Ichabod. | Or, | A Discourse, | Shewing what Cause there is to Fear | that the | Glory | Of the Lord, is Departing from | New-England. | Delivered in Two Sermons. || Boston, Printed by Timothy Green, Sold by the Book-sellers. 1702. 12mo. pp. 96. P. (2) Citation from Herbert's Sacred Poems; pp. 3-12 To the Reader, dated Boston, N. E. November 14. 1701; Text pp. 13-92; Contents 93-96. *A, H, M, P, W.*

80. The | Righteous Man | A | Blessing: | Or, | Seasonable Truths | Encouraging unto | Faith and Prayer | In this Day of | Doubtful Expectation. | Delivered in Two Sermons. || Boston. 1702. 12mo. pp. 39-84. Appended to Excellency of a Publick Spirit, No. 77. *A, M, P, W.*

81. Some Remarks | On a late Sermon, | Preached at Boston | in New-England, | By | George Keith M. A. | Shewing | That his pretended Good Rules in | Divinity, are not built on the foun- | dation of the Apostles & Prophets. || Boston. 1702. sm. 16mo. pp. 36. *P, W.*

82. The Duty of | Parents | To | Pray | For their | Children, | Opened & Applied in a Sermon, | Preached May 19. 1703. | Which Day was set apart by One | of the Churches in Boston, New- | England, humbly to Seek unto God by Prayer with Fast- | ing for the Rising Generation. || Boston: Printed by B. Green and J. Allen. Sold at the Booksellers Shops. 1703. pp. 54. *B.*

The same. The Second Impression. || Boston, Printed by John Allen, for John Edwards, at his Shop in King-street. 1719. sm. 12mo. Pp. iii-vi To the Reader, March 14th. 1719; and Text pp. 40. *H, P.*

83. Soul-Saving | Gospel Truths. | Deliver'd in several Sermons: | Wherein is shew'd, | I. The Unreasonableness of those | Excuses which Men make for | their Delaying to come to the | Lord Jesus Christ for Salvation. | II. That for Men to Despair of | the Forgiveness of their Sins | because they have been Great, | is a great Evil. | III. That every Man in the World | is going into Eternity. || Second Edition. Boston. 1712. 24mo. pp. iv, 135. *W.*

First edition printed perhaps in 1703.

84. A | Brief Discourse | Concerning the | Prayse | Due to God, for his Mercy, in Giving | Snow like Wool. | Delivered in a | Sermon. || Boston. [January 23. 1695.] 1704. 12mo; being pp. 67-95 of *The Voice of God*, etc. No. 87. *H, M, P, W.*

85. Practical | Truth's, | Tending to Promote | Holiness | in the | Hearts & Lives | of | Christians. | Delivered in several | Sermons. || Boston, in N. E. Printed by Barth. Green, for Benj. Eliot, at his Shop. 1704. 12mo. Pp. 1-6 To the Reader, Feb. 11. 1703, 4; Text 7-102; and Contents (4). *A, H, M, P, W.*

86. To the Reader. November 7th. 1704. sm. 8vo. pp. (6). Prefixed to J. Dummer's Discourse on the Holiness of the Sabbath Day. *H, M, W.*

87. The Voice of | God, | in | Stormy Winds. | Considered, in Two | Sermons, | Occasioned by the Dreadful and Un- | parallel'd Storm, in the European | Nations. Novemb. 27th. 1703. || Boston in N. E. Printed by T. Green, for Nicholas Buttolph. 1704. sm. 12mo. pp. 95; pp. 67-93 being A Brief Discourse, etc. No. 84.

88. A | Letter, | About the Present State of Christianity, among the Christianized | Indians | of | New-England. | ——— | Written, | To the Honourable, | Sir William Ashurst, | Governour of the Corporation, for | Propagating the Gospel among the | Indians, in New-England, and | Parts Adjacent, in | America. || Boston, in N. E. Printed by Timothy Green. 1705. sm. 8vo. pp. 15. At the end, dated "March 2. 1704, 5"; and signed Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter. *M.*

89. To the Church and Congregation at Maldon. July 11th. 1705. sm. 8vo. pp. (4). Prefixed to C. Mather's Faithful Man. *H, M, P.*

90. Meditations | on the | Glory | of the | Lord Jesus Christ: | Delivered in several | Sermons. || Boston in New-England: Printed by Bartholomew Green, for Nicholas Buttolph, at the Corner of Gutteridge's Coffee-House. 1705. sm. 12mo. P. (1) citations, Errata; i-viii The Epistle Dedicatory, etc. Boston N. E. April, 2d. 1705; Text pp. 1-165; and Contents (1). P, W.

91. A | Discourse | Concerning | Earthquakes. | Occasioned by the Earthquakes which | were in New-England, in the Province | of Massachusetts-Bay, June 16. and in | Conecticot-Colony, June 22. 1705. | Also, Two | Sermons [Preached Sept. 9, 1705], | shewing, | That Sin is the Greatest Evil; | And, | That to Redeem Time is the Greatest | Wisdom. || Boston Printed by Timothy Green, for Benjamin Eliot, at his Shop under the West End of the Exchange, 1706. 12mo. pp. 131. P, W.

92. A Discourse | Concerning the | Maintenance | Due to those | That Preach the Gospel: | In Which, | That Question Whether | Tithes | Are by the | Divine Law the Ministers Due, | Is Considered, | And the Negative Proved. || Boston: N. E. Printed by B. Green. 1706. sm. 8vo. Pp. 1-7 The Dedication To the Honorable, Samuel Sewall Esqr. John Foster Esqr. Edward Bromfield Esqr. and Jeremiah Dummer Esqr. Boston, Octob. 26. 1706; pp. 9-60 Text with the heading A Testimony against Sacrilege; and p. (1) Advertisement. A, H, M, P, W.

In the Dedication the author says: "I have been importuned to Write . . . concerning the Maintenance Due to the Ministers of the GOSPEL. In one respect it is more proper for me to consider that Question than for some others: For I do not in the least therein Plead for my self. I have (through the gracious Providence of GOD) an *Honourable Maintenance*, and that too by the *Voluntary Contribution* of those that attend on my Ministry, nor do I desire more."

The same. With a Preface by J. Jacob. London. 1709. 8vo. pp. (2), 30. W.

93. A Plea | for the | Ministers | Of the | Gospel, | Offered to the Consideration of the | People of New-England. | Being an | Exposition | Of Galat. vi. 6 . . . | — | By a Friend to the Churches. || Boston: Printed by B. Green. 1706. sm. 8vo. pp. 29. Anonymous. H.

94. A Disquisition on the State of the Souls of Men when

separated from their Bodies. Boston. 1707. 8vo. pp. 45.
T. Prince, MS. Catalogue.

95. The | Doctrine | of | Singular Obedience, | As the Duty
and Property | of the True | Christian: | Opened & Applied. | In
a Sermon. || Boston in New-England, Printed & Sold by Timothy
Green, at the North End of the Town, 1707. 12mo. pp. 29. *B.*

96. Meditations | on | Death. | Delivered in Several | Sermons. |
Wherein is shewed: | I. That some True Believers on | Christ are
afraid of Death, | but that they have no Just | Cause to be so. |
II. That Good Men as well as ot- | thers may be taken out of the |
World by a Sudden Death. | III. That not Earth but Heaven is |
the Christians Home. || Boston, in N. E. Printed and Sold by
Timothy Green. 1707. pp. v, 171, and index. *B, W.*

97. To the Reader. Sept. 12. 1707. sm. 8vo. pp. (2). Pre-
fixed to S. Moodey's Vain Youth Summoned. *P, W.*

98. A Dissertation, | wherein | The Strange Doctrine | Lately
Published in a Sermon, | The Tendency of which, is, to Encourage |
Unsanctified Persons (while such) | to Approach the Holy | Table
of the Lord, | is Examined and Confuted. | With an | Appendix, |
Shewing | What Scripture Ground there is to Hope, | that within
a very few years there | will be a Glorious Reformation | of the
Church throughout the World. || Boston: Printed by B. Green,
for Benj. Eliot, at his Shop under the Town-house, at the Head of
King Street. 1708. 12mo. *P.* (1); The Preface, dated Boston,
August 28, 1708, pp. (9); Errata, *p.* (1); A Dissertation concern-
ing Right to the Sacrament being the running-title of pp. 1-90;
An Appendix, of pp. 91-110; pp. 111-135 being a Sermon with
the running-title That the Lords Name is near, His Wondrous
Works declare. *A, H, P, T, W.*

In Answer to Solomon Stoddard, who replied in An Appeal to
the Learned, which was followed by An Appeal of some of the
Unlearned, both to the Learned and Unlearned. *P.*

The Sermon and Appendix. Edinburgh, Printed by the Heirs
and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's most
Excellent Majesty, Anno Dom. 1710. 4to. pp. 32. *B.*

The same. Edinburgh. Reprinted by John Reid in Libertons
Wynd. 1713. sq. 8vo. pp. 28.

An Introductory Note says: "*The Author of the . . . Sermon and
Appendix . . . having published this Piece last Year at Boston, he sent
a Copy thereof to his Correspondent in Scotland, who, according to his*

Desire signified in a Letter, doth offer it to publick View." Probably first published as pages 111 – 135 of No. 98.

99. To the Reader. Boston. Nov. 6. 1708. 8vo. pp. (4). Prefixed to C. Mather's Good Evening for the Best of Dayes.

H, M, P, W.

100. A | Dissertation | Concerning the | Future Conversion | of the | Jewish Nation. | Answering the Objections of the Reverend and | Learned Mr. Baxter, Dr. Lightfoot, and others. | With an Enquiry into the first Resurrection. || London. 1709. 4to. pp. (1), 35, (1). *H, M, P.*

101. To the Reader. Boston December 13th. 1709. 12mo. pp. (2). Prefixed to J. Danforth's Blackness of Sins against Light.

M, W.

102. To the Reader. n. p., n. d. sm. 8vo. pp. (4). Prefixed to C. Mather's Winthropi Justa.

103. Awakening Truths | Tending to | Conversion. | Delivered | In several Sermons | Wherein is Shewed, | I. That the greatest Sinners may | be Converted and Saved. | II. That Sinners who cannot | Convert themselves, ought to | Pray for Converting Grace. | III. That Sinners who neglect Spiritual Blessings until the | Day of Grace is past will wish | for them but in vain, when it | is too late. | In Which Sermons notice is taken of | some late Remarkable Conversions. || Boston in N. E. Sold by Timothy Green, 1710. 12mo. Preface pp. (x); Text 120.

104. A Discourse | Concerning | Faith and Fervency | in | Prayer, | And the Glorious Kingdom of the | Lord Jesus Christ, on | Earth, Now Approaching. | Delivered in several Sermons, | in which the Signs of the present | Times are Considered, with a true | Account of the late wonderful and | Astonishing Success of the Gospel | in Ceilon, Amboina, and Malabar. || Boston. 1710. sm. 12mo. P. (1); Preface, May 10th, 1710, pp. xix; Advertisement (1); Text 112; Contents (6). *P.*

Another edition entitled

A | Discourse | Concerning | Faith and Fervency | in | Prayer; | Especially | Respecting the Glorious Visible Kingdom | of our | Lord Jesus Christ | Over All the Earth. | — | Together with a Vindication of the Only true | Scriptural Mode of Standing in Singing | the Praises of God. To which is added, | An Ample Confirmation of the foregoing Discourse | by sundry suitable Quotations. || n. p. [London] n. d. sm. 8vo. Epistle Dedicatory pp.

xvi by Joseph Jacob, 30th 11th Mo. 1713, who says he has "somewhat abridged it," he hopes "not to its disadvantage"; Preface pp. viii Boston, N. E. 1710, by Increase Mather; Text pp. 80.

IV.

105. A Discourse | Concerning the Grace of | Courage, | Wherein | the Nature, Beneficialness, and | Necessity of that Vertue for | all Christians, is described. | Delivered in a | Sermon | Preached at Boston in New-England [at the Artillery Election]. | June 5th. 1710. || Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Samuel Phillips, at the Brick Shop in Corn hill. 1710. 8vo. Pp. (2) To the Reader; and Text pp. 44. *A, H, M, IV.*

106. A Sermon, Shewing What Scripture Ground, etc. See No. 98.

107. Burnings | Bewailed: | In a | Sermon, | Occasioned by the | Lamentable Fire | Which was in Boston, Octob. 2. | 1711. | In which the Sins which Provoke | the Lord to Kindle Fires, | are Enquired into. || Boston Printed: Sold by Timothy Green, 1711. sm. 8vo. Pp. (2) The Preface; and pp. 36 Text, with "Preached at Boston, Octob. 7. 1711." at the end. *H, P.*

"We may thank our Sins for all our Sorrows. . . . Neglect of Discipline in the Churches in Asia, was attended with the Corruption of Manners; until at last they were made Desolate, because of their Sins. Has not New-England cause to fear what the LORD may yet do with us? Is not that worse than Brutish Sin of Drunkenness, become a prevailing Iniquity all over the Countrey? How has Wine and Cyder, but most of all Rum, Debauched multitudes of People, Young and Old? Considering the late Lamentable Fire was Occasioned by Drunkenness, (as is believed) has not the Lord written His Displeasure against that Sin in a Peculiar manner, in Fiery Characters?"—Preface.

"The Fire we now *Bewail this day*, is supposed to be occasioned by a wicked drunken Woman." — Text, p. 33.

The same. 2d edition. Boston. 1712. sm. 8vo. pp. (2), 36. *IV.*

108. A Discourse [1 m. 28 d. 1711.] | Concerning the Death of the | Righteous. | Occasioned by the Death of the | Honourable, | John Foster Esqr. | Who dyed at Boston in New-England | Feb. 9th. 1710, 11. | And of his Pious Consort, | Mrs. Abigail Foster. | Who departed soon after him, | viz. on the 5th. of March. || Boston: Printed by B. Green. 1711. sm. 8vo. pp. 29. *M, P.*

109. An | Earnest Exhortation | To The | Children | of | New-England, | To Exalt the | God of their Fathers. | Delivered in a Sermon. || Boston, in N. E. Printed for Benjamin Eliot, under the West End of the Exchange, in King-Street. 1711. 12mo. Pp. (2) To the Reader. Boston, Nov. 9. 1710; Text, headed My Fathers God, I will Exalt Him, pp. 39; to which is appended C. Mather's Man Eating the Food of Angels. *B, H, M, P.*

110. Meditations | on the | Glory | of the | Heavenly World. | I. On the Happiness of the Souls of | Believers, at the Instant of their | Separation from their Bodies. II. On the Glory of the Bodies of | God's Children, in the Resurrecti- | on World, when they shall be as | the Angels of Heaven. III. On the Glory of both Soul and | Body in the Heaven of Heavens, | after the Day of Judgment, to all | Eternity. || Boston. 1711. sm. 8vo or 16mo. Pp. v Preface, October 10th. 1711; 276 Text; and (iv). *A, P.*

111. Meditations | On the Sanctification | of the | Lord's Day, | and | On the Judgments which | attend the Profanation of it. | To which is added, | Seasonable Meditations both for | Winter and Summer. || Boston Printed by T. G. for S. Gerrish, at the Sign of the Buck in Marlborough Street. 1712. sm. 12mo. Preface, Sept. 8. 1712. pp. x; Text pp. 71, with "August 24, 1712" at the end. *P.*

112. Seasonable | Meditations | both for | Winter & Summer. | Being the Substance of Two | Sermons [Preached in Boston, April 6. 1712.] || Boston Printed by John Allen, 1712. 12mo. Preface, Sept. 20. 1712. pp. 14; Text pp. 51. Appended to the preceding. *P, W.*

113. Some Remarks, | On a Pretended | Answer, | To a Discourse concerning the | Common-Prayer Worship. | With | An Exhortation to the Churches | in New-England, to hold fast the Pro- | fession of their Faith without Wavering. || Printed for Nath. Hillier at the Princes Arm's in Leaden-Hall-Street in London: and for the Book-sellers in Boston, in New England [1712]. *A.*

114. To the Reader. Boston August 8th. 1712. sq. 8vo. pp. iv. Prefixed to the Fourth Edition of A Letter From Some Aged Nonconforming Ministers . . . Touching the Reasons of their Practice. *M, P, W.*

115. The | Believers | Gain by | Death : | Opened and Applied | In a Sermon [Preached at Boston, November 22. 1713]. | Wherein is shewed, Who are | they that Live to Christ, | and how Death

will be | Gainful to all that do so. | Upon | the Death of a Valuable Relative [his daughter-in-law]. || Boston, Printed by B. G. for S. Gerrish. 1713. sm. 12mo. pp. 34. *H, M.*

116. Now or Never | Is the | Time for Men to make Sure of their | Eternal Salvation. | Several | Sermons, | In which is Declared; | I. That now is the Day of Sal- | vation. | II. That it is Wisdom, for Men to | Consider their Latter End. | III. That Impenitent Sinners, will | be found Guilty of their Own | Destruction. || Boston, Printed and sold by T. Green. 1713. 12mo. Preface, August 14. 1713; Text pp. 113. *B.*

117. A Plain Discourse, | shewing | who shall, & who shall not, | Enter into the | Kingdom of Heaven, | and | How far Men may go and yet | fall short of | Heaven, | After their seeming to be | Converted and Religious. || Boston. 1713. sm. 12mo or 24mo. pp. v, 112.

118. To the Reader. Boston, Decemb. 12. 1713. 12mo. pp. (4). Prefixed to T. Reynolds's Lives of Mrs. Mary Terry and Mrs. Clissould. *M, P.*

119. To the Reader. Boston, Novemb. 26. 1713. 4to. pp. ii. Prefixed to H. Flint's Doctrine of the Last Judgment. *P.*

120. A Sermon | Wherein is Declared | That the | Blessed God is Willing to be | Reconciled | to the | Sinful Children of Men | Preached at Dorchester. Pp. lxxv-lxxviii, 79-112 of No. 117.

121. A | Sermon | Concerning | Obedience & Resignation | to the Will of God | in Every Thing. | Occasion'd by the Death | of that Pious Gentlewoman | Mrs Mariah Mather | Late Consort of | Increase Mather, D. D., | Who Entred into her Everlasting Rest, | on the Lord's Day April 4, 1714. || Boston, Printed and Sold by T. Green, at his Shop in Middle Street 1714. pp. vi, 40. Running title, Let the Will of the Lord be done. *B.*

122. To the Reader. Boston, November 15. 1714. 8vo. pp. v-xii. Prefixed to S. Stoddard's Guide to Christ. *M, P.*

123. Preface, Boston, Dec. 19, 1715, to C. Mather's Utilia, pp. 5.

124. Several | Sermons | Wherein is shewed, | I. That Jesus Christ is | a Mighty Saviour. | II. That God Converts His | Elect some at one Age, and | some at another, Common- | ly before Old Age. | III. That when Godly Men dye, | Angels carry their Souls to | another and a better World. | With | A Preface in which there is a brief | and true Character of the Reverend | Mr. Thomas

Bridge a Lately deceased | Pastor in one of the Churches in Boston. || Boston. 1715. 12mo. P. 1 Preface. October 17. 1715; and Text pp. 126. *P.*

125. A | Discourse | Concerning the | Existence and the Omniscience | of | God. | Plainly Proving, | 1. That there is a God. | 2. That the God of Heaven knows | all things. | Being the Substance of several | Sermons. || 1716. pp. 86. *B.*

126. A | Disquisition | Concerning | Ecclesiastical Councils. | Proving, that not only Pastors, But | Brethren delegated by the Church- | es, have equally a Right to a deci- | sive Vote in such Assemblies. To | which is added, Proposals concern- | ing Con- | sociation of Churches, A- | greed upon by a Synod, which Con- | vened at Boston, in New-England. | With a Preface, containing a further | Vindication of the | Congregational Discipline. || Boston, Printed for N. Boone, at the Sign of the Bible in Cornhill. 1716. 12mo. Pp. xx The Preface, October 30. 1716; Text pp. 47; and Advertisement p. (1). *H, M, P, T, W.*

The same. In the Congregational Quarterly, xii. 25-47.

127. Two Discourses | Shewing, | I. That the Lords Ears are | open to the Prayers of the | Righteous. | II. The Dignity & Duty of | Aged Servants of the Lord. | Also, | A Preface in which the | Congregational Discipline of | the Churches in New-England | is Vindicated, with the Authors | Dying Testimony there-unto. || Boston 1716. Preface. July 26. 1716. pp. ix; Text 141; Errata (1). *P.*

128. To the Reader. Boston, March 4. 1716, 17. 16mo. pp. vi. Prefixed to J. Sewall's Precious Treasure in Earthen Vessels. *H, M, P.*

129. Preface to T. Prince's God brings to the Desired Haven. 1717. *M.*

130. Preface, 12mo. pp. vi., to C. Mather's Hades Look'd into. Boston [1717?]. *M.*

131. To the Reader. Boston. July 6. 1717. 12mo. pp. (5). Prefixed to J. Wise's Prayer in Affliction. *M.*

132. To the Reader. Boston 1717. 16mo. pp. iv. Prefixed to J. Capen's Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Joseph Green. *M.*

133. Preface to Marah Spoken to, Or a Brief Essay to do good unto the Widow. Boston: Febr. 22, 1717, 18. pp. vi. *M.*

134. Charge at the Ordination of T. Prince, October 1. 1718. Being page 71 in Prince's Ordination Sermon. *H, M, P.*

135. Practical Truths, | Plainly Delivered: | Wherein is Shewed, | I. That true Believers on Jesus | Christ, shall as certainly enjoy | Everlasting Life in Heaven, as | if they were there already. [Preached at Boston, Novemb. 3d. 1717.] | II. That there is a blessed Mar- | riage between Jesus Christ the | Son of God, & the true Believer. | III. That Men are Infinitely | concerned, not only to hear | the Voice of Christ, but that | they do it, To Day [Preached July 28. 1717]. IV. The Work of the Ministry, | described, in an Ordination | Sermon [Preached at Cambridge, October 9. 1717. When Mr. Nathaniel Appleton Was Ordained Pastor of the Church there]. || Boston, N. E. Printed by B. Green, for Daniel Henchman, & Sold at his Shop. 1718. 12mo. Preface pp. (2) Feb. 20. 1717-18; Text pp. 138. *M, P.*

136. Preface, Boston. June 25. 1718. 12mo. pp. iv. In I. Loring's Duty and Interest of Young Persons to Remember their Creator. *M.*

137. Preface to C. Mather's Sermon at E. Callender's Ordination. 1718. *H.*

138. A | Sermon | Wherein is Shewed, | I. That the Ministers of the Gospel | need, and ought to desire the | Prayers of the Lord's People | for them. | II. That the People of God ought | to Pray for his Ministers. | Preached at Roxbury, October 29. 1718. | When | Mr. Thomas Walter | Was Ordained a Pastor in that Church, by | his Grand-Father. || Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, for J. Edwards, at his Shop next door to the Light-House Tavern, in King-Street. 1718. 8vo. Preface pp. ii. Novemb. 6. 1718; Text 35. *A, M, P.*

139. Sermons | wherein | Those Eight Characters of the Blessed | Commonly called the | Beatitudes, | Are Opened & Applied | in | Fifteen Discourses. | To which is added, | A Sermon concerning Assurance of the | Love of Christ. || Boston, N. E. Printed by B. Green, for Daniel Henchman, and Sold at his Shop. 1718. 8vo. Preface pp. iv. August 8. 1718; Text 298. *M.*

140. A Preface. Boston, February 13th. 1718, 19. 8vo. pp. iv. Prefixed to J. White's Secret Prayer Inculcated. *M.*

141. A Preface. Boston, March 6th. 1718, 19. 12mo. pp. iv. Prefixed to T. Symmes's Monitor for Delaying Sinners. *M.*

142. Attestation. Boston. 10. d. X. m. A. D. 1719. Aetatis, LXXXI. 8vo. pp. iv. Prefixed to C. Mather's *Ratio Disciplinae*. *H, P.*

143. Five Sermons | on | Several Subjects, I. A Birth Day Sermon, Preached | on the Day when the Author | attained to the Eightieth Year of his Age [A Plain Discourse | Concerning every Man's | Birth Sin || with the running-title Every Man in the World is born a Sinful Creature. pp. 1-27]. II. A dying Testimony to the So- | vereign Grace of God in the | Salvation of His Elect, Con- | taining Three Sermons. [pp. 28-97, with running-title Salvation is wholly from Sovereign Gracc.] III. Believers encouraged to Pray | from the Consideration of | Christs Interceding for them, and with them. [Preached at Boston on a Fast-Day. April 2^d 1719. pp. 98-128, with running-title Jesus Christ in Heaven intercedes for Believers on Earth.] || Boston: Printed by B. Green, for Daniel Henchman, Sold at his Shop. 1719. sm. 12mo. pp. v, 148. *W.*

In the Preface the author says, "Taken from me when Preached, by One that has a rare Dexterity in Writing Characters, the same Person, who at first in short hand, and after that in a very Legible hand transcribed the *Sermons on the Beatitudes*, lately Printed." "No Man can expect any thing great from me, as on other accounts, so in respect of my Age."

144. A Preface. Boston, in N. E. March 25th, 1719. sm. 8vo. pp. iv. Prefixed to William Boyd's "Return" Sermon, entitled *God's Way the Best Way*, etc. *M.*

The Reverend William Boyd, of Macasky, Ireland, was sent out by the Presbyterians at Londonderry and vicinity, with an address to Governor Shute, expressing a desire to remove to New England, if they could receive encouragement. Boyd was authorized to make all necessary arrangements with the civil authority. The document brought by him, dated 26 March, 1718, is on parchment, and still in good preservation. Shute favored the proposition, and the result was an emigration in five ships which arrived at Boston 4 August, 1718. The emigrants settled at Londonderry, in New Hampshire, and in other places. From them have descended some of the most honored and valuable men in the United States. The Discourse was preached at the Lecture in Boston, March 19, 1718-19, when the author was about returning to his

native country. Further particulars may be found in Belknap's New Hampshire, Parker's Londonderry, etc.

145. Awakening Soul-Saving Truths Plainly Delivered In Several Sermons in which is shewed, I. That Many are called, who are not effectually Called. II. That Men may be of the Visible Church, and yet not be of the Lords Church. III. That the Chosen of God are comparatively but Few. || Boston. Printed by S. Kneeland for B. Gray, and J. Edwards, at their Shops on the North and South side of the Town-House, 1720.

146. The Preface, signed Increase Mather, Cotton Mather. Boston, Decemb. 31, 1720. 12mo. pp. (2). Hillhouse's Sermon on the Death of his Mother Rachel Hillhouse. *M.*

147. Preface. Boston Sept. 1. 1720. 8vo. pp. ii. Prefixed to the Second Impression of C. Mather's Right Way to Shake off a Viper. *M.*

I. Mather says, "*The ESSAY now to be offered unto the Reader was Printed at London Nine Years ago. But I never saw it until within these few Days; nor list I to Enquire after the Author. I find in it not only Erudition and Ingenuity, but that which is a thousand times better, a Gospel Spirit of Real Piety: And that the Author (whoever he be) is a Person of Great Reading and Acquaintance with Learned Writers; and has made his Knowledge subservient unto his Religion. I have therefore advised the Reprinting of it in Boston; Hoping that GOD will bless it, both for the Conviction of them who are concerned as Transgressors, and for the Consolation of them who may be concerned as Sufferers, by Defamations.*"

148. A Seasonable | Testimony | To Good Order | in the | Churches | Of the Faithful. | Particularly | Declaring the Usefulness & Necessity | of Councils in Order to | Preserving Peace and Truth in | the Churches. | ——— | By Increase Mather, D. D. | With the Concurrence of Other | Ministers of the Gospel in Boston. || Boston, N. E. Printed by B. Green, for D. Henchman, and Sold at his Shop. 1720. sm. 8vo. or 16mo. Pp. (2) To the Reader, signed by Increase Mather, March 1st. 1720; and Text pp. 20 with date "29 d. XII. m. 1719, 20," at the end. *A, H, M, P, W.*

149. Advice to the Children of Godly Ancestors. Given July 9. 1721. And taken in Short-Hand, by One of the Hearers. 8vo. pp. 16. *M, P, W.*

This "Advice," given by the author in the eighty-third year of his age, without using any notes, is in "A Course of Sermons on

Early Piety. By the Eight Ministers who carry on the Thursday Lecture in Boston," printed in 1721, to which he wrote the Preface, dated July 4, 1721.

150. Attestation. n. p., n. d., p. 1. Prefixed to C. Mather's Accomplished Singer. Boston. 1721. 8vo. *H*.

151. To the Reader. Decemb. 28th, 1721. sm. 8vo. pp. iv. Prefixed to J. Belcher's God Giveth the Increase. *M, P*.

152. Some further Account | from London, of the Small- | Pox Inoculated. | The Second Edition. | With some Remarks on a late Scan- | dalous Pamphlet Entituled, In- | oculation of the Small Pox as | practis'd in Boston, &c. || Boston: Printed for J. Edwards, at the Corner Shop on the North-side of the Town-House. 1721. sm. 8vo. pp. 8. Imprint at the end. *H, M*.

153. An Attestation. Sept. 4. 1722. sm. 8vo. pp. ii. Prefixed to C. Mather's Cœlestinus. *A, H, P*.

154. Charge at W. Waldron's Ordination, May 23, 1722. 8vo. pp. 33, 34, of C. Mather's Love Triumphant.

155. A Dying | Legacy | of a Minister | To his Dearly | Beloved People, | Shewing, | I. That true Believers on Jesus | Christ may be Assured, of the | Salvation of their Souls. | II. That Spiritual Wisdom, or | Grace in the Soul, is of all things | the most Desireable. | III. That there is none whose | Dignity and Glory may be compared | with that which belongs to our Lord | Jesus Christ. | Being the Three Last Sermons Preached | [by him]. || Boston 1722. sm. 12mo. Preface June 21st, 1722, pp. 4; Text pp. 90. *P*.

156. Elijah's Mantle. | ——— | A Faithful | Testimony, | To the | Cause and Work of God, | in the Churches of | New-England. | And | The Great End and Interest | of these Plantations, | Dropt and Left by Four Servants of God [Jonathan Mitchel, John Higginson, William Stoughton, Increase Mather], | Famous in the Service of the Churches. | Highly Seasonable to be Offered unto the People, | now Succeeding in the New-English Colonies, | for their Serious Consideration. || Boston [Nov. 19th.] 1722. sm. 8vo. pp. ii, 17, 2. Anonymous. *H, M, P, W*.

157. The | Original | Rights | Of | Mankind | Freely to Subdue and Improve the | Earth. | Asserted and Maintained | By I. M. || Boston, Printed for the Author. 1722. | pp. 22.

J. M. (ather, D. D.) is written in a contemporary hand.

158. The Preface to the Reader. Boston, May 1st. 1722. 8vo. pp. iv. Prefixed to J. Monis's Truth. *H, W.*

159. A Call to the Tempted. | ——— | A Sermon | On the horrid Crime | Of | Self-Murder, | Preached on a Remarkable Occasion, | by the Memorable | Dr. Increase Mather. | And now Published from his Notes, | for a Charitable Stop to Suicides. || Boston, March 12th 1723, 4. 16mo. pp. II, 17. At the end is "Boston, 23 d. V. m. 1682." *A, P.*

160. Letter in Answer to the Question, "Whether it be Lawful for a Church-Member among us, to be frequently in Taverns? Pp. 27--30 of C. Mather and others' Serious Address to those who unnecessarily frequent the Tavern. . . . By several Ministers. Boston. 1726. 8vo. *H, M, P.*

161. Mather Papers. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii.

162. Manuscript Diaries, Correspondence, etc., in the American Antiquarian, the Massachusetts Historical, and the Prince Libraries; there being a very minute printed catalogue of everything contained in this last.

In preparing this catalogue of Mather's writings, important aid has been received from George Brinley, of Hartford, Connecticut, among whose treasures are works of Mather not found elsewhere; a large number of public and private libraries have been explored; and, where practicable, the titles have been copied from the books themselves. The duplicating and peculiarities of the titles, and the manner in which many of the works were issued, together with the variety and remoteness of the places in which they must now be looked for, preclude the possibility of exemption from repetitions, omissions, and inaccuracies, so that, notwithstanding the labor of months bestowed on this list, any person having a Mather-mania will find never-failing employment in improving it.

AUTHORITIES.— I. Backus, Church Genealog. Register, 191. Harvard History of New England, ii. 50. G. College Steward's Account-Books, i. Brinley, Letter, 1872, February 13. 129, 130; and Corporation Records, E. Calamy, Ejected or Silenced Ministers, iii. 494. J. Farmer, in American Quarterly Register, ix. 367; and ii. 56, 68; iii. 71, 73, 85. T. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, i. 411, 413. Massachusetts Manu-

script Archives, lviii. 50, 143, 149, 226; and General Court Records, vi. 612, 618; vii. 130, 229, 231, 241, 342; Public Records, iv. (i.) 280; iv. (ii.) 24, 508; v. 4, 324. Mass. Hist. Society, Collections, iii. 126; ix. 273; xxxviii.; and Proceedings. C. Mather, *Magnalia*; and *Parentator*. D. Neal, *Hist. of New England*, ii. 114. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i. 134, 164; ii. 9; v. 445. B. Peirce, *History of Harvard University*, 51-72. S. Palmer, *Non-conformist's Memorial*, i. 540. W. F. Poole, *Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft*. J. Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, i. 38, 55, etc.; and a volume of MS. extracts among the *College Corporation Documents*. C. Robbins, *History of the Second Church*, 12, 211-217. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iii. 172, 174. C. W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*; also his *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*. H. Ware, *Century Discourses*, 6, 46. W. H. Whitmore, *Andros Tracts*, ii.; and *Letter*, 1872, March 29.

ROBERT PAINE.

ROBERT PAINE, M. A., preacher, was son of Elder Robert Paine, of Ipswich, Massachusetts. His account on the Steward's books extends from "his Entrance Into the Colledge," 11-4-52, to 5-4-57. Among his payments were butter, wheat, wheat-malt, barley-malt, rye-malt, and a barrel of pork, he being charged 6d. for bringing the pork from Boston. I find no further information respecting him till about 1675, when he was preaching at Wells and declined a proposition to go to Saco and Biddeford.

In 1685 he was made freeman.

Upham says "he was probably the foreman of the grand jury that brought in all the indictments in the witchcraft trials" at Salem in 1692. As his signature is attached to deeds and documents near the close of the century, and he is not starred in Mather's *Magnalia* nor in the *Triennial Catalogue* of 1700, he probably lived till the eighteenth century; according to Savage, he was living in 1704.

July 11, 1666, he married Elizabeth Reiner; had a son John, born 24 October, 1684, and left a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Daniel Smith, and died in 1717.

AUTHORITIES. — J. B. Felt, History of Ipswich, 170. G. Folsom, History of Saco and Biddeford, 131. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 131, 132. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii. 334, 335. C. W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft, ii. 449.

SHUBAEL DUMMER.

Born 1636, died 1692, aged 55.

REV. SHUBAEL DUMMER, B. A., of York, Maine, born 17 February, 1636, probably at Newbury, Massachusetts, was son of Richard Dummer, who, born about 1599 at Bishopstoke in Hants, came from England in 1632 and first "sat down at Roxbury," his wife Mary being "a godly woman, but by the seduction of some of her acquaintances . . . led away into the new opinions in Mrs. Hutchinson's time."

The graduate was probably fitted for college by the Reverend Thomas Parker, of Newbury, whither his father removed. The charges against him on the College Steward's books begin with his entrance fee, 8-4-52, and end 7-7-56. One item is "showmending," and for three of the quarters he is charged but half-tuition. Among the credits, several of which are for payments by "Jonathan hides" and "goodm vnderwood," are malt, wheat @ 5s. a bushel, a calf @ 14s. and "two hoges wight 226l. att 3d. pr pound."

From a petition to the General Court, 27 May, 1660, in "behalf of the inhabitants of y^e new toune at Salisbury," it appears that "the brethren that liue at the new

towne [Amesbury] haue lately signified to the church that they were in hand with M^r Subaell Dum̄er” for a settlement in the ministry, and that the church “heerevpon doe voate, that they app̄hend M^r Dum̄er maybe a man suitable for that worke amongst them.”

Sewel, the Quaker historian, speaks of three Quaker women, who, in the winter of 1662-3, after being severely whipped, “went to *New-Quechawanah*, where they had a Meeting, and *Shubal Drummer* the Priest of the Place, came also thither, and sat quiet. And the Meeting being ended, he stood up, and said, *Good Women, ye have spoken well, and prayed well; pray what is your Rule?* They answering, *The Spirit of God is our Rule, and it ought to be thine, and all Mens to walk by.* He replied, *It is not my Rule, nor I hope ever shall be.* A clear Evidence how Prejudice may biass even discreet People; for being prepossessed thereby, they will speak sometimes rashly, without considering what.”

In 1662 Dummer was preaching at York, Maine.

In 1665 he was made freeman.

Probably he continued at York till 3 December, 1672, when the church was organized and he was ordained, preaching his own sermon; the first prayer being made by Joshua Moodey, of Portsmouth, H. U. 1653, and the charge given by Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, H. U. 1650.

Cotton Mather says he “was One of whom for his Exemplary Holiness, Humbleness, Modesty, Industry and Fidelity, *The World was not Worthy.* He was a Gentleman *Well-Descended, Well-Tempered, Well-Educated.* . . . He might have taken for his *Coat of Arms* the same that the Holy Martyr *Hooper* Prophetically did, *A Lamb in a Flaming Bush, with Rays from Heaven shining on it.* He had been Solicited with many Temptations *to leave his Place* when the Clouds grew Thick and Black in the

Indian Hostilities, and were like to break upon it; but he chose rather with a paternal Affection to stay amongst those who had been so many of them Converted and Edified by his Ministry; and he spent very much of his own *Patrimony* to subsist among them, when their Distresses made them unable to support him, as otherwise they would have done. In a word, he was one that might by way of Eminency be called, *A Good Man.*”

At “ten o’clock in the morning” of 25 January, 1691-2, a “Body of *Indians*” and French Canadians, “consisting of divers Hundreds,” coming on snow-shoes, “set upon the Town of *York*, where the Inhabitants were in their unguarded Houses here and there scattered, *Quiet and Secure.* Upon the Firing of a *Gun* by the *Indians*, which was their *Signal*, the Inhabitants looked out but unto their Amazement, found their Houses to be Invested with horrid *Salvages*, who immediately kill’d many of those unprovided Inhabitants, and more they took Prisoners.” Pike says they “killed about 48 persons . . . and carried captive 73,” the others escaping into the garrisoned houses, which the enemy summoned to surrender, but did not venture to attack. Dummer’s residence was about thirty rods from the sea-shore, near the Roaring Rock. To cite Mather again, “This *Good Man* was just going to take Horse at his own Door, upon a Journey in the Service of God, when the *Tygres* that were making their Depredations upon the *Sheep* of *York* seiz’d upon this their *Shepherd*; and they shot him so, that they left him Dead among the Tribe of *Abel* on the Ground.” Hutchinson says “he was shot dead, as he was mounting his horse at his door.” Williamson says he “was found by some of his surviving neighbors, fallen dead upon his face, near his own door.”

Dummer’s “*Church*, as many of them as were in that Captivity, endured this, among other Anguishes, that

on the next *Lord's Day*, one of the Tawnies chose to Exhibit himself unto them, [*A Devil as an Angel of Light!*] in the *Cloaths* whereof they had stript the Dead Body of this their *Father*. Many were the *Tears* that were dropt throughout *New-England* on this Occasion; and *these* among the rest: For tho' we do not, as Tradition tells us, the *Antediluvians* did use to do *by the Blood of Abel*, yet we cannot but mournfully *Sing of the Blood of such an Abel*.

“EPITAPH.

“**D**ummer the Shepherd Sacrific'd
 By Wolves, because the Sheep he priz'd.
 The Orphans Father, Churches Light,
 The Love of Heav'n, of Hell the Spight.
 The Countries Gapman, and the Face
 That Shone, but knew it not, with Grace.
 Hunted by Devils, but Reliev'd
 By Angels, and on high Receiv'd.
 The Martyr'd Pelican, who Bled
 Rather than leave his Charge Unfed.
 A proper Bird of Paradise,
 Shot, and Flown thither in a Trice.

“Lord hear the Cry of Righteous **Dummer's** Wounds,
 Ascending still against the Salvage Hounds,
 That Worry thy dear Flocks; and let the Cry
 Add Force to Theirs that at thine Altar lye.

“To compleat the *Epitaph* of this Good Man, there now needs no more than the famous old *Chaucer's* Motto,

“*Mors mihi ærumnarum Requies.*”

His successor, Samuel Moody, H. U. 1697, began to preach at York in 1698, and was ordained there in 1700.

In the year of his graduation Dummer was married to Mary, daughter of Edward Rishworth, of Exeter and Wells, whose wife was a daughter of the Reverend John

Wheelwright. Mather says the enemy carried the wife "into Captivity, where through Sorrows and Hardships among those *Dragons of the Desert*, she also quickly Died"; though, according to Greenleaf, she lived to be redeemed and returned. It is not known that they left any children.

AUTHORITIES. — N. Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth*, 95. S. G. Drake, *Book of the Indians*, 332. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 89; and in *American Quart. Register*, x. 241. J. Greenleaf, *Sketches of Ecclesiastical Hist. of Maine*, 9, 10. A. Holmes, *Annals of America*, i. 441. T. Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, i. 405. *Massachusetts Bay Records*, iv. (i.) 429. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, vii. 77. D. Neal, *History of New England*, ii. 110. S. Niles, *Indian Wars*, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, xxvi. 227. J. Pike, *Journal*, in *Collections of the New Hampshire Histor. Society*, iii. 44. J. Savage, *Genealog. Dictionary*, ii. 79; iii. 544. R. M. Sawyer, in *Congregational Quarterly*, viii. 147. D. Sewall, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, iii. 8. W. Sewel, *Quakers*, 325. J. Sullivan, *History of District of Maine*, 238. W. D. Williamson, *History of Maine*, i. 629, 672.

JOHN HAYNES.

Died before 1671.

REV. JOHN HAYNES, probably born in New England, was son of Governor John Haynes, of Massachusetts and afterward of Connecticut, who arrived at Boston, 3 September, 1633, in the Griffin, with the Reverend Thomas Hooker; his mother, a second wife, being Mabel, sister of Roger Harlakenden.

During part of his college course he may have been absent, there being "detirements" and "discontinuance" on some of his bills, the first of which is dated 10-7-52 and the last 5-7-56. His payments were made chiefly in

wheat, though he is credited also with malt, "a side of beast," "a side of porke," etc.

In February, 1656-7, he was made freeman of Connecticut. Soon afterward he went to England, and in 1660 took the degree of Master of Arts at Pembroke Hall, in the University of Cambridge. February 3, 1665-6, he describes himself, in a deed to his brother, Joseph Haynes, H. U. 1658, as "of Hemmington, in the County of Suffolk, Clerk." On the presentation of John Eldred, Junior, of Olivers, whose father had been collector of sequestrations for the County of Essex, he was instituted, "28. Mai 1668 per mort Baldock," rector of Swansey near Coggeshall and Copford Hall, where his half-brother, Major-General Hezekiah Haynes, resided. "He enjoyed the rectory till his death, which occurred prior to April 25, 1671."

AUTHORITIES. — Connecticut Records, i. 292. H. Edes, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxiv. 127; and Letters, 1869, July 26, 27. J. Farmer, in American Quarterly Register, x. 243. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 135, 136. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xvii. 96. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 356. J. H. Trumbull, Letter, 1872, July 29. C. Whittelsey, Discourse on Mary Clap, 19.

JOHN ELIOT.

Born 1636, died 1668, aged 32.

REV. JOHN ELIOT, M. A., of Newton, eldest son of the Apostle Eliot, by his wife Anne Mountfort, was born 3 August, 1636, at Roxbury, and baptized in the First Church at Boston on the 28th of the following December. Cotton Mather says, "He bore his *Father's Name*, and had his *Father's Grace*. He was a Person of

notable Accomplishments, and a lively, zealous, acute Preacher, not only to the *English* at *New-Cambridge*, but also to the *Indians* thereabout." Morton says, "He was Educated (at *Cambridge*) in the Latine School, and in the Colledge, until he became *Master of Arts*."

From the Steward's Account-Books, which contain no charge for "Entrance," it appears that his connection with the institution continued without interruption from 10-7-52, the date of his first quarter-bill, till 5-4-57; a subsequent bill, 9-6-59, being £3 for "three years detrements," 7s. 7½d. for commons and sizings, and £2 for "his Comencment chardges" when he took his second degree. The items on his bills indicate self-denial in regard to everything not necessary for his comfort.

Among the items put to his credit are "geott mutten," "a geoatt 14s. mor by two wether gootts 28s.," "foules 5s.," "ane oxe £6 4s. 8½d.," "two bush of appeles 8s.," "barly malt from goodman pearpoynte £5," and "beaff," etc., from Joseph Wise, who was a butcher in Roxbury. It is not improbable that some of these were contributions for his support from his friends or the friends of his father. March 9, 1654-5, £3 15s. is allowed him from "a schollership," and, "9-6-56," £7 10s. from "two schollershipes." His bills were not all paid till 28-5-59, a few days before he took his second degree, when he is credited by ten shillings in "siluer," "a weather," "wheatte," "appelles," "checkenes," etc.

In 1660 he was made freeman.

From a comparison of dates, it appears that he began his ministerial labors about the time he left college. Annually, in September, 1657, 1658, 1659, and 1660, for his services amongst the Indians, the Commissioners of the United Colonies allowed him twenty pounds, which was increased to twenty-five pounds in 1661, and to fifty in 1662 and 1663, these being all the records

of payments which I have found, except twenty-five pounds allowed as late as September, 1667.

July 20, 1664, the first church at Nonantum, New Cambridge, or Cambridge Village, now Newton, was organized, and he was ordained.

Gookin says he "was not only pastor of an English church . . . and a very excellent preacher in the English tongue; but also, for sundry years, he preached the gospel unto the Indians, once a fortnight constantly at Pakemitt [Stoughton], and sometimes at Natick and other places: and the most judicious christian Indians esteemed very highly of him, as a most excellent preacher in their language, as I have often heard them say."

Morton says: "He was a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with Gifts of *Nature, Learning, and Grace*; of comely Proportion, ruddy Complexion, cheerful Countenance; of quick Apprehension, solid Judgment, excellent Prudence; Learned both in *Tongues and Arts* for one of his time, and studiously intense in acquiring more knowledge. His Abilities and Acceptation in the Ministry did excell; His Piety, Faith, Love, Humility, Self-deniall, and Zeal, did eminently shine upon all occasions. . . . In a word, there was so much of God in him, that all the wise and godly who knew him, loved and honoured him in the Lord, and bewailed his death."

Hubbard says: "For his years" he "was *nulli secundus* as to all literature and other gifts, both of nature and grace, which made him so generally acceptable to all that had opportunity of partaking of his labors, or the least acquaintance with him."

Homer says: "A tender affection subsisted between him and the people of his charge. A warm friendship prevailed between him and the venerable Mitchell of Cambridge, with whom he frequently exchanged pulpits,"

and whom he survived about three months. "He fell sick with an eruption of blood," and died 13 October, 1668. His successor in the ministry was Nehemiah Hobart, H. U. 1667.

Eliot's first wife was Sarah, born 4 May, 1643, third daughter of Thomas Willet, the first English mayor of New York City. She died 13 June, 1664, having had Sarah, baptized 21 September, 1662, who married, 16 November, 1681, John Bowles, H. U. 1671. May 23, 1666, he married Elizabeth, born 14 March, 1645, daughter of Major-General Daniel Gookin, and by her had John, H. U. 1685. December 8, 1680, the widow married Colonel Edmund Quincy, and died 30 November, 1700.

According to Jackson, Eliot's homestead of twenty acres was situated on the westerly side of the Dedham road, about sixty rods north of the burying-ground. In his will, Eliot desired that, after his wife's decease, it should descend to their son, John Eliot. By order of the General Court in October, 1733, on the petition of Jonathan Elsworth and Mary, the widow of this son, who were the executors, it was sold for £415 to Henry Gibbs, to defray the expenses of educating the grandson, John Eliot, who also was an only son. In 1736 Gibbs sold the place to the Reverend John Cotton, H. U. 1710.

WORKS.

A Speech of Mr. John Eliot upon his Death-Bed. Printed in the Congregational Quarterly, vii. 194.

In reference to this Speech, Cotton Mather says, Eliot "upon his Death-bed uttered such penetrating things as could proceed from none, but one upon the Borders and Confines of Eternal Glory."

AUTHORITIES. — Congregational American Quarterly Register, x. 243. Quarterly, vii. 193. J. Farmer, in D. Gookin, in Collections of the Mas-

sachusetts Historical Society, i. 171. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 137, 138. E. Hazard, State Papers, ii. 378, 395, 406, 431, 433, 508. A. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 350. J. Homer, Century Sermon, 18. W. Hubbard, History of New England, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 606. J. Hull, Diary, in the Archæologia Americana, iii. 187, 228. F. Jackson, History of Newton, 117, 120, 275. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, i. 171, 218; v. 266; xvi. 606. Mass. House Journals, 1733, 93. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 173. N. Morton, New England's Memorial, 196, 197. Plymouth Colony Records, x. 188, 205, 218, 245, 262, 277, 296, 330. E. S. Quincy, Letter, 1863, July 24. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 224; ii. 110, 279; iv. 557.

THOMAS GRAVES.

Born 1638, died 1697, aged 59.

THOMAS GRAVES, M. A., of Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he was born in 1638, was son of Thomas Graves, who married Catharine Gray, daughter of Katherine Coitmore by her first husband. His college expenses,¹ as indicated by the charges against him on the

¹ In the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, September, 1860, page 60, are some statements by Lucius Robinson Paige, derived from the earliest account-book of the Steward, respecting "the moderate cost of a four-years' residence in college" in Graves's time. "Of those who graduated from 1653 to 1659, . . . the total expense ranged from £30. 2s. 1½d. to £61. 11s. 8¾d.; or from about \$100 to about \$200. During the same period . . . the price of wheat was five shillings per bushel; of barley and malt, four shillings and sixpence; of rye and pease, four shillings; and of Indian corn, three shillings. . . . As an illustration of the

ordinary character of college-expenses at that period, . . . the charges, for his junior year, against Thomas Graves," are copied.

"8, 10, 54. Commones and sizinges £2 8s. 9d. 2qr. Tuition 8s. study rente and beed 4s. fyer and candell 2s. fower loode of wood 17s. 4d.

"9, 1, 54-5. Commones and sizinges £2 16s. 10d. Tuition study rente and beed 12s. wood on load on Jagge 6s. 6d.

"8, 4, 55. Commones and sizinges £2 9s. 11d. Tuition 8s. study rente 2s. beedmakinge 1s. 9d.

"7, 7, 55. Commones and sizinges £1 12s. 7d. 2qr. Tuition 8s. study rente and beed 11s. 7d."

Steward's books, were unusually large, from which it may be inferred that he was of a wealthy family.

He settled as a physician in his native town.

August 8, 1664, the General "Court judgeth it meet to allow some meete person to dispense the word of God to such as are intended for this expedition [against the Dutch at the Monhatoes], & desire the honored M^r Willoughby & M^r Russell would treat wth M^r Graves thereabout, & if he be not to be obteyned, it is then left to the cheife officers to procure some other."

Graves was admitted to the church in Charlestown, 17 September, 1665.

November 28, 1666, he was chosen Tutor or Fellow of the College. How long he held the office is not known, but he was Tutor of the class which graduated in 1671.

May 7, 1673, he was made freeman.

May 27, 1673, "M^r Thomas Graves being spoken with concerning his coming to be imployed as a fellow of the Colledg freely declared to the Corporation that he (upon the Consideration of the whole passed) was not

"It is curious also to observe how small a proportion of this small expense was defrayed in cash. In many cases, scarcely a shilling was paid in money; but all articles which could be used by the steward in providing commons for the scholars, and many which could not be thus used, were received in barter for instruction. Beef, veal, pork, mutton, poultry, grain of various kinds, malt, eggs, butter, cheese, apples, cider, fuel, candles, cloths, leather, shoes, and such like articles, abound in the account of receipts. Occasionally, but seldom, tobacco and strong waters were received. Cattle were received alive, and slaughtered for use. Cloths were manufactured into garments, and leather into shoes, for such scholars as had need. As a sample of such payments, take the account of the same Thomas Graves, a son of comparatively rich parents, whose whole expenses in college were far above the average; being £61. 11s. 8½d. for the four years. Of this amount, only £6. 6s. were paid in money; and the balance (according to the order in which the articles are first named in the account) in wheat, malt, pease, rye, sugar, hollands, boards, canvas, lockram, nails, eggs, butter, spice, commodities, buttons, candles, honey, turkeys, serge, ribbon, and silk."

free to accept any such employment." Edward Randolph, 12 October, 1676, in "an answer to severall heads of inquiry," says: "Mr. Thomas Graves, an ingenious and worthy person, was put by his fellowship, by the late Dr. Hoar, because he would not renounce the church of England." Belknap, in his *Interleaved Triennial Catalogue*, makes the note: "Suppose rival of Prest Hoar."

In 1675, Increase Mather writes in his *Diary*: "3^d mo. This gen^l Court sev^l things happened troublesome and uncomfortable. Mr. *Graves* being chosen a deputy for Charlestown, the house of deputies were not free to accept of him as suspecting that he might be *prelatical* in his principles. He refused to declare what his judgment was in that matter therefore they would not receive him. Petitions came from Charlestown on his behalf but in vain, thereby many displeased."

July 9, 1675, "It is ordered, that the matter reffering to M^r Graues sitting in Court, & not accepted by the House of Deputjes, shall be determined at October sessions, the first day of the Generall Court."

I do not find that there was any further action on the subject; but he was Deputy from Charlestown in 1676 and in 1678. According to the printed Records he was returned in 1677 as Deputy from Salem, but his name is not in the list of Deputies given by Felt.

After the death of the Reverend Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, in 1677, there was great excitement about settling a successor, and some glimpses of Graves's character appear in the account of the contemporary church movements, printed in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, xxi. 248-264.

Graves was Judge of the Inferior Court of Pleas, and a Justice of the Peace within the County of Middlesex, when Sir Edmund Andros was deposed, 18 April, 1689. Having "sworn allegiance to the Crown of England,"

he "could not regard the government, established by the people, as legitimate, so long as it lacked the sanction of royal authority." He issued a "writing," warning the new magistrates against holding a Court of Judicature at Cambridge. For this he was arraigned before the Council, where the Governor, Bradstreet, "made a speech" to him, and he was ordered to give a bond of one hundred pounds for his appearance at the Middlesex Court, or be imprisoned. Declining to give the bond, he was imprisoned nearly three months, by confinement to his house. Charlestown was reported to be "the most Ill-affected, Distracted, & Divided Town in the Country," and Graves was one of the most prominent inhabitants. The anti-revolutionary party sent two Addresses "To the King's most excellent majesty," supplicating the royal favor, but in neither of them mentioning by name either James or William and Mary. The offenders submitted, however, when the Crown authorized the continuance of the new government.

With the proceedings at Salem in the trials for witchcraft in 1692 he was "much dissatisfied."

Judge Sewall writes in his Diary: "Jan^r 16 [1694-5]. L^t Gov^r mr Cook, mr. Secretary, mr. Serg^t & S. S. went over to Charlestown & visited mr. Morton & mr. Graves; to see if could bring over mr. Graves &c that so another Minister & Gods Ordinances might be settled there in peace: but see little likelihood as yet."

"A physician, . . . universally respected for his learning and talents," says Frothingham, he died 30 May, 1697. Judge Sewall writes, 1 June: "I goe to y^e Funeral of my Tutor Mr. Tho. Graves. . . . Bearers were, Capt Byfield, mr. Leverett; Capt. Sprague, Capt Hamond; mr. James Oliver, mr. Simon Bradstreet. Charlestown Gen^t had Gloves; Mr. Danforth had none y^t I observd. . . . Mr. Willard, Pierpont N. H. mr. Brattle C. mr. Angier. mr.

Wadsworth there. Mr. Graves was a godly Learned Man, a good Tutor, & solid preacher: His obstinat adherence to some superstitious conceits of y^e Co^mon-Prayerbook, bred himself & others a great deal of Trouble: yet I think he kept to y^e Ch at Charlestown as to his most Constant attendance; Especially on y^e Lord's Day. Has left one Son by mr. Stedman's daughter."

May 16, 1677, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Hagborne, of Roxbury, widow of Dr. John Chickering. She died 22 July, 1679. May 15, 1682, he married Sarah, daughter of John Stedman, of Cambridge, widow of Dr. Samuel Alcock, by whom he had Thomas, who graduated in 1703. This widow's first husband was John Brackett. She had a fourth husband, Colonel John Phillips, whom having survived, she died 1 March, 1731, in her eighty-seventh year.

WORKS.

1. In Harvard College Library are notes or abstracts, in manuscript, of sermons preached by him in 1670-1.

2. A Letter to Gershom Bulkeley, Esq. (one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the County of Hartford) from a friend in the Bay. Printed with Bulkeley's "People's Right to Election."

Under the title of Bulkeley's Pamphlet, and connected with it by a bracket, Thomas Prince's MS. catalogue has "T. Greaves Letters to G Bulkely, & to James Russel, wth seasonable motives &c."

AUTHORITIES. — J. Belknap, Interleaved Triennial Catalogue. W. I. Budington, First Church in Charlestown, 169, 248. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 128. R. Frothingham, History of Charlestown, 140, 224-236. Harvard College Corporation Records, i. 50; iii. 43, 62; and MS. Papers, i. 58; Steward's Account-Books, i. 139, 140, 323. T. Hutchinson, Collection of Papers, 502. C. Lowell, Letter, 1847, December 10. Massachusetts Bay, Archives, lxxvii. 153; Records, iv. (ii.) 121; v. 45, 77, 98, 132, 184. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, v. 75; xii. 177; xxi. 252-264; and Proceedings, September, 1860, 61. I. Mather, Manuscript Diary. J. Morse, Sermon on T. Russell, 22. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vi. 76; xxiii. 283. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 22, 467; ii. 297; iv. 179. S. Sewall, Manuscript Diary. C. W. Upham, Salem Witchcraft, ii. 455. Vindication of New England, 19.

JOHN EMERSON.

Born about 1625, died 1700, aged 75.

REV. JOHN EMERSON, M. A., of Gloucester, Massachusetts, was born, probably in England, about 1625, and must have been thirty-one years old when he graduated, if he was seventy-five when he died. He was son of Thomas Emerson, a baker, who was of Ipswich, Massachusetts, as early as 1639, and had a wife, Elizabeth.

In 1659, a committee was chosen to treat with Emerson about preaching at Gloucester; though, according to Babson, "it does not appear from any action of the town that he commenced his labors here before 1661. In July of that year, his salary was fixed at sixty pounds per annum as long as he should continue in the ministry; and he was to receive it in Indian corn, pease, barley, fish, mackerel, beef, or pork."

He was ordained 6 October, 1663.

In 1672, the town voted that he should have one eighth, and afterward, for several successive years, one fourth, of his salary in money. "In 1679, an addition of eight pounds was made to his salary, to provide him firewood; for which he was to preach a lecture every three weeks, from March to September." Similar grants with similar conditions were made subsequently.

"In 1673, the town voted that he should have eighty pounds to provide himself a house to dwell in. The place of his residence was on the south side of the highway leading from the Meeting-house Green to Fox Hill. He had thirty acres of land about his homestead, and thirty acres near the burying-place, besides other smaller lots. . . . He became the sole or chief owner of the three principal mills in town. . . . He owned farms in Ipswich,

which probably came to him by inheritance from his father. From the various sources of his worldly prosperity, he derived the pecuniary ability to settle one hundred pounds on his daughter Mary on the day of her marriage."

Emerson's parishioners were not exempt from the exactions and exposure incident to the French and Indian wars, with which the country was harassed in their day. July 26, 1690, he wrote a letter to "Wayt Winthrop," Commander-in-Chief, respecting "the sad and deplorable state & condition of" the "towne of Gloucester," and craving his "helpe & succor." "Whereas there is forty seaven of our souldiers under a presse, the case so stands with us that if they be not released I must needs tell you, & it is nothing but truth that I tell you, that wee must all be forced to leave the towne, for we are not able to stay any longer after they are gone; but must of necessity be made a prey to the enemy. We shall not have men left to keepe up a watch, nor in any wise much lesse to withstand an enemy, which we are every day & night in expectation to breake in upon us, by reason that we are a front towne upon the sea, & so good a harbor for shipping as I beleive there is not a better nor a bolder in all New England, by the report of the ablest seamen. Those that are under presse are above halfe of those that traine, as I am informed, & besides, there will be nothing neare enough left to get in hay & harvest, so that wee must of necessity be forced to kill our cattell, & our [are?] in great danger of being famished. Therefore my request to your selfe is that you will be pleased to release all these men that are under this last presse, there being already listed fiveteene volunteers for Canada, besides seaven that are pressed to the Indian wares. Therefore if you please not to relieve us in releasing of these men, wee must of necessity,

as abovesaid, & the inhabitants doe resolve upon it, to leave the towne rather then to live in continuall hazzard & feare of their lives, & to be exposed to all other calamitys."

Emerson died 2 December, 1700, at the age of seventy-five, after a ministerial service of more than forty years. Babson says: "His congregation, small and weak at the time of his settlement, had about trebled in number; and was left by him in a state of increasing growth and prosperity, which enabled it, in the course of a few years, to send forth companies of worshippers to set up their own places of public religious devotion in remote sections of the town."

He was succeeded in the ministry by Joseph White, H. U. 1698.

In 1659, Emerson married Ruth, daughter of Deputy-Governor Samuel Symonds, of Ipswich. She died 23 February, 1702. Of their seven children, John, born 14 May, 1670, graduated in 1689; and Mary, born 7 March, 1664-5, married Samuel Phillips, of Salem, father of the Reverend Samuel Phillips, of Andover, H. U. 1708.

WORKS.

A faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things which happened in the Town of Gloucester in the Year 1692. In Mather's *Magnalia*, vii. 82.

"The *Devil* and his agents were the cause of all the Molestations which at this time befel the Town."

AUTHORITIES. — J. J. Babson, *History of Gloucester*, 195-199. J. Farmer, in *American Quarterly Reg.*, x. 244. J. B. Felt, *Hist. of Ipswich*, 75, 93, 148, 163, 331, 333; and *Amer. Quart. Reg.*, vii. 248, 257; *New Eng. Hist. and Genealog. Reg.*, iv. 362. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, xli. 437. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, vii. 82. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, ii. 117; iii. 415; iv. 246. W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, i. 168. C. W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft*, i. 462.

CLASS OF 1657.

Zechariah Symmes,
Zechariah Brigden,
John Cotton,

John Hale,
Elisha Cooke,
John Whiting,
Barnabas Chauncy.

“QUÆSTIONES IN PHILOSOPHIA
DISCUTIENDÆ, SUB CAROLO CHAUNCÆO
SS. THEOL: BAC: PRÆSIDE COL: HARVARD:
CANTABRIGIÆ, NOV-ANGL: IN COMITIIS,
PER INCEPTORES IN ARTIBUS,
DECIMO-QUARTO DIE
SEXTILIS 1660.

- “I. **A***N detur Concurfus Immediatus primæ causæ cum secundâ ?*
Affirmat Respondens Zecharias Symmes.
- “II. **U***trum Locus, Motus, et Tempus univoçé competant spiritibus ?*
Negat Respondens Zecharias Brigden.
- “III. **A***N Aētus Creandi sit æternus ?*
Affirmat Respondens Johannes Cotton.
- “IIII. **U***trum Intellectus et voluntas sint facultates realiter distinctæ ?*
Affirmat Respondens Johannes Hale.
- “V. **A***N Motus sanguinis sit Circularis ?*
Affirmat Respondens Elisha Cooke.
- “VI. **U***trum Notitia Entis primi sit homini naturalis ?*
Affirmat Respondens Barnabas Chau cy.”

ZECHARIAH SYMMES.

Born 1638, died 1708, aged 70.

REV. ZECHARIAH SYMMES, M. A., of Bradford, Massachusetts, was born at Charlestown, 9 January, 1637-8. His father, the Reverend Zechariah Symmes, born 5 April, 1599, at Canterbury, in the County of Kent, England, arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, 18 September, 1634, in the Griffin, with Ann Hutchinson and others; "and in a short space after hee was called to the Office of a Teaching Elder in the Church of *Christ* at *Charles Towne*. . . . The wife of this zealous Teacher, M^{rs}. *Sarah Simmes*, . . . the vertuous Woman, indued by Christ with graces fit for a Wildernesse condition, her courage exceeding her stature, with much cheerfulness did undergoe all the difficulties of these times of straites, her God through Faith in *Christ* supplying all her wants with great industry, nurturing up her young Children in the feare of the Lord, their number being ten both Sons and Daughters, a certain signe of the Lords intent to people this vast Wildernesse."

According to the Steward's Account-books, the son's college bills, amounting in all to about forty-five pounds, are dated regularly from 10-4-53 to 5-10-56; and there being no charge for "detrements," his attendance at Cambridge during the four years was probably without interruption. Besides several payments for him made in silver by "goodman haill," there are credits of wheat, malt, Indian, barley, beef, lamb, and during the college course an aggregate of £5 3s. 9d. from a scholarship.

In 1657 he was chosen Fellow of the college.

With his classmate Hale he was admitted to the church in Charlestown "6 Month 22 1658."

He studied divinity, and appears to have preached at Rehoboth, where, in September, 1663, "At a meeting of the church and town, it was concluded that Mr. Zachariah Symes should have forty pounds for this year, and his diet at Mrs. Newman's besides. . . . Stephen Payne, senior, and Lieutenant Hunt were chosen to go down to his friends, to use means for the settling of him with us for this present year." In the following November, and in January, 1664-5, movements were made "to procure an able minister to assist Mr. Symes." "May 23, 1666. Mr. Symes was admitted by the town as an inhabitant, to purchase or hire for his money." "At the same time Mr. Myles was voted to be invited to preach, viz: once a fortnight on the week day, and once on the Sabbath day."

Symmes must have left Rehoboth not long afterward; for at the first recorded meeting, 20 February, 1668-9, of "the inhabitants of Rowley Village by Merrimac," or Merrimack, which was incorporated as Bradford in 1675, it was "Voted, That the Selectmen have full power to carry on and finish the minister's house, according to Mr. Symms's direction." A house for worship had already been erected, but, as there was no organized church, some of the people were connected with the churches in Rowley and Haverhill, where they continued to attend divine service.

In 1669, the town of Haverhill chose Andrew Greely to keep the ferry; "provided . . . that he will carry all Ministers over free that come upon visitation to us, and in particular Mr. Symes; & that, if the inhabitants of the town over against us [Merrimack] do come over to meet with us on the sabbath days, they shall have the free use of the ferry boat, or boats, for the occasion, without paying anything."

"For his support, the first year," 1668, says Perry,

Symmes "received forty pounds, the next year fifty, which appears to have been his yearly salary, till the time of his ordination. The one half . . . was to be paid in wheat, pork, butter and cheese, the other half in malt, indian corn or rye"; though, according to Gage, the latter half was to be paid "in corn and cattle." Early in 1669, continues Perry, the people "voted to defray the expense of bringing his goods to town, gave him forty acres of land near Indian hill," and appointed a committee "to gather the tax, and take care to have Mr. Symmes' work done, and to attend to such other things as he should stand in need of during the year."

This pleasant relation of preacher and people continued till 1677, when, as a preliminary movement toward church organization, a committee was chosen "to join with Mr. Symmes 'to advise to what might be thought best for the further carrying on the affairs of religion, and to prepare for the settlement of the ordinances of God, in this place.' And in 1681, it was voted and consented to, 'that the Rev. Mr. Symmes have liberty at his discretion, to call out any two men of the inhabitants of the town, to assist him in catechising the youth, and also to go with him to see who of the heads of the families or others, would join the church.'"

At a private fast, 20 April, 1682, "under hopeful probability of setting up a church of Christ Jesus in Bradford," an "instrument of . . . pacification and . . . conditional obligation to church and order," was signed and adopted by the persons who proposed to become members.

October 31, 1682, an ecclesiastical council, convened by invitation, recommended "a coalition . . . into a church society." November 28, the result and advice of the council were unanimously assented to by the inhabitants and by Symmes; and, 27 December, a church was organized, and Symmes ordained.

The details respecting his salary are of more than individual importance, inasmuch as they indicate the spirit and practice of New England in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

March 13, 1682-3, the inhabitants, in accepting the report of a committee appointed 2 January, say: "For the encouragement of our present minister, we do covenant and promise to give and allow him . . . the full sum of sixty pounds per annum, . . . the first half in wheat, and pork, butter, and cheese, allowing to this half, one pound of butter for every milch cow, and one cheese for a family; the other half to be in malt, indian, or rye, except what he willingly accepts in other pay; the first payment to be made the second Thursday of October, the other payment to be made the third Thursday in March; and if any unforeseen providence shall hinder, then to take the next convenient day the week following.

"We further grant liberty for him," says the record, as quoted by Gage, "to improve for his best advantage, what land we shall accomplish or obtain for our ministry. We grant him also, liberty to feed his herd of cattle on our lands during his abode with us, which shall have the same liberty as our own cattle have. We engage to procure for him, at our own charge, besides the annual stipend, sufficient firewood every year in good cord wood, he allowing sixpence per cord, to bring it seasonably and cord it up in his yard; . . . also, to furnish him yearly with ten sufficient loads of good hay, if he need them, at price current among us, and to bring it in the summer time, and also to supply him with sufficient fencing, and good stuff which he may hereafter need, at a reasonable lay. We engage, that there be convenient highways provided and legally stated, to the several parcels of land, which we have given him. . . . We do also engage, that two men shall be chosen from year to year,

for the comfortable carrying on of his affairs, and that these two men shall have power to require any man at two days' warning, according to his proportion, to help carry on his necessary husbandry work. We also engage, that these agreements, together with any legal town acts, confirming the annual stipend, and other concerns of our present minister, be duly and truly, in manner and kind as above specified without trouble to himself."

In 1705, in accordance with a vote of the town appointing a committee to procure help for their pastor, who was now growing old and feeble, "a Mr. Hale" was employed, who was so well liked that the action of the town indicates an intention to have settled him.

The people of Bradford "appear to have acted generously in the provision they made" for their pastor's "temporal comfort, and to have united readily with him in all his exertions to do good." He died 22 March, 1707-8. The Latin inscription on his tombstone is printed by Perry, also in the *American Quarterly Register*, x. 245.

He was succeeded by his son, Thomas Symmes.

November 18, 1669, Symmes was married to Susanna, born 8 July, 1643, daughter of Thomas Graves, of Charlestown, and sister of Thomas Graves, H. U. 1656. She died 23 July, 1681, having had seven children, one of whom, Thomas Symmes, graduated in 1698. November 26, 1683, he married Mehitabel Dalton, probably widow of Samuel Dalton, of Hampton, and daughter of Samuel Palmer, of the same place.

AUTHORITIES.—L. Bliss, *History of Rehoboth*, 58, 60, 61. Boston News Letter, 1708, March 29. W. I. Budington, *History of the First Church, Charlestown*, 210. G. W. Chase, *History of Haverhill*, 110. Contributions to the *Ecclesiastical History of Essex County*, 305. Essex Institute Historical Collections, vi. 160. J. Farmer, *Genealogical Register*, 280; and *American Quarterly Register*, x. 244. T. Gage, His-

tory of Rowley, 40, 105-109, 113, 354, 355. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 155, 156. [E. Johnson.] History of New England [Wonder-working Providence], 70. Massachusetts Hist. Society, Collec- tions, xii. 177; xxi. 256. New Eng- land Historical and Genealogical Register, iv. 270; xiii. 135; xxiii. 282; xxv. 149. G. B. Perry, Discourse in 1820, 31-40. J. Savage, Genea- logical Dictionary, iv. 243, 244.

ZECHARIAH BRIGDEN.

Born 1639, died 1662, aged 23.

ZECHARIAH, ZACHARIAH, or ZACHARY BRIGDEN, M. A., of Stonington, Connecticut, baptized at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 2 August, 1639, was son of Thomas Brigden, or Bridgen, from Faversham in Kent, who came in the *Hercules*, in 1635, from Sandwich in England to Boston in New England, with his wife, Thomasin, and two children.

The son's college bills, continuing regularly from 10-4-53 to 5-4-57, besides "Commones & sizinges," "tuition," "study-rente and beed," "fyer and Candell," "wood," etc., contain a charge for "bringing Corn from Charlestown," being an early record on the Steward's books, under the name "Corn," of the grain commonly called "Indian."

Among the articles credited to him are "siluer," "suger," "wheatt," "malte," "Indian," "a hooge," "a quarter of beast," "butter," "3^{lb} of Candell," "rasines," "a paire of girtes," and "a bush of parsnapes," the last article probably being newly introduced, as it is not mentioned previously. December 31, 1654, there was "Geuen him by ringinge the bell and waytinge £1. 2s. 6d.," probably the earliest record of the college bell-ringing and of payment for "wayting in the hall"; he receiving for the

last service 12s. 6d. a quarter for three successive quarters; after which he is paid, 7-10-55, "on quarter for a schollership 18s. 9d.," and credited, 5-10-56, "by his wages 50 shillings & a schollership £3. 15s."

As the word "Socius" is affixed to his name on all the General and Triennial Catalogues, he was undoubtedly a Tutor or Fellow, though I find no record of his appointment, which must have been within two or three years after graduating.

According to Benjamin Trumbull, he "officiated about three years" as a preacher at Stonington, Connecticut, "until his death in 1663"; but more exact details are furnished by the following extracts from the manuscript Diary of Thomas Minor, communicated by J. Hammond Trumbull.

"Sept. 30. 1660. 'Master Brigden first taught here.' Oct. 8. 'I was to go with Mr. Brigden toward Mohegan [Norwich].' April 10. 1661. 'We met at Cheesbrough's, to send to Mr. Brigden.' May 13. 'The meeting-house was raised.' May 17. The writer (Thomas Minor) as the agent of the town I suppose, 'set forth for the Bay.' June 12th, he 'came from Bostowne, and Mr. Brigden.' March 19, 1661-2 'was a town-meeting about Mr. Brigden' (with reference to inviting him to a settlement perhaps); but April 24 (Thursday), 1662, 'Mr. Brigden departed this life.'"

"At the period referred to, Stonington was annexed to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts (and county of Suffolk), as Southertown."

AUTHORITIES. — Harvard College 251. B. Trumbull, History of Connecticut, i. 159. 287. J. H. Trumbull, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxv. 342. J. Savage, Letters, 1857, November 30; 1860, June 4; 1872, February 12. Gencalogical Dictionary, i. 250,

JOHN COTTON.

Born 1639, died 1698, aged 59.

REV. JOHN COTTON, M. A., of Plymouth in Massachusetts and Charleston in South Carolina, born 15 and baptized 22 March, 1639-40, was son of the famous divine, John Cotton, of Boston, by his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Richard Hankredge, of Boston, England, widow of William Story, and, after Cotton's death, wife of the Reverend Richard Mather, of Dorchester.

The son's first college bill is dated 10-4-53, a few months after his father's death; but it appears from his being charged with detriments and half-tuition between 8-10-54 and 6-4-56, and from there being no charges after the latter date, that he was absent during part of the college course. He is also credited "by the returne of his study" 18-5-55; and 6-1-56 there is "Alowed vnto John Cotton for the abuse he suffered 6s. 8d."

Subsequently to graduating, he "lived with the Reverend Mr. [Samuel] Stone at Hartford [Connecticut], where he prosecuted his studies."

After the removal of the Reverend John Russell, H. U. 1645, to Hadley, he preached at Wethersfield, where his brother, Seaborn Cotton, H. U. 1651, had officiated several years before.

In 1660, at the age of about twenty, he was married, and was executor of the will of Governor Thomas Welles. March 14, 1660-1, he was made freeman of Connecticut.

After being at Wethersfield from 1659 to 1663, receiving in the mean time calls to preach at Haddam, Killingworth, and perhaps other places, he returned to Boston, without being settled.

May 3, 1664, he was excommunicated, for immoral

conduct, from the church of which his father had been minister, but upon penitential acknowledgment was restored the next month, and, Savage says, though I know not upon what authority, "went soon and preached at Guilford."

About this time, 1664, he went to Martha's "*Vineyard*, and preached to the *English* at [Edgartown on] the *East End* of the Island." His nephew, Cotton Mather, writes: "He hired an *Indian*, after the rate of Twelve-pence *per* Day for *Fifty* Days, to teach him the *Indian* Tongue; but his Knavish Tutor having received his whole Pay too soon, ran away before *Twenty* Days were out; however, in this time he had profited so far, that he could quickly Preach unto the Natives"; which he did for about two years, assisting Mayhew. But in September, 1667, according to the Records, he "appeared before the Commissioners [of the United Colonies] and was seriously spoken too To Compose those allianations between him and M^r Mahew; otherwise it was signified to him that the Commissioners could not expect good by their labours wheras by their mutual Contensions and Invictiues one against another they vndid what they taught the Natiues and sundry calles (as hee said) being made him by the English to other places; which in conjunction with the p^rsent fayleing of a certaine Revenew; hee was left to his libertie to dispose of himselfe as the Lord should Guid him."

An invitation having been given him by the church of Plymouth in September, 1666, and renewed the following year, he removed thither "with his Family *November* 30. 1667," the town defraying all the expenses of transportation, and allowing him "£50 for the present year."

"October 29th, 1668," writes Thacher, "it was agreed to allow to Mr. Cotton the sum of £80 for the follow-

ing year, one third part in wheat, or butter, one third part in rye, barley or peas, and the other third in Indian corn at stipulated prices. In 1677, the same sum was allowed him, and to continue till God in his providence shall so impoverish the town that they shall be necessitated to abridge that sum. In November, 1680, it was voted to convey to Mr. Cotton the minister's house and homestead, and to his heirs forever, except the lot given to the church by Bridget Fuller and Samuel Fuller, which reserve is the parsonage at the present time. The homestead given to Mr. Cotton was adjoining the present parsonage on the east side. August 4th, 1687, it was proposed in town-meeting to allow Mr. Cotton £90 for that year, but it was opposed by a large majority, as exceeding their ability, and it was then agreed that the minister's salary should be paid by voluntary subscription." In 1696, "the town agreed to pay . . . £75 in silver money for his salary the present year, with which he was well satisfied."

Cotton was ordained 30 June, 1669, "having transferred his church membership from Boston." "Elder Thomas Cushman gave the charge, and the aged Mr. John Howland was appointed by the church to join in imposition of hands. The Rev. Mr. Walley made a solemn prayer, and the Rev. Mr. Torrey gave the right hand of fellowship."

From John Cotton's Appendix to Robbins's Ordination Sermon, it appears that "The Pastor with the Ruling Elder made it their first special Work together to pass through the whole Town from Family to Family to enquire into the State of Souls, and according as they found the Frames either of the Children of the Church or others, so they applied Counsels, Admonitions, Exhortations and Encouragements; which Service was attended with a Blessing."

“In *November* began Catechising of the Children by the Pastor (constantly attended by the Ruling Elder) once a Fortnight, the Males at one time and the Females at the other,” Perkins’s Catechism being used at first, and the Assembly’s some years afterward.

“In *January* following, the Church agreed to begin monthly Church-meetings for religious Conference, which were constantly attended for many Years, and much Good attended that Exercise.”

In the first year of Cotton’s ministry, the number of church-members was increased from twenty-seven to seventy-four; fourteen were admitted in 1670, seventeen in 1671, six in 1672; one hundred and seventy-eight being admitted during the thirty years of his ministry. Candidates for admission were examined in private by the Elders, commonly stood propounded in public for two or three weeks, and made orally a “Confession of Faith, and a Declaration of their Experiences of a Work of Grace in the Presence of the Congregation. . . . The Relations of the Women being written in private from their Mouths, were read in publick by the Pastor, and the Elders gave Testimony of the Competency of their knowledge. . . . If any Members came from other Places, and had Letters of Dismission, they were accepted upon that Testimonial, and nothing further required of them.” In 1688, however, a modification of the rule was made in favor of men “not able to speak in Publick to the Edification of the Congregation, nor to the hearing of the whole Church.”

“In *July* 1676, the Church (and all the Churches in the Colony [of Plymouth] at the Motion of the General Court) solemnly renewed Covenant with GOD and one another on a Day of Humiliation appointed for the Purpose,” and “enter’d into strict Engagements (thro’ the Assistance of divine Grace) for personal and Family

Reformation,"—a similar renewal being again made in April, 1692.

January 19, 1678-9, at the request of their Pastor, "the Church Seed who were Heads of Families" went to his house, and he gave each man "sundry Questions... to return Answers to out of the Scripture" two months afterward. This practice was continued "for divers Years, not without a Blessing and some good Success: For Men of 30, 40, 50 Years of Age did attend, and give their Answers... in Writing:—Then the Pastor having read all their Answers, gave his own to each Question and preach'd thereupon, the Elder always present, and making the concluding Prayer."

From a Report made in 1685 by Governor Thomas Hinckley to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, it appears that, besides officiating in Plymouth, Cotton was occasionally on week-days instructing the Indians at Saltwater-Pond and at Namasket and Titicut, now Middleborough, and at Namatakeeset, now Pembroke.

"December 11. 1691, the good Elder Mr. *Thomas Cushman* died, ... who had officiated in that Office near 43 Years" and "been a rich Blessing to this Church," constantly co-operating with the Pastor.

"June 19. 1692, the Pastor propounded to the Church, that seeing many of the *Psalms* in Mr. *Ainsworth's* Translation, which had hitherto been sung in the Congregation, had such difficult Tunes that none in the Church could set, they would consider of some Expedient that they might sing all the *Psalms*."... August 7, "the Church voted, that when the Tunes were difficult in the translation then used, they would make use of the *New-England Psalm Book*. . . . Finding it inconvenient to use two Psalm Books, they at length in *June* 1696, agreed wholly to lay aside *Ainsworth*, and with general Consent introduced the other."

“It was their Practice from the beginning till *October*, 1681, to sing the Psalms without reading the Line; but then at the Motion of a Brother, who otherwise could not join in the Ordinance,” probably because he could not read, “they altered the Custom, and reading was introduced; the Elder performing that Service, after the Pastor had first expounded the *Psalm*, which were usually sung in Course—So that the People had the Benefit of hearing the whole Book of *Psalms* explained.

“In the Spring of the Year 1694, the Pastor introduced a new Method of Catechising (in which he used the Assemblies shorter Catechism) attending it on Sabbath Day Noons at the Meeting House, the Males one Sabbath and the Females another successively; and then preach'd on each Head of Divinity, as they lie in order in that Catechism:—this Course was constantly attended for more than 3 Years from Sabbath to Sabbath, till the Pastor's Dismission, only on Sacrament Days, and in the short Winter Days and very unseasonable Weather, there was a necessary Omission thereof. — Many of the Congregation usually heard the Sermons preach'd at the Catechising, and GOD strengthen'd and encouraged in the work.”

In 1695, Isaac Cushman, a church-member, received an “earnest call to teach the word of God” in that part of Plymouth which is now Plympton. This laid the foundation for a division between the church and Cotton, the latter strenuously contending that Cushman ought not to be settled before being designated to the office of ruling elder by the church. The controversy continued about three years, with considerable warmth, and occasioned the withdrawal of some from the communion. The dissatisfied were ready to listen to ill reports against the pastor, “supported,” writes his son, “by two or three single evidences, one of them of 20 or near 30

years' standing, another from one of suspected veracity," till at length a mutual council was called. After great, but unsuccessful, efforts to effect a reconciliation, the council at last, 30 September, 1697, "advised the Pastor to ask a Dismission, and the Church to grant it 'with such Expressions of their Love and Charity as the Rule called for.'" Accordingly he "resigned his Office, and at his Request was dismiss'd October 5, 1697, to the great Grief of a Number in Church and Town, who earnestly desired his Continuance."

Judge Sewall, in noticing the result, writes: "This was for his Notorious Breaches of y^e Seventh Comādm^t, & Undue Carriage in chusing Elders. Thus Christs words are fullfilled, Unsavoury Salt is cast to the Dung-hill. A most awfull Instance!"

"Oct. 7. Mr. Torrey tells me that Mr. Mather declared among the Ministers that they had dealt too favourably with mr. Cotton."¹

After his dismission, Cotton's son, Josiah Cotton, says he "tarried something above a year at Plymouth,

¹ Sewall writes in his Diary, March 8, 1697-8. "Get to Plim² ab^t Noon, Are Entertaind at Cole's. Send two mile for mr. [Ephraim] Little [H. U. 1695], who prays at y^e opening of y^e Court invite him to Diⁿer: Speak not to Mr. Cotton." March 10. "Had large discourse in y^e even wth mrs. Cotton, mr. Cotton, mr. Rowland. I told mr. Cotton, a free Confession was y^e best way, spake of Davids roaring all y^e day long & bones waxing old, whilst he kept Silence. I spake with Deacon Fance to day, sent for him to mr. Cotton's: It seems upon y^e 5.th of October, The Church by speaking one by one, declared their Mind was to Release mr. Cotton from his Office-bond as Pastor; sent to mr. Cotton to meet them (they were at Shirtly's 25. in n^o Some y^t could not come sent y^t minds to y^e same effect: and New Society ready to do it) Mr. Cotton to come to y^e Meeting-house, thither yy goe, and there Deacon Fance declares what y^e Church had done. Mr. Cotton was at Cole's when redy to come away March 11 I said his Danger was, lest catching at shadows, he should neglect the cords thrown out to him by Chr^t, & so be drownd. Some of my last words to him, was Kisse the Son, lest he be angry! This was in y^e house between him & me alone. Just as was mounting, He desired me to pray for him, till I heard he was dead."

in which time he preached some Sabbaths at Yarmouth, on their invitation, and then, having a call to Charleston, the chief place in South Carolina, by their messenger, the worthy Robert Fenwick, Esquire, he accepted of the same, and having settled his affairs," and, adds Thacher, "made up all differences with Plymouth Church,¹ and received a recommendation from several ministers, set sail for Carolina, November 15th, 1698," Fenwick and Joseph Lord, H. U. 1691, being fellow passengers, and arrived at Charleston 7 December.

"Here," continues his son, "he set himself to do all the good he could, and was very abundant and successful in his labors. He gathered a church and was settled pastor of it March 15. He set up catechising, preached a lecture once a fortnight, had private meetings, private fasts alone, and with others, made frequent visits to the sick, opposed gainsayers, satisfied the doubtful, and was the instrument of edifying and quickening many saints and converting many sinners. In the short time of his continuance among them there were many baptised, and about twenty-five new members received to full communion. He had abundant respect shown him by those that were good, and also by some that were great, even the Governor himself, &c. He was there counted worthy of and received double honor."

He died 17 or 18 September, 1699, of the yellow-fever, which, introduced by a vessel from Barbadoes, broke out 17 August, and carried off not less than one hundred

¹ At a meeting of the church of Plymouth, 18 October, 1698, "for hearing what Mr. Cotton desired to offer to them in pursuance to advice given them by the Council there convened Sept. 29, 1697, as satisfaction for those offences which he was there convicted of," he "made a full and penitential acknowledgment of those evils, and desired forgiveness of God and the Church; accordingly having made confession to them, they did express and vote their ready and hearty acquiescence of his satisfaction offered unto them and their full reconciliation unto him."

and seventy-nine persons.¹ The church bore the expenses of his funeral, and erected a monument over his grave. A memorial of him was set up in the Plymouth burying-ground by one of his sons in 1725.

“My father,” to quote the son again, “was a living Index to the Bible. He had a vast and strong memory, in so much that if some of the words of almost any passage of Scripture were named to him he could tell the chapter and verse, or if chapter and verse were named, he could tell the words. He learned the Indian language in a short time, which hath words of a prodigious length, so that he quickly preached in that language and afterwards corrected the second and last edition of the Indian Bible. He prayed in Indian at his Indian lectures.”

¹ The following extract from a letter by the Reverend Hugh Adams, H. U. 1697, to his “Dearly beloved Brother,” “John Adams Shop-keeper in Boston,” dated at Charleston, 23 February, 1699-1700, is taken from Sewall’s Diary:—

“It is hard to describe the dreadful and astonishing aspect of our late terrible Tempest of Mortality in our Charlestown; which began towards y^e latter end of August, and Continued till y^e middle of November. In w^{ch} space of time there died in Charlestown, 125. English of all sorts; high & low, old & young. 37. French. 16. Indians, and 1 Negro. Three Ministers; viz. Mr. Jn^o Cotton dissent^r, Mr. Samuel Marshal Conformist, Mr. Preolo French Minister. Mr. Gilbert Ashly an Anabaptist preacher, Mr. Curtice a Presbyterian preacher dyed all in y^e begiⁿing of y^e Mortality for y^e peoples Contempt of y^r Gospel Labours. After whose decease, the Distemper raged, and the destroying Angel slaughtered so fu-

riously with his revenging Sword of Pestilence, that there died (as I have read in y^e Catalogue of y^e dead) 14. in one day Sept^r 28th and raged as bad all October: So that the dead were carried in Carts, being heaped up one upon another. Worse by far than y^e great Plague of London, considering y^e smallness of y^e Town. Shops shut up for 6 weeks; nothing but carrying Medicines, digging Graves, carting y^e dead; to y^e great astonishment of all beholders. Out of mr. Cotton’s Church there died himself Sept^r 17th, Mr. Jn^o Alexander Merch^t Mr. Curtice preacher, Mr. Matthew Bee Schoolmaster, mr. Henry Spry (besides his Serv^tman, his youngest child, and an Indian Woman) But lastly w^{ch} may grieve you most of all, our precious godly Mother, Avis Adams departed y^s Life Ocb^r 6th last, being infected by means of tending mr. Cotton all y^e time of his Sickness, w^{ch} was but three days.”

He wrote his sermons, but delivered them in a loud and clear voice, without using his manuscript. "He had a noted faculty in sermonizing and making speeches in public, . . . had a good gift in prayer and enlarged much therein as there was occasion. . . . He was a competent scholar but divinity was his favorite study. . . . He ruled his house as a tender parent, was a hearty friend, helpful to the needy, kind to strangers, and doubly a good man. And yet what man is there without his failings? He was somewhat hasty and perhaps severe in his censures upon some persons and things, which he thought deserved it; and that possibly might occasion some hardships he met with and the violence of some people against him. But the brightness of the celestial world will effectually dispel the blackness of this."

He "never aimed at laying up for or leaving a great estate to his children; but yet took special care of and was at great charge about their education, which is better than an estate without it. He did as his father and brother before him had done, bring up all his four sons (that grew up) to the College, and that without the advantage of a school in the town except a short time that Mr. Corlet kept it about the year 1672."

He "was a man of universal acquaintance and correspondence, so that he had and wrote (perhaps) twice as many letters as any man in the country."

Like many clergymen of his time, he strenuously opposed the calling of the Lord's Day *Sunday*, "as it originated with some heathen nations who were worshippers of the Sun, that planet being the object of their idolatry."

His son further observes: "He was of a handsome ruddy yet grave countenance, of a sanguine complexion, a middling stature and inclined to fatness. He was of a strong healthy constitution, so that (if I mistake not) he was not hindered by sickness for above one day from his public labors for 20 or 30 years together."

Cotton married at Wethersfield, Connecticut, 7 November, 1660, Joanna,¹ born July, 1642, daughter of Dr. Bray, or Bryan, and Elizabeth Rossiter, by whom he had eleven children: 1. John, born at Guilford, Connecticut, 3 August, 1661, H. U. 1681, was minister of Yarmouth, Massachusetts; 2. Elizabeth, 5-6 August, 1663, married the Reverend James Alling, minister of Salisbury, and afterward his successor, Caleb Cushing, H. U. 1692, and died in September, 1743; 3. Sarah, 17

¹ Their son Josiah writes: "My mother was a comely, fat woman, but her internal endowments made her excel.

"She was a woman not of ceremony but substance, of great knowledge, uncommon wisdom and discretion, spotless virtue, and one that feared God above many. Her education was more than ordinary. She understood something of Latin and poetry, had a great insight in the medicinal art, in the practice whereof she was much improved and became very useful and helpful in the town, &c.

"She could argue about common and religious things, was careful to promote good discourse where she was, a strict observer of the Sabbath, constant in her devotions, and had the care of religion in her family, town and country much at heart, and by private advice and discourse was a helper to my father in the work of the Gospel. She...ruled her children and servants well, by whom she was very careful to set good examples, keeping up family duties in my father's absence, &c. Instructed suitably, corrected seasonably. Had a notable faculty in speaking and writing; both of which she done with freedom and courage without

flattery and at the same time with a good command of her spirit.

"She...managed secular affairs, most of which passed through her hands, with singular prudence and industry. And finally, she was a good wife, a good mistress, a good neighbor, and a good Christian, and one of the best of mothers. But lest I should say what may be thought too much I shall finish with saying that she was not perfect. Affliction and reproach had too much influence and impression upon her, and finally broke her heart."

After her husband's death, the son wrote that she, "who had been under great concern of mind about her removing out of her native country, was now released from her trouble on that head, but saw herself reduced to the desolate estate of a sorrowful widow, which she never expected; And being a woman naturally too susceptible of the impressions of grief, she gave such way thereto as to abate her natural force and vigor and shorten her days. And after breaking up housekeeping at Plymouth and sojourning a while at Salisbury and then settling at Sandwich in the County of Barnstable with her son Mr. Rowland Cotton, she finished her course October 12, 1702."

June, 1665, died at Guilford, 8 September, 1669; 4. Rowland, born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, 27 December, 1667, H. U. 1685, minister of Sandwich, Massachusetts; 5. Sarah, 5 April, 1670, married William Bradbury; 6. Maria, 14 January, 1671-2, married Wymond Bradbury, of Salisbury; 7. A son, 28 September, 1674, died the next day; 8. Josiah, 10 September, 1675, died 9 January, 1676-7; 9. Samuel, 10 February, 1677-8, died 23 December, 1682; 10. Josiah, 8 January, 1679-80, H. U. 1698, compiler of the manuscript history of the Cotton Family, died at Plymouth, 19 August, 1756; 11. Theophilus, 5 May, 1682, H. U. 1701, minister of Hampton Falls, New Hampshire.

WORKS.

1. Letters in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i, xxi, xxxv, and xxxviii.

2. T. Prince, in the manuscript catalogue of his New England Library, which belongs to the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, writes: "Y^e Rev M^r John Cotton of Plimouth being well acq^d wth y^e Indⁿ Lang^s was des^d by y^e Indⁿ Comis^{nrs} to correct m^r Eliot's versⁿ of 1663; took this method — while a good Reader in his study read y^e Eng Bible aloud, M^r Cotton silently look'd along in y^e same Place in y^e Indⁿ Bible: & wh^r He thot of Indⁿ words w^c He judg'd c^d express y^e sense better, There He substituted y^m & this 2^d Editⁿ is accord^s to m^r Cotton's correction."

The Apostle Eliot wrote in the Roxbury Church Records: "When the Indians were hurried away to an Iland at half an hours warning. pore [?] soules in terror ȳ left their goods. books. bibles. only some few caryed y^r bibles. the rest were spoyled [?] & lost. So y^t wⁿ the wares w^r finish^d, & ȳ returned to y^r places, ȳ w^r greatly impov^{is}ht, but ȳ especially bewailed y^e want of Bibles. y^s made me meditate upon a 2^d imp^rssion of o Bible. & accordingly tooke pains to revise the first edition. I also intreated m^r John Cotton to help in y work, he having obtained some ability so to doe. he read over the whole bible, & what ever doubts he had, he writ y^m downe in order, & gave y^m to me, to try y^m & file y^m

over among of Indians. I obtained the favor to reprint the New testam^t, & psalmes. but I met wth much obstruction for reprinting the old tes^tam^t. yet by Prayer to God. Patience & intreatys. I, at last obtained y^t also praised be the Lord.”

3. In 1688, Mr. Eliot wrote to the Honorable Robert Boyle, asking £10 for Mr. Cotton, and adding: “I must commit to him the care and labour of the revisal of two other small treatises, viz: Mr. Shepheard’s Sincere Convert and Sound Believer, which I translated into the Indian language many years since.”

4. Cotton “kept a Journal or Diary of Remarkables from the time of his going from New England to September 14, 1699 . . . four days before his death.”

AUTHORITIES.—F. Baylies, Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, ii. 252. W. G. Brooks, Manuscript Letters, 1862, February 24; 1872, August 14. Connecticut Public Records, ed. J. H. Trumbull, i. 346, 359. A. B. Chapin, Glastenbury, 37. John Cotton, Account of the Churches in Plymouth, An Appendix to P. Robbins’s Sermon at C. Robbins’s Ordination, 16–22; and in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, iv. 122–129. Josiah Cotton, Manuscript History of the Cotton Family, and Diary, copied by W. G. Brooks from the original in possession of Roland Edwin Cotton. H. W. Cushman, Cushman Genealogy, 88, 103. J. Davis, in N. Morton’s New England’s Memorial, 344, 409, 411. J. Eliot, in Roxbury Church Records. J. Farmer, in American Quarterly Register, x. 245; and Farmer and Moore’s Collections, iii. 41. N. Goodwin, Foote Family, xxxix. D. Gookin, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 203–205. Harvard College Steward’s Account-Books, i. 167, 168. E. Hazard, State Papers, ii. 507, 508, 530. A. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 469. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, i. 203–205; xiii. 187, 188; xxii. 147, 309, 301, 310; xxxv. 133; xxxviii. 226–259, 403, 482. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 31, 200. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, i. 164; ii. 78; v. 240, 241; viii. 31; ix. 132. T. Noyes, in American Quarterly Register, viii. 147, 155. Plymouth Records, x. 329, 330, 331, 356. T. Prince, in E. Mayhew’s Indian Converts, 299. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 462; iii. 577. S. Sewall, Manuscript Diary. N. B. Shurtleff, Letter, 1872, August 26. J. Thacher, History of Plymouth, 2d ed. 123, 136, 154, 168, 273–278. J. A. Vinton, Giles Memorial, 78.

JOHN HALE.

Born 1636, died 1700, aged 63.

REV. JOHN HALE, M. A., of Beverly, Massachusetts, born 3 and baptized 5 June, 1636, at Charlestown, Massachusetts, was the oldest child of Robert Hale, a blacksmith, who probably came in the Winthrop fleet, in 1630, was one of the earliest members of the Boston church, being No. 18, and one of the first two deacons of the Charlestown church, of which he and his wife Jone or Joanna were among the founders, 14 October, 1632.

The son's college bills contain the usual charges; but among the credits are several items which appear for the first time on the Steward's books, "a ferking of soop 20s.," "tobacko" three times, and, 8-10-54, "Geuen by the Corporation for waytinge and his monitorwork £2. 11s.;" after which he is credited "by his monitors worke," "monitary seruice," or "monitorship," fifteen shillings a quarter till he graduated.

With his classmate Symmes he was admitted to the church in Charlestown "6 Month 22 1658."

Hale studied divinity, and about 1664 was preaching at Bass-river-side, now Beverly.

As early as 10 February, 1649-50, writes Rantoul, the inhabitants on the "north side of Bass river, which separates Beverly from Salem, . . . were so numerous, as to desire of the Church in Salem, 'some course to be taken for the means of grace amongst themselves, because of the tediousness and difficulties over the water, and other inconveniences; which motion was renewed again the 22nd of the 7th Month 1650; and the 2nd day of the 8th Month,'" according to the church records, as cited

by Rantoul, "they returned answer, that we should look out for us, some able and approved teacher to be amongst us, we still holding communion with them. . . . But on farther experience, we upon the twenty-third day of the first month, 1656, presented our desires to be a church by ourselves. . . . Our desire being consented to, we proceeded to build a meeting-house on Bass-river-side, and we called unto us successively" Joshua Hobart and Jeremiah Hobart, graduates in 1650, and Mr. John Hale.

Inviting the latter 15 May, 1665, "with one consent . . . to come amongst us, in order to settling with us in the work of the ministry; for his due encouragement in the work of the Lord among us, according to II. Chronicles, xxxi. — xxxiv.; and that he may attend upon the work of the ministry, without distraction, we do promise and engage to pay unto him, £70 per annum, and his firewood: raised amongst us by a rate in equal portions, according to our former custom. And for the manner and time of payment, that he may not have to do with particular men's portion of allowance, the bill shall not be delivered unto him, nor shall he be troubled with gathering of it in; but two men shall be chosen year by year, to take the care of bringing it into his house, and to make up the account at the appointed time. Nehemiah x. 34. Also, whereas we have built a house for the ministry, wherein it is defective, to be furnished by us; and there are two acres of home lot (to be fenced in by us), and as much meadow land belonging to it, as commonly bears about four loads of hay. We do agree that he shall have the use of that, so long as he continues in the work of the ministry with us. Yet because it is his duty to provide for wife and children, that he may leave behind him, and our duty to have a care of him in that respect, we do therefore promise and engage, that in the case he die in the ministry with us, that either

the house and two acre home lot aforementioned, shall be his, or that which is equivalent, to be paid (according to his last will and testament), within the compass of one year after his decease. It is also agreed by all of us, that Mr. Hale shall have the use and benefit of pasturing, the time he lives with us.' The first persons chosen to make the rate for Mr. Hale's maintenance, for the year 1665, were Captain Thomas Lathrop, who was slain in the battle of Bloody Brook, September 13th, 1675 (old style), Mr. Thorndike, Roger Conant, the first settler of Salem, in 1626, and in 1665, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, Samuel Corning and Joseph Rootes. At another meeting, Lieutenant William Dixy and Humphrey Woodberry, have power to appoint the time, and to give notice to the inhabitants, when they shall come together to build the house for Mr. Hale's cattle, and whoever doth not come, shall pay 3s. The house to be 18 feet long, 10 feet wide, and seven or eight feet stud."

"It is agreed, that farmer Dodge shall be paid for his ground which is bought for the ministry, either two cows or ten pounds. Humphrey Woodberry is to have after the rate of 20s. an acre, for his ground, and he is to have free liberty to pass through with a cart, when he hath occasion.'"

"After almost three years experience of Mr. John Hale, our motion [to the church in Salem] was again renewed, the twenty-third of the fourth month, 1667. . . . There was a unanimous consent, of the brethren present; . . . only it was left to the sacrament day after, when in the fullest church assembly, the consent of the whole church was signified by their votes, and so they gave their liberty to be a church by themselves, only they continued members here, until their being a church.'" Upon this, the brethren, 28 August, renewed their call to Hale, whose answer is printed by Rantoul and Stone.

The persons who were to constitute the new church, together with Hale, who brought a letter of dismissal and recommendation from the church in Charlestown, met 20 September for organization and ordination, invitations having been sent to the churches of Salem, Ipswich, and Wenham to be present and assist by their pastors and messengers. "In regard to our nearness, and that they are a church issuing out of ourselves," say the Salem church records, "it was thought meet for as many to be present as could, so when the day came, divers of the brethren were present."

The pastor elect "propounded and read a confession of faith and covenant which they had often considered amongst themselves, and did then (all that had been in full communion in the church of Salem,) express their consent unto that confession and covenant, and so were owned as a particular and distinct church of themselves, by the messengers of the churches present." Then the pastor elect was ordained "by the laying on of hands of" John Higginson of Salem, Thomas Cobbett of Ipswich, and Antipas Newman of Wenham; and so Hale received fellowship and was publicly recognized as pastor of "the church of Christ at Bass river, in Salem."

Thus, after nearly eighteen years spent in these preliminary movements, which illustrate the practice and spirit of the early inhabitants of New England, the people of Beverly entered upon an independent career in ecclesiastical as also in civil matters, though not incorporated as a town till 14 October, 1668.

November 9, 1667, "In order that Mr. Hale should be supplied with wood, four men were appointed to determine how much each man should cut and haul, and see to the delivery of it." In 1671, "They agreed with two persons to deliver thirty cords, corded up in Mr. Hale's yard, at 6s. per cord. And if that was not suffi-

cient to complete the year, to bring enough more at the same rate," the year to begin in November, 1671.

"Various measures were adopted, from 1667 to 1684," says Stone, "for the supply of Mr. Hale's wood, at which latter date, his salary was fixed at £64 in money, instead of £70, payable in produce at a regulated price, called *rate pay*, and which was not more valuable than the former sum. About the time of his marriage £10 were added to his salary," which thenceforward continued to be £74 till his death.

March 5, 1694, the dwelling-house and two-acre home-lot where he lived were granted to him and his heirs. It was on the road to Cape Ann, a short distance east of the meeting-house.

Hale was "one of the seventeen ministers who bore testimony against the old church in Boston, when they settled Mr. Davenport."

In 1680, when the people were thrown into great consternation and distress by the heirs or assigns of John Mason laying claim to all the lands between the Merrimack and Naumkeag Rivers, he was appointed, with others, to defend the town's rights, to memorialize the King and General Court, and to perform various other services required by the exigency.

In 1690 he was invited to be one of the chaplains in Phips's expedition against Canada. The Legislature gave little heed to the objections of his parishioners, to whom he submitted the subject; for, "the next day after their presentation, it was ordered, that the Rev. John Hale [with others named] be desired to accompany the General and forces, . . . to carry on the worship of God in that expedition."

"What induced Mr. Hale to accept this invitation, contrary to the strongly expressed wish of his flock," writes Stone, "is unknown. It is not improbable, that

as a large number were engaged in this enterprize, he was anxious to accompany them that he might watch over their morals." He served from 4 June to 20 November, and also acted as interpreter; his son Robert in the mean time preaching, and performing other ministerial duties. For these services, on petition of his grandson, Robert Hale, three hundred acres of land were granted to his heirs by the Legislature, 31 December, 1734, and early in 1735 "laid out by *Richard Hazzen* Surveyor and two Chain men on Oath, . . . in the Township of *Methuen*, . . . on *Haverhill* line."

Hale's name appears in connection with the prosecutions for witchcraft in 1692.

Upham says: "If any surmise is justifiable, or worth while, as to the author of the advice to Goodwin," to prosecute Glover, "the old Irish woman" who was executed for bewitching his children, "I should be inclined to suggest that it was John Hale." March 24, 1692, when "Goodwife *N[urse]* was brought before the Magistrates . . . to be Examined in the Meeting-House, the Reverend Mr. *Hale* begun with Prayer." He was present, he acknowledges, "at several Examinations and Tryals, and knew sundry of those that Suffered." Four of his parishioners were accused and condemned. But, as Bentley remarks, in a manuscript note to a copy of Hale's *Modest Enquiry*, he "was the first to suspect the proceedings against Witchcraft."

In October, his wife, then *enceinte*, was accused. To quote Upham: "Her genuine and distinguished virtues had won for her a reputation, and secured in the hearts of the people a confidence, which superstition itself could not sully nor shake. Mr. Hale had been active in all the previous proceedings; but he knew the innocence and piety of his wife, and he stood forth between her and the storm he had helped to raise: although he had driven it

on while others were its victims, he turned and resisted it when it burst in upon his own dwelling. The whole community became convinced that the accusers in crying out upon Mrs. Hale, had perjured themselves, and from that moment their power was destroyed; the awful delusion was dispelled, and a close put to one of the most tremendous tragedies in the history of real life. The wildest storm, perhaps, that ever raged in the moral world, became a calm; the tide that had threatened to overwhelm everything in its fury, sunk back to its peaceful bed. There are few, if any, other instances in history, of a revolution of opinion so sudden, so rapid, and so complete."

Until this complaint was made against his wife, says Rantoul, "Mr. Hale held to the opinion, . . . that when through the instrumentality of any one, the devil afflicted others, it was conclusive evidence, that the person thus made use of to gratify his malignity, was in league with him, and so no longer to be permitted to live among a christian people. But after the accusation of his wife, instead of suspecting the truth and sincerity of her accusers, he adopted the opposite opinion, which would reconcile the fidelity of her accuser, with the entire innocence of his wife, and throw the whole blame upon the devil. He however contended, that the devil might and did make use of the true christian, in afflicting others, who would accuse the instrument which he made use of against their will, of his own diabolical acts. This opinion prevailed extensively, and gave a new turn to the prosecutions."

Hale's change of sentiment prompted him to write his "Modest Enquiry Into the Nature of Witchcraft," in the Preface to which, dated 15 December, 1697, he says: "I have been from my Youth trained up in the knowledge and belief of most of those principles I here

question as unsafe to be used. . . . The reverence I bore to aged, learned and judicious persons, caused me to drink in their principles in these things, with a kind of Implicit Faith."

"But observing the Events of that sad Catastrophe, *Anno* 1692. I was brought to a more strict scanning of the principles I had imbibed, and by scanning, to question, and by questioning at length to reject many of them."

"I have had a deep sence of the sad consequence of mistakes in matters Capital; and their impossibility of recovering when compleated. And what grief of heart it brings to a tender conscience, to have been unwittingly encouraging of the Sufferings of the innocent. And I hope a zeal to prevent for the future such sufferings is pardonable, although there should be much weakness, and some errors in the pursuit thereof. . . . I have special reasons moving me to bear my testimony about these matters, *before I go hence & be no more.*"

On page 167, in bewailing "the errors and mistakes that have been in the year 1692," he speaks of "the apprehending too many we may believe were innocent, and executing of some, I fear, not to have been condemned." Subsequently he adds: "I am abundantly satisfied that those who were most concerned to act and judge in those matters, did not willingly depart from the rules of righteousness. But such was the darkness of that day, the tortures and lamentations of the afflicted, and the power of former presidents, that we walked in the clouds, and could not see our way. And we have most cause to be humbled for error on that hand, which cannot be retrieved. So that we must beseech the Lord, that if any innocent blood hath been shed, in the hour of temptation, the Lord will not lay it to our charge, but be merciful to his people whom he hath redeemed. *Deut.* 21. 8.

And that in the day when he shall visit, he will not visit this sin upon our land, but blot it out, and wash it away with the blood of Jesus Christ."

Bentley, however, says "Hale wrote when it was too late, and with too much pride for a man, who had done so much harm."

Hale died 15 May, 1700, and was succeeded in the ministry by Thomas Blowers, H. U. 1695.

"March 22d, 1704-5, the Selectmen allowed Jonathan Dodge five shillings, for his *great care and pains*, in fetching Mr. John Hale from Charlestown in a coach, and Jonathan Herrick is allowed five shillings, for being *helpful* on the same occasion."

Rantoul says: "An examination of the Church records during the whole period of Mr. Hale's ministry, furnishes convincing evidence of his liberality. Nothing is there to be found, indicative of any interference with freedom of opinion. Censures of the Church, for immorality of life, were not unfrequent in those days, but none appear on record for errors of opinion."

December 15, 1664, about the time Hale began to preach at Beverly, he married Rebecca, daughter of Henry Byley, of Salisbury, a tanner, who left a wife Rebecca at Salisbury, England, when he came to Boston in the *Bevis* from Southampton in 1638. Having had Rebecca, born 28 April, 1666, and Robert, born 3 November, 1668, H. U. 1686, Hale's wife died 13 April, 1683, aged 45. March 31, 1684, he married Sarah Noyes, probably daughter of the Reverend James Noyes, and had James, born 14 October, 1685, H. U. 1703, of Ashford, Connecticut; Samuel, born 13 August, 1687, father of Richard, of Coventry, whose son, Nathan Hale, was executed by the British as a spy, 22 September, 1775; Joanna, born 15 June, 1689; and John, born 24 December, 1692. This second wife, whose character was the occasion of

the change of feeling in relation to the witchcraft prosecutions, died 20 May, 1695, aged forty-one. August 8, 1698, he married Elizabeth, born 1646, daughter of Henry Somerby, of Newbury, and widow of Nathaniel Clark, whom she married 25 November, 1663, and who was mortally wounded in the expedition against Canada in which Hale was chaplain.

Elias Nason, in a communication to the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xvi. 259, noticing the burying-places in Exeter, New Hampshire, says, the third "was on the rising ground now occupied by the First Congregational Church. The headstones were... leveled and buried above the bones which they commemorated, many years ago. Only one of them, sunk several inches below the surface of the earth, remains half visible... Removing the earth and long grass with a spade, I succeeded in decyphering the inscription upon the sunken horizontal slate stone slab: 'Mrs Elizabeth Hale Relict of ye Reverend mr John Hale Late Pastor of ye church in Beverly and SOMETIME wife to Nathaniel Clark, Esq., Late of Newbry Dec^d who died March ye 15th 1716 aged 71 ye^{rs}.'" John Clark, H. U. 1690, third minister of Exeter, was her son.

WORKS.

1. In 1683, Hale preached the Artillery Election Sermon, from Judges iii. 1, 2. Probably not printed.

2. May 17, 1684, the General "Court, taking notice of the great paynes & labour of the Reūend M^r John Hale in his sermon vpon the last election day, doe hereby order Samuell Nowell, Esq, M^r Henry Bartholmew, Cap^t Daniel Epps, & M^r Exercise Connant to give M^r Hale the thanks of this Court for his great pajnes, and that, as a further testimony of their acceptance thereof, doe in the Courts name desire a cobby of him, that may be fitted for the presse, and to take effectuall care that the same be printed at the publick charge."

I have not seen a copy of this sermon, nor the title in any catalogue; but Sprague notices it as "an 18mo. of less than two hundred pages."

3. A Modest Enquiry | Into the Nature of | Witchcraft, | and | How Persons Guilty of that Crime | may be Convicted: And the means | used for their Discovery Discussed, | both Negatively and Affirmatively, | according to Scripture and | Experience. || Boston in N. E. Printed by B. Green, and J. Allen, for Benjamin Eliot under the Town House 1702. sm. 8vo. Pp. 3-7 An Epistle to the Reader, March 23^d, 1697, 8, signed by John Higginson, Pastor of the Church of Salem; pp. 8-12 The Preface to the Christian Reader. Beverly, Decemb. 15th. 1697. John Hale; Text pp. 13-176.

"My Reverend Brother Mr. Hale, having for above Thirty Years, been Pastor of the Church at Beverly (but Two Miles from Salem, where the Tryals were) was frequently present, and was a diligent Observer of all that passed, and being one of a Singular Prudence and Sagacity, in searching into the narrows of things: He hath (after much deliberation) in this Treatise, related the Substance of the Case as it was, and given Reasons from Scripture against some of the Principles & Practises then used in the Tryals of Witchcraft; and said something also in a Positive way, and shewing the right Application that is to be made of the whole, and all this in such a pious and modest manner, as cannot be offensive to any, but may be generally acceptable to all the lovers of Truth and Peace."—Higginson's Epistle, 6.

Cotton Mather borrowed freely from this work before it was printed.

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ELISHA COOKE.

Born 1637, died 1715, aged 78.

ELISHA COOKE, M. A., of Boston, where he was born 16 September, and baptized 5 November, 1637, was son of Richard Cooke, tailor, said to have come from Gloucestershire, England, with his wife, Elizabeth.

The son's college bills extend from 10-4-53 to 5-7-57, his "Commencement Chardges £3" being under the latter date; but there being no charges in his third or Junior year, except for detriments and half-tuition, he was probably absent during that year, as also in the following winter, for in the March before he graduated, in addition to "monitory and wrytinge the names 1s. 2½d," he is again charged with "detrements 5s."

Among the items of credit are "a peace of stufe and thread £1 1s. 6d.," "fower pound of plumes att 9d. p pound 3s.," "3 yeards of searge att 6d. p yeard 18s.," "a yeard of Cursey 6s. 6d.," "wheatt," "suger," etc.

Cooke settled in Boston as a physician, and, without relinquishing his profession, became an active politician. In 1673 he was made freeman.

In 1681, he was chosen Representative from Boston to the Legislature, and was one of the "principal

members" of the party who "opposed the sending over agents" to England, "the submitting to acts of trade, &c. and were for adhering to their charter according to their construction of it, and leaving the event."

He was one of the "faction in the generall court, sitting in Boston, 15 Feb. 81" [1681-2] against whom Edward Randolph exhibited to the Lords of the Council "Articles of high Misdemeanor," urging that they should "attend and answer the articles" in England. He continued to be elected Representative, and at the sessions beginning 16 May and 7 November, 1683, was chosen Speaker.

In 1684, 1685, and 1686, he succeeded Joseph Dudley, H. U. 1665, as Assistant, Dudley favoring the surrender of the colonial charter; but when Dudley was made President at its abrogation, Cooke of course was "left out."

He was one of the signers of the message to Andros, 18 April, 1689, to "deliver up the government and fortifications"; and having been an Assistant in 1686, without holding any office, however, in the intervening time, he became a member of the "Council for the safety of the people, and conservation of the peace, . . . until, by direction from England, there be an orderly settlement of government."

Notwithstanding the imprisonment of Andros and his confederates, Edward Randolph wrote to Cooke from the "Common Goal, Nov. 25th. Sir, Your treating Sir Edmund Andross like a gentleman when you were last at the Castle, shall be remembered with respect. . . . If you please to call on me as you come this way and take a glasse of cyder you shall be welcome. Be confident nothing shall render me otherwise than a hearty friend to all good men."

In January, 1689-90, Hutchinson says: "The gen-

eral court thought it advisable to send over two of their members to join with Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. [Increase] Mather in maintaining their charges against their oppressors, as well as in soliciting the restoration of the charter, with such additional privileges as should be thought proper, viz. Elisha Cooke, and Thomas Oakes, both of them assistants. Mr. Cooke was a gentleman of good understanding, and had been well educated, had always adhered stiffly to the old charter, and when all the rest of the assistants declined reassuming it, he alone was in favor of it. . . . They were instructed, among other things, to solicit in parliament, or elsewhere, the confirmation of their ancient charter, and all its rights and privileges, civil and sacred, and, if there should be opportunity, to endeavour the obtaining such farther privileges as might be of benefit to the colony. The agents disagreed, and by this means, certain articles intended against Sir Edmund were never signed by them," and the result was, "Sir Edmund and the rest were discharged."

"When Mr. Mather found it impossible to obtain the restitution of the old charter, his next care was to preserve as many of the privileges contained in it as he could. Sir Henry Ashurst joined with him in all his measures. Mr. Cooke was for the old charter, or none at all. Mr. Oakes, the other agent, joined with Mr. Cooke"; he nevertheless "signed the petition for a new charter. . . . Mr. Cooke continued firm to his first principles, and as he would never take any one step towards obtaining the charter, so he utterly refused to accept of it, when granted, and he endeavoured to prevent the colony from accepting it also."

By the new charter, "The nomination of the officers reserved to the crown" being "left, for the first time, to the agents, or rather to Mr. Mather, who was considered *instar omnium*," several, "rigidly attached to the old

charter," "who had been of the assistants chosen by the people, were left out of the number, Mr. Cooke in particular. . . . Mr. Mather, no doubt, expected they would appear in opposition to the acceptance" of the new charter.

Cooke, with Oakes, returned to Boston 23 October, 1692, and 15 November kept a "Day of Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival."¹

In 1693 he was elected to the Council, but Phips, whose appointment as governor he had opposed, negatived him. "He was however in real esteem with the people, and the negative was impolitic." June 8, Sewall wrote: "Mr. Danforth labours to bring mr. Mather & Cook together but I think it vain. Is great wrath about mr. Cooks being refus'd, & 'tis supos'd mr. Mather is y^e cause."

In 1694 Cooke was again elected Councillor, and, Phips being recalled to England, took his seat, and held it by annual elections till the arrival of Dudley as Governor.

In 1695 he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court, in place of John Richards, deceased, and in 1701 succeeded William Stoughton, H. U. 1650, as Judge of Probate.

He was confidential adviser of Lord Bellomont, who, even "Whilst he was at New York," on his way to Massachusetts as governor, Hutchinson says, "kept a constant correspondence with Mr. Cooke, one of the

¹ "Tuesday, Nov^r 15th 1692. Mr. Cook keeps a Day of Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival. Mr. Bradstreet & Lady, Major Richards & wife, Major Gen^l Mr. Danforth, Col. Shrimpton, Mr. Oakes & wife, mr. Sergeant & W. mr. E^m Hutchinson & w. Mrs. Elisha Hutchinson, Mr. Chiever & w. Mr. Morton, mr Willard & W. Mr. Allen & w. = Mr. Allen Preach'd; from Jacob's going to Bethel sung twice after my being there, w^{ch} was late, & once before. Sung after Di^{ner}. Mr. Baily & mrs. Baily there. Mr. Mather not there, nor mr. Cotton Mather. The good Lord unite us in his Fear, & remove our Animosities." — S. Sewall's Manuscript Diary.

council for the Massachusetts, who was a principal man" of the party opposed to Dudley and his adherents.

As a member of the Council which in 1689 committed Dudley to prison, and kept him there twenty weeks, Cooke was the object of bitter animosity to the latter, who, on becoming governor in 1702, "indulged his implacable hatred" by turning him out of his judicial offices, issuing new commissions to all the Judges but him; "and from that time he ceased to have any connexion with the court."

Eliot says, Cooke "was the opposer of all the governours, but the pointed enemy of Dudley, and never missed the opportunity of speaking against his measures, or declaring his disapprobation of the man. On the other hand, Dudley negatived him as often as he was chosen into the council," which was annually until the year 1715. In that year, writes Hutchinson, "Mr. Dudley met the assembly, at the election in May, but made no speech, though he had never failed of doing it before. The Council and House chose his great adversary Mr. Cooke, whom he had so often negatived, into the council, and either from indifference, or a spirit of forgiveness before his political departure, he now approved of him. . . . Cooke died the 31st of October this year. . . . He was esteemed as a physician, but most remarkable in his political character, having been more than forty years together employed in places of public trust, always firm and steady to his principles."

According to the Leverett Memorial, Cooke's family "is said to have been the wealthiest in Boston. . . . He was for many years the leader of the democratic party in the Colony, and shared the odium or approbation of the government as the one or other party prevailed. His wealth, family, and political connections gave him great influence in the Colony. . . . The celebrated Dr. Bentley,

an enthusiastic admirer of the two Elisha Cookes, fancied that the word Caucus was derived from Cooke's-house, in which popular meetings were frequent. . . . This was a large stone mansion in School street, near the present City Hall. . . . Cooke's-court, now Chapman-place, was owned by the Cookes."

In June, 1668, Cooke married Elizabeth, born 26 April, 1651, daughter of Governor John Leverett by his second wife, Sarah Sedgwick. She died 21 July, 1715. Their only child, Elisha Cooke, H. U. 1697, was born 20 December, 1678.

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JOHN WHITING.

Born about 1637, died 1689, aged 52.

REV. JOHN WHITING, B. A., brother of Samuel Whiting, H. U. 1653, was probably born at Lynn, Massachusetts, soon after the arrival of his father, the Reverend Samuel Whiting, whom the "Ecclesiastical *Sharks* . . . drove" over "the *Atlantic* Sea, unto the *American* Strand," in 1636.

From the College accounts of "whittinge Jeuner," which extend only from 10-4-53 to 6-4-56, and include "detrementes" 9-1-54-5, and "detrementes" and "half-tuitions" 7-7-55, it seems probable that he was not only absent during part of the college course, but that he left the institution in the summer of 1656, a supposition strengthened by the consideration that there are no "Commencement chardges" against him, and that he did not take his second degree.

Among the items put to his credit are, "10-3-54 Alowed him out of the Puneshmentes 6s. 8d," "8-4-55 Payd by takinge of his bro Sir whittinges Credite and puting Itt on hear £5 5s. 7½d.," and "15-2-56 Payd by Captaine Sauage by two billes from the Ironworks £4 10s."

Cotton Mather states that he "was intended for a *Physician*"; but he early went to England, where he "became a *Preacher*" at the church of St. Andrews in Butterwich, a small village about four miles from Boston, his father's native place; after which he was Rector of Leverton, seven miles from Boston, "where he died a Godly Conformist."

His father's will, dated 25 February, 1678, and probated 30 March, 1680, contains the following item: "My second son John Whiteing Liveing in ould England, at Leverton in Lincolnshire, shall . . . have thirtye pounds of my estate that I leave, sett out to him as an addition to what he hath alreddye receiued (viz.) ten pounds in moneys; & twentye pounds in Common paye: according to the ordinarye prises of Corne, cattle &c: in the Countrye."

The son is said to have died 11 October, 1689. Thompson states that "John Whiting and his wife Esther were both buried, October 19th, 1689."

AUTHORITIES. — S. G. Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 363. J. Farmer, *Genealog. Register*, 314; and in *American Quarterly Register*, x. 248; Farmer and Moore's *Collections*, ii. 233. Harv. College Steward's *Account-Books*, i. 169, 170. A. Lewis, *History of Lynn*, Newhall's edition, 274. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. 157. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 518. P. Thompson, *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 430, 558. W. P. Upham, *Letter*, 1872, August 29. W. Whiting, *Memoir of Reverend Samuel Whiting*, 13, 87, 159, 274.

BARNABAS CHAUNCY.

Born about 1637, died perhaps 1675.

BARNABAS CHAUNCY, M. A., brother of Isaac and Ichabod, H. U. 1651, and of Nathaniel, Elnathan, and Israel, H. U. 1661, third son of President Charles and Catharine (Eyre) Chauncy, was born in England, a very short time before his father came to America, in 1637.

I find no allusion to him while in college, the leaf of the Steward's book which probably contained his account being torn out.

He was admitted to full communion with the Church in Cambridge 10 December, 1658.

In May, 1665, he was invited to preach at Saco. In April, 1666, there was a meeting at Saco about his "going away and his wages," when it was voted that "It is the consent of the major part of this meeting that Master Chauncy may be safely sent home as speedily as conveniently may be. Mr. F. Hooke and R. Booth are appointed by this meeting to take care for his passage at the town charge." The rates levied for his services were not collected, and two years afterward, in April, 1668, we find that "Mr. Williams hath delivered 34s. in to Mr. Barnabas Chansee upon condition that if the townsmen do not approve of it, he promises to allow it back again."

September 11, 1666, the General Court, "having bin informed that the præſident of the colledg is in ſome neceſſity, by reaſon of the afflicting hand of God vpon him in his ſonne, & other things concurring thereto, judge meet to order the Treſurer of the country forthwith to pay vnto the ſajd præſident the ſome of twenty pounds, as a gratuity from the Court for a ſupply of his preſent wants."

In 1673, Elnathan Chauncey preſented to the General Court a petition, ſetting forth that his father "was a Servant to the Country" as Preſident of the Colledge "for about 17 yeares, in all w^{ch} time he never receiued for allowance any other paym^t but ſuch as the Country rate brought in, w^{ch} was greatly to the impoveriſhing of his family thorow the great ſtreights, that they were vn-avoydably put into, So that had not he had Some releife in Some other kind, they could not poſſibly haue Subſiſted, and now after the deceaſe of Parents, their children are left in a very poore condiçcon, and eſpecially one Brother that is throw the Lords afflicting hand ſo farr diſtemp^d as renders him wholly vnable to do any thing towards his owne mainetenance and ſo will of neceſſity be an annuall charge, and it is a great adition to this So great an affliçion, that his poore Brother's haue not in their hands to relieue him"; wherefore he prays that "what is due on acc^t of" his "fathers Sallary... may be payd in money," and that "by the order of this Court Some care may be taken that my poore distracted Brother may not p^rſh for want...."

Whereupon it was ordered, May 7, 1673, "that the arrears due to y^e late Reuerend M^r Charles Chancy, præſident, be pajd by the Treſurer in mony, and that there be an allowance añually of tenn pounds a yeare, to be payd by the country Treſurer in money to the deacons of Cambridge, for & towards the releife of the petiçoners brother, Barnabas Chauncey."

“Novemb. 10. 1674. The Overseers [of the Colledge] being informed of the sad & distressed Estate of m^r Barnabas Chauncey, Son of m^r Charles Chauncey decēd late President of the Colledge, ordered y^t the Treasurer of the Colledge pay ten pound in mony out of the Colledge Treasury for his present Supply of cloathing and bedding, etc.” This sum was paid 24 November, to John Woods, of Marlborough, for Chauncey’s use. The Colledge Treasurer’s account-books contain no notice of any later appropriation, and he may have died soon afterwards. Charles Chauncey, H. U. 1721, says he “died in middle age an immature death.”

The circumstances that the last payment for him was made to an inhabitant of Marlborough, that in the part of the town since incorporated as Westborough a tract of land was granted to President Chauncey, and that there is a pond there called after his name, suggest the possibility that the last days of the graduate may have been spent at that place. The Reverend Ebenezer Parkman, H. U. 1721, remarks: “It is said that in early times one Mr. *Chauncey* was lost in one of the swamps here; and that from thence this part of the town had its name.”

AUTHORITIES.— Cambridge Church Treasurer’s Accounts. C. Hudson, Records. C. Chauncey, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 178. S. Deane, History of Scituate, 178. G. Folsom, History of Saco and Biddeford, 131. W. C. Fowler, Memorials of the Chaunceys, 32, 33; and in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, x. 254. Harvard College Corporation Records, iii. 66; and History of Marlborough, 35. Massachusetts Bay Records, iv. (ii.) 314, 557; and Manuscript Archives, lviii. 88. C. Mather, Magnalia, iii. 140. W. Newell, Church Gathering, 52. E. Parkman, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 84. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 366, 368.

CLASS OF 1658.

| | |
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| Joseph Eliot, | Jonah Fordham, |
| Joseph Haynes, | John Barsham, |
| Benjamin Bunker, | Samuel Talcott, |
| Samuel Shepard. | |

JOSEPH ELIOT.

Born 1638, died 1694, aged 55.

REV. JOSEPH ELIOT, M. A., of Guilford, Connecticut, son of John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, and brother of the Eliots who graduated respectively in 1656, 1660, and 1665, was born at Roxbury, Massachusetts, 20 December, 1638.

The leaf of the College Steward's Account-Book containing the charges against him is torn out; but among the items credited to him as "Eliatt Jeu" are several goats, "ane oxe wight neete fower quarter^s hid tallow—589 pound £7," "a red oxe wight 383^{lb}," "7 6 54 Payd by 4 bush appells at the Commencment 14s.," four bushels more for 10s. at Commencement the next year, and three bushels for 9s. the year following, etc., the fruit perhaps being of extra quality and wanted specially for the occasion. "The 28-11-59 payd by retorne of his study and gallery—3-12-00."

After graduating, Eliot began to qualify himself to instruct the Indians. Among the Acts of the Commis-

sioners of the United Colonies in September, 1658, is the following record: "M^r Joseph Elliatt being tendered by his father to bee Employed in the Indian worke and himselfe manifesting his Reddiness to attend the same was promised due Incurragement according as hee shall Improue himselfe in learning of the Language." The Commissioners' accounts for September, 1660, have the item, "To M^r Joseph Elliott for his Incurragement in studdying the Indian Language these two yeares past to fitt him for the worke £20," and in September, 1661, £10 "To m^r Joseph Elliot Juni^r for his Sallary for the yeare past ending September 6i."

November 23, 1662, the people of Northampton, Massachusetts, "unanimously expressed their desire to settle Mr. *Joseph Elliot* among them as a *teacher*," Eleazar Mather having been ordained pastor of the church, 18 June, 1661, and John Strong ruling elder soon afterwards, different duties being assigned to these three officers in the early churches. "His salary was fixed at 50 pounds." January 11, 1663, "the town voted to give him 80 pounds, and 60 pounds a year, and to build him a house." He "assisted Mr. Mather in the ministry for a year or two," but was not ordained.

About 1664 or 1665 he was settled at Guilford, Connecticut. "The Church and Town Greatly flourished under his Successfull Ministry; and Rose to Great Fame in the Colony. After this Burning & Shineing Light had ministred to this Good people About 30 year^s, he Deceased May 24: 1694, to the inexpressible Grief of his belove^d flock whose memory is not forgotten to this Day [1769]."

Thomas Ruggles, H. U. 1690, also from Roxbury, was ordained his successor in 1695.

Eliot's first wife, Sarah, daughter of William Brenton, Governor of Rhode Island, by his wife Martha, was the

mother of, — 1. Mchitable, born 6 October, 1676; 2. Ann, born 12 December, 1677, who married, 20 December, 1698, Jonathan Law, Governor of Connecticut, and died 16 November, 1703; 3. Jemima, born 1680, who married, 14 November, 1699, the Reverend John Woodridge, H. U. 1694; 4. Bashua, born 1681–2. She dying in the winter of 1681–2, Eliot married, about 1684, Mary, born 1656, eldest daughter of Samuel Willis, of Hartford, H. U. 1653, by his wife Ruth, daughter of John Haynes, first Governor of Connecticut, by whom he had 5. Jared, born 7 November, 1685, Y. C. 1706; 6. Abiel, 1687; 7. Mary, 1688; 8. Rebecca, 1690.

At the May session in 1698, the General Court of Connecticut ordered land to be laid out to the widow, “Mrs Marie Elliott . . . formerly granted to the Reverend Mr Joseph Elliott deceased.” She died 11 October, 1729.

A correspondent of the New York semi-weekly Evening Post, 29 October, 1869, writes: “The homestead and farm, . . . owned and occupied in 1664 by Rev. Joseph Elliot, . . . now the residence of his immediate descendant, . . . has never passed out of the family. A pear tree, . . . planted by Rev. Mr. Elliot himself, bore fruit up to 1865, when it was blown down by a storm. It was supposed to be older than the famous Stuyvesant tree,” in the city of New York. “The present occupant, Mr. Lewis R. Elliot, is a relative of the late Fitz-Greene Halleck, who was also a descendant of the Elliot family.”

WORKS.

Letters, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 374–379.

AUTHORITIES. — Connecticut Public Records, ii. 84, 99, 389; iv. 262. History of Connecticut, 27, 29, 399. S. Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, i. 345, 346. B. B. Contributions to the Ecclesiastical

Edwards, in *American Quarterly Register*, x. 389. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 185. E. Hazard, *State Papers*, ii. 395, 431, 443. J. G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, i. 52. E. E. Law, *Letter*, 1863, September 7. *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, xxxi. 13; xxxviii. 374-379, 465. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iii. 173. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, v. 334. *Plymouth Records*, x. 207, 245, 262. Thomas Ruggles, in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, iv. 188; x. 93, 94; and *Historical Magazine*, 2d Series, v. 230. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 342; ii. 111; iv. 577. R. H. Walworth, *Hyde Genealogy*, ii. 1171. S. Williams, *Historical Sketch of Northampton*, 16, 17.

JOSEPH HAYNES.

Born about 1641, died 1679, aged 38.

REV. JOSEPH HAYNES, or HAINES, B. A., of Hartford, Connecticut, born at Hartford in 1641, brother of John Haynes, H. U. 1656, was son of Governor John Haynes by his second wife, Mabel Harlakenden.

The first charge against him in the College Steward's books is dated 9-4-54, and the last 5-3-59. He was probably absent during the greater part of the Sophomore year, as he is charged for half-tuition and detriments, 7-10-55, 7-1-56, and 6-4-56, the words "debitor senc his last Comminge" being written between the last two dates. The other items are for the ordinary expenses; and the payments are made chiefly in malt and wheat, there being none in silver.

He "supplied the pulpit in Wethersfield [Connecticut] in 1663 and 1664. During the latter year he was called to the first Congregational Church in Hartford," where he and John Whiting, H. U. 1653, who had been settled previously, became successors of the famous divines Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone.

Some account of Haynes's participation in the Hart-

ford church quarrel, of which the colleagues became the two contending leaders, has already been given on page 345 in the notice of Whiting, and further particulars may be found in a letter written in 1666 by the Reverend John Davenport, and printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxx. 59-62.

According to Trumbull's History, "There were . . . different sentiments among the brethren and between the ministers, relative to the qualifications of church members, the subjects of baptism, and the mode of discipline. Mr. Whiting and part of the church were zealous for the strictly congregational way, as it has been called, practised by the ministers and churches, at their first coming into New-England. Mr. Haynes and a majority of the congregation were not less engaged against it. The difference became so great, that it was judged expedient, both by an ecclesiastical council and the assembly, that the church and town should be divided. An ecclesiastical council having first advised to a division, the general assembly, in October, 1669, passed an act" accordingly. "Mr. Whyting and his party refusing to hold com̄vnion wth Mr Haynes and his party withdrew" and organized a new church; Haynes continuing his connection with the old church until his death, 24 May, 1679.

About 1668 Haynes married Sarah, born about 1638, daughter of Captain Richard Lord, of Hartford, who with Captain Pynchon was relied on to secure the regicides Whalley and Goffe for trial in England. Of Haynes's children, John, born in 1669, graduated in 1689, and Sarah became, in 1694, second wife of the Reverend James Pierpont of New Haven, H. U. 1681.

AUTHORITIES. — S. Bradstreet, the Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut, 22, 24, 404, 506. A. B. Journal, in New England Historical and Genealogical Register, viii. 327, 331; ix. 45, 49. Contributions to Chapin, Glastenbury, 38. J. Davenport, in Collections of the Massa-

chusetts Historical Society, xxx. 60. Genealogical Register, xvii. 96. J. N. Goodwin, Foote Family, xxxix. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 191, 192. Massachusetts 389, 390; iii. 115, 432. B. Trumbull, History of Connecticut, i. 461. Histor. Society, Collections, xxxviii. R. H. Walworth, Hyde Genealogy, 339. New England Historical and ii. 1170.

BENJAMIN BUNKER.

Born 1635, died 1670, aged about 35.

REV. BENJAMIN BUNKER, or BUNCKER, M. A., of Malden, Massachusetts, baptized at Charlestown 20 September, 1635, was son of George Bunker, — from whom Bunker Hill derives its name, he owning the summit of it, — who came to New England, accompanied probably by his wife Judith and his son John Bunker, and who, in 1637, was disarmed for espousing the cause of Ann Hutchinson, though in the following year the General Court made him constable of Charlestown and granted him fifty acres of land.

The graduate, admitted to full communion in the church at Charlestown 29 April, 1660, was ordained at Malden 9 December, 1663, as colleague with Michael Wigglesworth, H. U. 1651.

Wigglesworth wrote an Elegy "Upon the much Lamented Death of that precious Servant of Christ M^r Benjamin Buncker, Pasto^r of the Church at Maldon, who deceased on the 3^d of y^e 12th moneth 1669." It was printed in the Puritan Recorder, 11 October, 1855, and in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxvi. 11; the original, consisting of one hundred and twelve lines in fourteen stanzas, being among the Ewer Manuscripts, i. 8, belonging to the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. Wigglesworth says:—

“He was another Timothie
 That from his very youth
 With holy writt acquainted was
 And vers’t ith’ word of truth.
 Who as he grew to riper yeers
 He also grew in Grace:
 And as he drew more neer his End,
 He mended still his Pace.

“He was a true Nathaniel,
 Plain-hearted Israelite,
 In whom appear’d Sincerity
 And not a guilefull Sp’rite,
 Serious in all he went about
 Doing it with his Heart,
 And not content to put off christ
 With the Externall part.

“He was most sound and Orthodox,
 A down-right honest Teacher,
 And of soul-searching needfull Truths
 A zealous, Painfull Preacher.
 And God his Pious Labours hath
 To many hearers blest,
 As by themselves hath publicly
 been owned & confest.

“He hath in few yeers learned more,
 And greater Progress made
 In Christianity, then some
 That thrice the time have had.
 A humble, broken-hearted man
 Still vile in his own eyes
 That from the feeling of his wants
 Christ’s Grace did highly prize.

“Still thirsting to obtain more full:
 Assurance of Gods Love:
 And striving to be liker christ
 And to the Saints above.

Although he was Endu'd with Gifts
 And Graces, more then many.
 Yet he himself Esteemed still
 More poor & vile then any.

“In fruitless, empty, vain discourse
 He took no good content:
 But when he talk't of Heav'nly things,
 That seem'd his Element.
 There you might see his heart, & know
 What was his greatest Pleasure,
 To speak & hear concerning Christ
 Who was his onely Treasure:

“His constant self-denying frame,
 To all true saints his love,
 His meekness, sweetness, Innocence
 And Spirit of a Dove,
 Let them be graven on our hearts
 And never be forgot.
 The name of Precious Saints shall live,
 When wicked mens shall rot.

“O Maldon, Maldon thou hast long
 Enjoy'd a day of Grace;
 Thou hast a Precious man of God
 Possessed in this Place:
 But for thy sins thou art bereft
 Of what thou didst possess;
 Oh let thy sins afflict thee more
 Then do thy wants thee press.

“Awake, awake, secure hard hearts;
 Do you not hear the Bell
 That for your Pastours Funerall
 soundeth a dolefull Knell?
 You that would never hear nor heed
 Th' instructions that he gave,
 Me-thinks you should awake & learn
 One lesson at his Grave.”

Bunker's widow, Mary, by an instrument dated at Roxbury, 12 January, 1676-7, "Releases to Jon^a Bunker for 40 shillings per year all Right to Land of her late husband Benj. Bunker of Malden."

AUTHORITIES. — Bi-Centennial Book of Malden, 156. Ewer Manuscripts, i. 8, in New-England Hist. Genealog. Society's Library. R. Frothingham, History of Charlestown, 83. J. Hull, Diary, in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 230. Massachusetts Bay Records, i. 212. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vii. 206; x. 241; xxv. 148; xxvi. 11. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 298; and J. Winthrop, History of New England, i. 248. S. Sewall, in *American Quarterly Register*, xi. 177, 193. T. B. Wyman, Letter, 1872, September 4.

JONAH FORDHAM.

Born about 1633, died 1696, aged 63.

REV. JONAH FORDHAM, B. A., son of the Reverend Robert Fordham, of Southampton, Long Island, by his wife, Elizabeth Benning, a member of the church at Milford, Connecticut, "was settled" at Hempstead, Long Island, in 1660. Thompson says: "He was so much esteemed by the people that in 1663 the town voted that he should have allotments with the other inhabitants and also a £200 estate, if he pleased, which according to the rule of valuation then adopted, amounted to 300 acres, with woodland in proportion." His father having died in 1674, he "returned to Southampton, . . . and labored in the ministry there, probably till the arrival of the Rev. Mr. [Joseph] Taylor in 1680," a graduate in 1669.

"Sept. 26, 1687," continues Thompson, apparently quoting the records of Brookhaven, "it was ordered by a major part of the town, that Mr. Jonah Fordham of Southampton, be sent unto, desiring him to officiate in

the work of the ministry in this town,'” but he declined. In 1691 he “accepted a second invitation, declining a settlement on account of his health, but remained here six years, when he returned to Southampton, where he died July 17, 1696, aged 63.”

His successor at Hempstead was Jeremiah Hobart, H. U. 1650, who was installed 17 October, 1683, and at Brookhaven George Phillips, H. U. 1686.

Fordham's son Josiah was great-grandfather of Benjamin F. Thompson, author of the History of Long Island.

AUTHORITIES. — F. B. Dexter, Letter, 1872, January 13. N. S. Prime, History of Long Island, 223, 281. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 263. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 184. B. F. Thompson, History of Long Island, i. 338, 422, 423; ii. 22.

JOHN BARSHAM.

Born 1635, died before 1700.

JOHN BARSHAM, B. A., born 8 December, 1635, was son of William and Ammiel, Annabel, or Annabell Barsham, of Watertown, Massachusetts, who came from England, perhaps in 1630. His residence at the College appears to have continued little more than two years, as his quarter-bills extend only from 9-4-54 to 5-7-56; the charges afterward being “from the 5-7-56 to the 5-4-58 by 8 quarters detrements, £2,” and “Att the 10-6-58 by his Comencment Chardges £3” and “2s. 6½d.” for sizings.

In 1661 and 1662, perhaps before, he taught the school in Hampton, New Hampshire, the town agreeing, 16 May, 1661, “‘Y^t Thomas Marston & William Moulton shall Joyne with John Sanborn to Hire the p^rsent

schoolmaster for another yeere p^rvided they shall n^ott Exced the som of twenty-six pound for his yeeres wages nor be more dificult in his pay than the last yeere.' The salary agreed upon was £26."

J. Coffin says he was at "Exeter æ. 28 in 1669; keep- ing school in Hampton, 1672."

The Reverend Nicholas Gilman, H. U. 1724, of Dur- ham, New Hampshire, in his Interleaved Triennial Cata- logue of 1733, locates him at Portsmouth as a teacher, writing "Pœd Portsm^o" against his name.

Bell writes: "I find many deeds & other instruments to which he was a witness or a party. From August 23, 1669, to April 22, 1693, he appears to have been a resi- dent of Portsmouth—a schoolmaster, and acting as scriv- ener pretty largely. He was taxed in Portsmouth 6 shil- lings in 1673, and bought land there in 1678, which he sold again in April, 1693. . . . There is no record of admⁿ on his estate in this county [Rockingham]; so he proba- bly died elsewhere." His death must have occurred not long afterward, as he is starred in Mather's *Magnalia* and in the Triennial Catalogue of 1700.

His father, in his will, dated August, 1683, says: "I give unto my son, John Barsham a hifer at two yeers old and the vantage and fowre ewe sheep and five pounds in silver," adding in a codicil, 29-1-84, "twen- tie shillings" more.

By his wife, Mehitabel, he had 1. Annabel, 31 May, 1670; 2. Mary, 21 February, 1671-2; 3. Dorothy, 2 February, 1673-4; 4. Sarah, 11 August, 167-; 5. Wil- liam, 25 April, 1678.

AUTHORITIES. — C. H. Bell, Letter, Books, i. 202. Middlesex County 1872, October 14. H. Bond, Family Probate Files and Records. New Memorials, 17, 677. J. Dow, in England Historical and Genealogical Hampton Reports, March, 1872, 21. Register, vi. 208; vii. 116. J. Sav- J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 26. age, Genealog. Dictionary, i. 127. Harvard College Steward's Account-

SAMUEL TALCOTT.

Born about 1635, died 1691, aged 56.

SAMUEL TALCOTT, otherwise TALLCOT, TALLCOTT, etc., born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, about 1635, was son of John Talcott, who arrived at Boston 16 September, 1632, and removed with Hooker from Cambridge to Hartford, Connecticut.

His college accounts extend from 9-4-54 to 7-4-59. There are charges for freights from Connecticut to Boston, and from Boston to Cambridge, and for bringing "wheatt and malt from the Creek 1s. 6d.," besides "the monitor and wrytinge of names 1s. 7½d.," "glasse mending 1s.," "buppenes and silke bought by the steward 3s. 6d.," with several "detrementes," indicating absences from the institution, or that he did not live in college. His "Commencment Chardges £3" are in the quarter-bill dated 15-7-58, with the addition of "Sizinge senc the quarter-day 5s.," etc. The payments were made with "wheatte," "malte," "a ferkinge of butter £1 10s.," "a hogshead of ot meal £3 4s.," "a hogshead In which the ote meall was 4s. 6d.," etc.; but there is no mention of silver.

Talcott settled at Wethersfield, in Connecticut, where he was made freeman in October, 1662. From 1669 to 1684 he was Commissioner for Wethersfield; and from 1670 to 1684 Deputy to the General Court, of which he was Secretary, "in the absence of Capt. Allyn," during the October session of 1684.

May 16, 1676, while Philip's War was raging, he was appointed one of "a standing Councill, to order, manage and dispose of all such affayres as shall be necessary to be attended in the intervalls of the Gen^l Court."

May 12, 1677, "Mr Sam^l Tallcott is approued and confirmed Leivtenant of Wethersfeild Traine Band," by the General Court. October 14, 1679, "Mr. Sam^l Tallcott is by this Court approved to be Leftⁿ of the Troope." October, 1681, "Mr. Sam^l Tallcott is confirmed Captⁿ of the Troope of Hartford county," and was reconfirmed after the resumption of the charter government, in June, 1689.

From 1685, except during the period of Andros's administration, he was Assistant until his death, 10 November, 1691.

November 7, 1661, he married Hannah, born 9 June, 1644, daughter of Elizur Holyoke, of Springfield, Massachusetts, whose wife was Mary, daughter of William Pynchon. She died 2 February, 1679, and 6 August following he took a second wife, Mary. He had children by his first wife only.

AUTHORITIES. — Connecticut Public Records, i, ii, iii, iv. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 205, 206. S. Judd, Letter, 1846, June 25. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 456; iv. 251.

SAMUEL SHEPARD.

Born 1641, died 1668, aged 26.

REV. SAMUEL SHEPARD, M. A., of Rowley, Massachusetts, born at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1641, was son of the Reverend Thomas Shepard by his second wife, Joanna, daughter of the Reverend Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, Connecticut, and half-brother of Thomas Shepard, H. U. 1653, by the first wife, and half-brother of Jeremiah Shepard, H. U. 1669, by the third wife.

Matthew Day, disposing of three silver spoons by

will, dated 10 May, 1649, gives "the 3^d that hath my owne name on it w^c I brought out of England to my old acquaintance little Samuel Shepard."

The first college charges against him are dated 9-4-54, and the last, including "Commencment Chardges," 5-7-58. Among the items are "two pair of stockines 6s.," "monitor and wrytinge of names 1s. 7d.," "repaire of glasse" three times, etc. On the credit side are "Payd by bro goff by seuerall payments," also by "tobacco 1s.," "a barne £6," etc.

It would seem from the affix of "Socius" to his name on the earliest as well as all subsequent catalogues of graduates, that he was Tutor or Fellow; but I find nothing to this effect on the College Records.

He was admitted to full communion with the church in Cambridge 19 July, 1663, and dismissed 13 August, 1665, to the church in Rowley, where he was ordained 15 November, 1665, as colleague pastor with Samuel Phillips, H. U. 1650, the latter continuing teacher. There Shepard died, 7 April, 1668, after a ministry of less than three years, leaving a will dated 4 April, three days before his death.

Cotton Mather says, he "was one, whose *Heart* was a *Tent* in which the Lord remarkably chose to *Dwell*." Jonathan Mitchell, H. U. 1647, cited by Mather, represents him as "A very Precious, Holy, Meditating, Able and Choice Young Man. . . . His Attainments in Communion with God, and in Daily *Meditation* and Close Walking, may shame those that are Elder than he. He was but *Twenty six years* of Age in *October* last. He was an Excellent Preacher, most dearly Beloved at *Rowly*, and of all that knew him; but just settled among them. The People would have *Plucked out their Eyes* for him, to have saved his Life. But he was ripe for *Heaven*, and God took him *thither*: A *Gain* to him but an invaluable *Loss* to us."

William Hubbard, H. U. 1642, writes that he "was called from Christ's plough by an untimely sickness, as soon almost as he had put his hand thereunto early in the spring of his life, as well as of the year, . . . in the very flower of his youth, blossoming with hopes of greater fruitfulness in the vineyard, if he might have continued longer therein."

The following certificate of his marriage is entered on the Rowley Town Records: "Thes are to certifie that Mr. Samuel Shepard and Mrs. Dorothy Flint were joined in marriage before me the 30 of Apperil 1666 by me Daniel Gookins." Dorothy Flint, called "Mrs." by way of respect, youngest daughter of Henry Flint, first minister of Braintree, whose wife was Margery, eldest sister of President Hoar, was born 11 July, 1642. She died 12 February, 1667-8, less than two months before her husband. They left one child, Samuel Shepard, H. U. 1685.

AUTHORITIES. — Christian Examiner, xlv. 340. J. Farmer, Genealogical Register, 262. J. B. Felt, in American Quarterly Register, vii. 253. T. Gage, History of Rowley, 19, 74, 388. Harvard College Steward's Account-Books, i. 203, 204. W. Hubbard, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xvi. 604. C. Mather, Magnalia, iv. 206. New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii. 181; vii. 205. W. Newell, Church Gathering, 52. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 174; iv. 75, 76. M. A. Stickney, in the Essex Institute Historical Collections, vi. 38.

APPENDIX.

STUDENTS FROM 1649-50 TO 1659.

THE following names are taken from the oldest of six College Steward's Account-Books, found by Lucius Robinson Paige, D. D., in the possession of descendants of the Bordmans, who held the office of Steward from 1682 to 1750, and noticed by him in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for September, 1860, page 68. From an earlier volume, which is lost, balances of accounts were transferred to this, which, though its value is impaired by mutilation, occasionally contains the best and sometimes the only memoranda respecting students at the College from 1649-50 to 1659. The names of those who graduated, as well as of those who did not graduate, are here printed in the order in which they are recorded, the numerals following the letter S designating the pages in the Steward's Book. Dates of quarter-bills have been added, as pointing to the time and duration of the residence at College, and the period of study required for degrees; while the nature of the payments, and the names of persons by whom made, afford hints for identification of the students, and throw light on the College expenses and other matters pertaining to the early history of the institution.

REV. SAMUEL DANFORTH, H. U. 1643, p. 88. — S. 1, 2.

“Mr Samuell Danforth.” The dates of his quarter-bills are from 14-4-50 to 27-3-52. The charge 14-4-50 “by Commones and Sizings” is followed by 24-2-51 “payd for m^r lyons” £1 18s. 6d., “payd by the Psedente for him” 12s., “payd vnto m^r Whalley” 6s., and 27-3-52 “payd by gregry Stone” 5s. The credits are 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £1 0s. 6d., “Alowed him for Defecte of his fellowship as appeares by the Psedentes booke” £1 10s., “Alowed him by Anger by Desoluinge his studye” 16s.

WILLIAM MILD MAY, H. U. 1647, p. 164. — S. 3, 4.

“Mr Willyam Mildmay and m^r Lyons”; the latter being a tutor of Mildmay. Their quarter-bills are dated from “quarter-day” 14-2-50 to 28-2-51. “Quarter-day 13-7-50 by m^r Willyam

myldmay his Commencment Chardges" £3 2s. 6d., being for his second degree, and "Dew at his Commencment to the Psedent" £2. "Commencment day 30 of July befor this quarter day, payd for moxon" 13s. 7d. 2q., etc. The first credit is 15-1-49-50 "P ballance" 8d. 1q. Afterward are 14-2-51 "m^r mildmay his lone returnd for the gallery" £1 10s., "payd by brodstreat for a dixenary" 10s., 24-2-51 "payd by Edward goff for a saddell of m^r lyons" £1, etc.

REV. JONATHAN MITCHELL, H. U. 1647, p. 141. — S. 5, 6.

"M^r Jonathan michell fellow." Debitor from 15-1-49-50 "P ballance" to 8-7-54, with "his Commencment Chardg" £3 4s. 5d. on quarter-day 13-7-50. There is "Alowed him for his fellowship" £3 on each of the quarter-days 15-1-49-50 and 13-7-50, on the latter quarter-day there being "payd to ward his Commencment Chardg" 9s.

REV. NATHANIEL MATHER, H. U. 1647, p. 157. — S. 7, 8.

"M^r Nathaniell mather." Debitor 30-5-50 "being the day of Commencment by his Commencment Chardges" £3 2s. 3d.

SAMUEL EATON, H. U. 1649, p. 171. — S. 9, 10.

"Sir Eaton fellow." Debitor from 15-1-49-50 "P ballance as appeares" £2 10s. 9d. to 9-10-53, including 10-7-52 "by his Commencment Chardge" £3, with charges during the whole time for "study rente and beed making." The first credit is on the quarter-day 14-4-50 "Alowd him for his Instructinge Some pupelles" 11s., after which there are quarterly allowances for his fellowship till 11-1-52-3.

REV. URIAN OAKES, H. U. 1649, p. 173. — S. 11, 12.

"Sir okes fellow." Debitor from 15-1-49-50 "P ballance" £1 3s. 11d. to 11-1-52-3, including 10-7-52 "his Commencment Chardges" £3.

REV. NATHANIEL WHITE, H. U. 1646, p. 137. — S. 13, 14.

"M^r Whitte." Debitor from 13-7-50 to 9-7-53.

SAMUEL WILLIS, H. U. 1653, p. 323. — S. 15, 16.

“Mr. Samuells willes fellow Commener.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £4 16s. 9½d. to 9-7-53 “Commencement Chardg” etc., after which are “discontinuances” till June, 1654.

BROOKES. — S. 17, 18.

“Mr Brookes Creditor Entred the Colledg the 3 of June, 51.” In the notice of the Reverend John Brock, H. U. 1646, pp. 127-131, the prefix “Mr”, with other considerations, suggested the probability that the College Steward, whose spelling is capricious, wrote Brookes for Brock, and that this was the opening of a new account with Brock, after his return from Rowley; but the fact that Brookes is charged for tuition, which, if Brock be meant, must have been after he took both his degrees, makes their identity improbable. In a record of “The Countrey Stocke” in 1652 is the entry, “Giuen by goodman brooke of wooborne” 4s. 6d., — perhaps a relative.

REV. JOHN ROGERS, H. U. 1649, p. 166. — S. 19, 20.

“Sir Rogers.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £3 18s. 2¾d. to 13-1-50-1.

REV. JOHN COLLINS, H. U. 1649, p. 186. — S. 21, 22.

“Sir Collines” or “Sir Collenes.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £4 5s. 8¼d. to 11-1-52-3. Among the charges are 13-4-51 “payd by the Psedent to m^r lyones for Sir Collenes” 13s. 6d., and 10-7-52, on taking his second degree, “his Commencement Chardges” £3. Among the credits are “In may 50 payd by Elder frost by Tho sweatman for m^{rs} Day” £2 4s. 8d., 14-4-50 “by 4 rymes of the best garland pap Chardg on the Psedent” £2, and “by m^r willes his gift of boston payd to the Psedent” £1; also 13-1-50-51 “by his Chollership when the Constipell hath Collected” it £3 15s.; also “Alowed him for his Exebition” on six occasions, each allowance being three pounds.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, H. U. 1650, p. 194. — S. 23, 24.

“Sir Stoughton.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £5 12s. 1d. 2q. to 12-10-51, or later, the leaf being mutilated, his “Commencement Chardge,” 30-5-50, being £3 2s. 1d.

REV. JOSHUA HOBART, H. U. 1650, p. 211. } — S. 25, 26.
 REV. JEREMIAH HOBART, H. U. 1650, p. 214. }

“The Sirs hubartes,” or “the Sir hubbarts.” Debtors from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £11 6s. 4d. to 9-6-53; 13-10-50 “to be added for Sack att y^r Commencment dew to Sir Allerton” 4s. 8d.

REV. EDMUND WELD, H. U. 1650, p. 220. — S. 27, 28.

“Sir Weld.” Without an item charged or credited.

REV. SAMUEL PHILLIPS, H. U. 1650, p. 221. — S. 29, 30.

“Sir Philipes.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £4 15s. 10³/₄d. to 12-7-51, with “Commencment Chardges” 30-5-50, and again 9-6-53, on taking his degrees.

REV. LEONARD HOAR, H. U. 1650, p. 228. — S. 31, 32.

“Sir hoar.” Debitor 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” 13s. 9d. 2q., 30-5-50 “by his Commencment Chardg” £3 2s. 1d., and 10-7-53 “by Commencment Charges” £3, etc.

ISAAC ALLERTON, H. U. 1650, p. 253. — S. 33, 34.

“S^r Allerton.” Creditor from 27-4-50 to 17-10-51.

SAMUEL MALBONE? — S. 35, 36.

“Malbone.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £7 8s. 2³/₄d. Doubtless Samuel Malbone, son of the Richard Malbone of New Haven, a magistrate, mentioned by Winthrop and Trumbull, whose daughter “was openly whipped, her father joining in the sentence.” Richard Malbone returned to England in 1649 or 1650, though Malbone the student must have continued at the College till late in the autumn of 1650, as, subsequently to 13-7-50, the date of his last quarter-bill, he appears to be charged with “mor spent after the quarter-day vntill his departing” £1 10s. 2d. Nathaniel Mather, writing from “London Dec. 23, [1651?],” and speaking of Glover, H. U. 1650, in connection with a fellowship at Oxford, says, “Sam Malbone is goeing I think this day to Oxford also, not without good hopes of a living.” — F. B. Dexter, Letter, 1872, December 13. Mass. Historical Society, Collections, xxxviii. 4, 197. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iii.

144. B. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, i. 106. J. Winthrop, *History of New England*, ii. 95, 353.

REV. MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH, H. U. 1651, p. 259. — S. 37, 38.

“Sir Wiggelsworth.” Debitor 15-1-49-50 “P ballance,” 12-7-51 and again 8-6-54 “by his Commencment Charges,” etc.

REV. SEABORN COTTON, H. U. 1651, p. 286. — S. 39, 40.

“Sir Cotten.” Debitor 15-1-49-50 “P ballance” £1 13s. 2d., 12-6-51 “by his Commencente Chardges” £3 5d. 1q., 8-6-54 “by discontinuance by 3 quarters and 9 weeks of a forth” 18s. 4½d., and “by his Commencment Chardges att 8-6-54” £3, there being no item of a later date.

THOMAS DUDLEY, H. U. 1651, p. 294. — S. 41, 42.

“Sir Dudley.” Debitor 14-4-50 “P ballance vpon ane old accounte” £1 16s. 10¾d., 12-6-51 “by his Commencment Chardge” £3, and again 8-6-54 “by his Commencente Chardges,” etc., the latest item against him being in September, 1654.

ANDREW GOODYEAR? — S. 43, 44.

“Goodyeare.” Debitor “P ballance” £5 18s. 8d., the account, apparently copied, without any dates. Probably son of Deputy-Governor Stephen Goodyear, of New Haven, whose daughter, Mary, married Thomas Lake, of Boston, the payments being made “by m^r lake” or “by m^r Angeir for m^r lacke.”

JOHN GLOVER, H. U. 1650, p. 296. — S. 45-48.

“Sir glover.” Debitor by “Chardges sence the 15 of the first month 49-50 vntill the 12 of the 7 month 51” £30 2s. 1¼d., followed “by a ratte Chardge on m^r glouer by goodman Adems then Constipell of boston and promised pay to the Colledg” £2 7s. 2d. There are no dates to any of the credits, which fill the whole of page 45 and part of page 47, or to any of the charges; all on page 46, except those above cited, being cut out, as well as most of the credits on page 47, also the leaf containing page 48, this last probably blank. Subsequent charges, with dates, were made on page 142.

SENNOTT? — S. 49, 50, cut out.

The Index contains, with a reference to page 49, a name which looks like "Swineoke." Can it be Sennott?

REV. HENRY BUTLER, H. U. 1651, p. 297. — S. 51, 52.

"Sir buttler." Debitor 15-1-49-50 "P ballance" £3 9s. 1d., with "Commencment Chardges" 12-6-51 and 8-6-54, the quarter-days after taking his degrees. Page 51, containing his credits, is cut out.

JOHN DAVIS, H. U. 1651, p. 300. — S. 53, 54.

"Sir Daus." Debitor from 15-1-49-50 "P ballance" £6 19s. 2¼d., with "Commencment Chardges" in 1651 and again 8-6-54, also 5-7-57 "by Commones and Sizinges" £1 1s. 5¼d., he perhaps tarrying at the College immediately before sailing on his fatal voyage.

NATHANIEL PELHAM, H. U. 1651, p. 300. — S. 55, 56.

"Pelham." No items entered.

REV. ISAAC CHAUNCY, H. U. 1651, p. 302. } — S. 57, 58.
REV. ICHABOD CHAUNCY, H. U. 1651, p. 308. }

"Chancyes Senior and Jeunior." Debtors "P ballance" £5 16s. 11¼d. without date, there being no dates till near the end of the account; also the first "Commencment Chardges" £5 3s. 9d. without date, and the last 8-6-54 "by the Commencment Charges for both m^r Chances" £6.

JONATHAN INCE, H. U. 1650, p. 256. — S. 59, 60.

"Sir Ince." Debitor from 14-4-50 to 9-10-53, with "Commencment Charges" 14-4-50 and 9-7-53.

JONATHAN BURR, H. U. 1651, p. 309. — S. 61, 62.

"Sir Burre" or "Sir Burr." Debitor 15-1-49-50 "P ballance" £4 3s. 3½d., with "Commencment Chardges" 12-6-51 and 8-6-54.

JOHN ANGIER, H. U. 1653, p. 325. — S. 63, 64.

"Angeir." Debitor from 13-1-50-51 to 7-7-55.

REV. THOMAS SHEPARD, H. U. 1653, p. 327. — S. 65, 66.

“Shipheard.” Debitor from 13-1-50-51 to 9-1-54-55.

SAMUEL NOWELL, H. U. 1653, p. 335. — S. 67, 68.

“Nowell.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 to 10-10-53.

RICHARD HUBBARD, H. U. 1653, p. 342. — S. 69, 70.

“Hubbart.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 to 8-7-54, with “discontinuances” on all his bills after 9-7-53.

REV. JOHN WHITING, H. U. 1653, p. 343. — S. 71, 72.

“Whittinge Senior.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50, with several “discontinuances” after 8-7-54.

REV. SAMUEL HOOKER, H. U. 1653, p. 348. — S. 73, 74.

“Hooker.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 to 9-10-54.

JOHN STONE, H. U. 1653, p. 352. — S. 75, 76.

“Stone.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 to 8-10-54.

WILLIAM THOMSON, H. U. 1653, p. 354. — S. 77, 78.

“Tomsone.” Debitor from 15-1-49-50 to 9-10-53, and afterward.

REV. EDWARD RAWSON, H. U. 1653, p. 359. — S. 79, 80.

“Rawsone.” Debitor from 22-8-49 to 10-10-53, and later for discontinuances.

SAMUEL BRADSTREET, H. U. 1653, p. 360. — S. 81, 82.

“Broadstreatt,” or “Broadstreatte.” Debitor, besides other items, “by Commones and Sizinges from the 8 Septem 54 vntill the 8 of octo 54,” etc., with discontinuances 9-10-53 and 10-1-53-4.

JOSHUA LONG, H. U. 1653, p. 362. — S. 83, 84.

“Longe.” Debitor from 14-4-50 to 8-10-54.

REV. SAMUEL WHITING, H. U. 1653, p. 363. — S. 85, 86.

“Whitting Jeunior,” or “Whyting Junior.” Debitor from 14-4-50 to 8-7-54.

REV. JOSHUA MOODEY, H. U. 1653, p. 367. — S. 87, 88.

“Moudy.” Debitor from 14-4-50 to 10-1-53-4, with subsequent “discontinuance for 4 quarters 20s.”

REV. JOSHUA AMBROSE, H. U. 1653, p. 381. — S. 89, 90.

“Ambros Senior.” Debitor from 13-7-50 to 9-7-53.

REV. NEHEMIAH AMBROSE, H. U. 1653, p. 381. — S. 91, 92.

“Ambros Jeunior.” Debitor from 13-10-50 to 9-10-53.

The latter of these Ambroses entered college three months after the former, and continued three months later. Each of them is charged “by fyer and Candell” and “3 quarters discontinuance” on his last quarter-bill.

THOMAS CROSBY, H. U. 1653, p. 382. — S. 93, 94.

“Crosbe.” Debitor 15-1-49-50 “Pr ballance” etc. to 9-10-53.

NOTE. — The “Commencment Chardges” of all the graduates in 1653, on taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts, are entered on the quarter-bills dated 9-7-53; but with the exception of Crosby, those in the second division, who were required to wait till 1656 before proceeding Master of Arts, did not enter college so soon as those in the first division, who were charged 15-1-49-50 “Pr ballance,” the first item against them in the oldest Steward’s Account-Book now in existence.

REV. GEORGE SHOVE. — S. 95, 96.

“Shoue.” Payments, from 13-7-50 to 12-1-51-2, made by Joseph Jewett, an inhabitant of Dorchester and afterward of Rowley. Was son of widow Margery Shove, of Rowley, though he may have been born at Dorchester. He was ordained at Taunton, 16 November, 1665. July 12, 1664, he married Hope, or Hopestill, daughter of the Reverend Samuel Newman, of Rehoboth, compiler of the Concordance of the Bible, and had Seth Shove 10 December, 1667, H. U. 1687, besides other children. His wife dying 7 March, 1673-4, he married, 16 or 18 February, 1674-5, Hannah, born 4 September, 1643, daughter of Nathaniel Bacon, and widow of Thomas Walley, son of the Reverend Thomas Walley, her mother being Hannah, daughter of the Reverend John Mayo, of Barnstable and Boston. She dying in September or 22 December, 1685, he married, 8 December, 1686, Sarah, widow of

Thomas Farwell, one of the original settlers of Taunton, and died 21 April, 1687. Letters by Shove are printed in Emery's Taunton, and in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxv. 23, 57, 87.—S. H. Emery, Ministry of Taunton, i. 171-176; ii. 322. F. Freeman, History of Cape Cod, i. 291, 292. J. Langley, in American Quarterly Register, xii. 137, 148. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 91; ii. 147, 548; iii. 187, 376; iv. 89.

PHILLIP NELSON, H. U. 1654, p. 384.—S. 97, 98.

“Nelson.” Debitor from 13-7-50 to 8-7-54, with “Commençement Chardges” £3 15s. at the latter date.

FARNSWORTH.—S. 99, 100.

“farmworth.” Debitor from 12-7-51 to 9-10-53. His first quarter-bill contains “Entrance 1s.,” and his last has “discontinuance,” with only 2s. 3d. for “commons and sizings.” Among his credits are 23-7-51 “by a lyttell browne Cowe” £4, 8-4-52 “payd vnto will Selbe sixten bush of wheatt for the vse of abraham Errington” £4, 12-9-52 “payd by Leutenant Clape by Insigne goodeno” £2, 27-9-53 “payd by george Constipell” £1, and “payd vnto m^r Richard mather” £1 10s.

Can this be the person mentioned by Calamy, ii. 840? “Mr. *Farnworth*, who came hither from *New England*, being a Nonconformist, and extreme Poor, died, as all about him said, of meer Poverty; for want of warm Cloaths, Fire and Food, when the Act of *Uniformity* had beggar'd many into extreme Poverty. *Baxter's World of Spirits*, Chap. 5. Instance 20.” Possibly this was the college student, who may have gone to England with other Harvardians; for Nathaniel Mather had written from London, “Tis incredible what an advantage to preferm^t it is to have been a New English man.” Reverend William Hooke, in a letter dated 7 August, 1677, printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxviii. 583, names “Mr Farnworth” among “the Ministers who dyed of late yeers, in the City of London.”

EDWARD OAKES?—S. 101, 102.

“Okes Junior.” Debitor from 13-10-50 to 8-4-55. Per-

haps Edward Oakes, brother of Urian Oakes, H. U. 1649, and of Thomas Oakes, H. U. 1662, the former of whom probably came with their parents, Edward and Jane Oakes, from England. The Steward's Account-Book contains no credits, and the last quarter-bill, 8-4-55, has a charge of "detrements" for two quarters. Was he one of the seventeen scholars referred to by Cotton Mather, who, about the year 1655, because additional time was required for a degree, "went away from the *Colledge* without any *Degree* at all"?

JONATHAN WILLOUGHBY. — S. 103, 104.

"Willoughbee." Debitor from 13-4-51 "by his Entrance Into the Colledge" 1s. to 6-9-54. Payments for him were made by "m^r frances willoughbee," "by m^{rs} Willoughby In siluer," "by James Cuttler of Charlstowne," etc. He was eldest son of Deputy-Governor Francis Willoughby, who with his wife Mary and this son came from Portsmouth in Hampshire, England, and died at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1671. He began to preach at Wethersfield, Connecticut, "on his agreement to stay one year, on the 26th of September, 1664, — and on the same day in the year next following, he signified his desire to remain 'till the latter part of May following, and then to be transported back to the Bay, according to the original stipulation with him, which was performed by the town." The first preacher at Haddam, "of whom mention is made in the records of the town, was Mr. Jonathan Willowbe," who "continued but a little time."

His father, in his will, dated 10 April, 1671, says: "Whereas my Son Jonathan, being my eldest child hath cost me much mony both in breeding up and seuerall other wayes, to the vallue of near a treble portion already, and for other Serious & deliberate considerations w^{ch} I am not willing here to mention; I will and bequeath to him the Sumē of Ten pounds, with such of my wearing apparell as my dear wife shall see fit, it being a grieffe of soul to me that he should run out an estate so vnprofitably as he hath done to his present suffering I being vncapable to act to further degree of helpfullnes to him vnless I would be vnfaithfull to the rest of my family which I cannot doe without breach of that rule which God hath layd downe to direct me by: Expecting that upon consideration he will rest satisfied with this my will without making any

disturbance to the least prejudice of my other estate, or molestation of my dear wife, which if he should doe I leaue him under the brand of an unnaturall and most disobedient childe, which vpon examination his own Consciense (w^{hen} I am gone) cannot but fly in his face to great amazement. this act of mine being upon mature deliberation after a serious debate with my owne heart: His legacy to be paid him within six months after my desease.

“I giue to the children of my son Jonathan, that are borne, and alive at this time the sume of five pounds to each to be paid when their fathers legacy is paid.”

By his wife Grizzell or Grizzoll, he had Mary, born 8 May, 1664, when he was preaching at Wethersfield, or a little earlier. — A. B. Chapin, *Glastenbury*, 38. *Contributions to Ecclesiastical History of Connecticut*, 400, 506. D. D. Field, *Statistical Account of the County of Middlesex*, 69. R. Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, 141, 143, 144. N. Goodwin, *Foote Family*, xxxix. *Middlesex County Probate Records*, iii. 184. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 578, 579. T. B. Wyman, *Letter*, 1872, October 17.

REV. GERSHOM BULKELEY, H. U. 1655, p. 389. — S. 105, 106.

“Bulckley.” Debitor from 13-4-51 “by his Entrance” is. to 5-7-56, with “Commencment Chardges” 7-10-55.

BLIGH? — S. 107, 108.

“Blye.” Debitor from 13-4-51 “by his Entrance” to 8-4-55, without Commencement charges. Creditor “by a side of lambe,” “a hindquarter of beefe,” “Indian” several times, “backen,” “wheatte,” “six bush of turnipes” twice, “on sid of beaffe,” etc., besides several payments by “Captaine gookine,” and others.

JOHN FOWNELL? — S. 109, 110.

“Fownall.” Debitor from 13-10-50 to 9-10-53. Perhaps John Fownell, who died 1 April, 1654, in his eighteenth year, son of John Fownell, of Charlestown and Cambridge, a miller, whose widow, Mary, married a Hudson.

JOHN HOOKE. — S. 111, 112.

“hooke.” Debitor from 13-4-51 to 10-7-52. John Hooke,

son of the Reverend William Hooke, of Taunton, New Haven, etc. Payments made "by John hooke by siluer," "by John Stedman," and "by m^r Tho Lake." At the end of his college account "John hookes debitt" and "walter hookes debite" are added together, as well as their "Credites," indicating that the two may have been brothers. He probably went to England soon after his college accounts close, to benefit by the rise of Cromwell, who was his mother's cousin. In a letter to Cromwell, dated "Newhaven, the 3^d Novemb. 1653," published in Thurloe's State Papers, i. 564, the Reverend William Hooke speaks of having "written severall letters of thankfull acknowledg^{mt} of" your "lordship's bounty, since I understood of the favour, which my sonne found in your eies." April 4, 1674, the father writes to William Goffe, the regicide: "Our children are all living, if he [Ebenezer] in N. E. be so, from whom we have not heard these severall yeers by letters from him, which is a grief to vs; only my son Walter dyed about 3 yeers since," etc. — F. B. Dexter, Letter, 1872, December 13. S. H. Emery, Ministry of Taunton. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxviii. 149.

JOHN CHICKERING? — S. 113, 114.

"Chickeringe." Quarter-bills from 13-7-50 to 8-4-55, the last including "detrementes by two quarters." Payments were made "by m^{rs} Day," "m^r Powell," "by alline Converse of woobourne vpon a bill directed to him from m^r John Endecoatt," "vnto the Psedente by Thomas welsh by Tho whitte of Sudbury by the appoyntmente of Cap willard 22 bush and a half of rye," "by wheatt att wattertown mill," "by m^r Dunster by Dan Stone," "by m^r John Indecotte by m^r Russell Treasurer" £ 5, "by a fatt Cowe" £ 5 4s., "by a fatt oxe" £ 7 6s. 8d., "by willyam towne by dannell fisher" £ 2, etc. Probably John Chickering, son of Henry Chickering, of Dedham. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Hagborne, of Roxbury, and removed to Charlestown, where he died 28 July, 1676, leaving a good estate to his widow, who, 16 August, 1677, married Thomas Graves, H. U. 1656. — J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, i. 376.

REV. PELATIAH GLOVER. — S. 115, 116.

"Pellatiah Glouer." Quarter-bills from 13-1-50-1 to 8-7-54,

subsequently charged with "Spent from the 8-7-54 vntill he left the Colledg In octo 54 by Commones and Sizinges" £ 1 7s. 7d., etc. Son of John and Ann Glover, he was born at Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1637, was ordained at Springfield, 18 June, 1661, married, 20 May, 1660, Hannah, daughter of Captain John Cullick, of Hartford and Boston, from Felstead in Essex, and died 29 March, 1692, his wife having died 20 December, 1689. He was one of the seventeen scholars who left college about 1655 without a degree. — A. Glover, Glover Memorials and Genealogies, 453-468.

WALVER. — S. 117, 118.

"Waluer." Debitor from 12-7-51 "by his Entrance Into the Colledg" 1s. to 8-4-55 "by Tuition and study rente" 9s. 6d., there being no Commencement charges. Payments were made with "shooes" and by "goodman wairre," probably William Ware, of Dorchester and Boston, a shoemaker, who died 11 February, 1658. There was also "payd to goodman bumstead 12s. and by m^r Powell 30s.", also "by Ralph hall of woobourne by 3 bush of wheatt" 15s., and 8-4-55 Walver is credited "by the returne of his study." He may have been a relative of Abraham Walver, H. U. 1647, page 163, and was probably one of the seventeen who left college about 1655, without a degree.

WILLIAM WOODWARD? — S. 119, 120.

"Woodward." Debitor from 13-4-510 "by his Entrance Into the Colledg" 1s., to 7-7-55 "by detrementes and half Tuition" 9s. Probably William Woodward, — perhaps son of Peter Woodward, of Dedham, — "a young and powerful preacher," who died at Dedham 26 June, 1669. Payments for his college expenses were made by "will woodward," "by goodman woodward to goodman Chickering the backer for m^{rs} Day which is all m^{rs} Day owes him," "by Tho welsh to the P^rsident in a sheepe," "by Leutenant fisher by old goodman fiske of watter towne in wheatt rye And peasse," "payd by deacken Trusdell of boston," "by goodman bullerd," and 23-4-55 "payd by returne of study and gallery," etc. He was probably one of the seventeen who left college about 1655 without a degree.

REV. WILLIAM BRIMSMEAD. — S. 121, 122.

“Brinsmead.” Debitor from 12-7-51 “by his Entrance Into the Colledge” 1s. to 7-1-55-6 “detrements two quarters” 10s. Several payments for him were made by “m^r pattine of dorchester,” and he repeatedly received compensation for “wrytinge for the Colledge,” was also “Alowed by a schollership” £ 3 15s., and “payd by m^r Jewett in a fatte stearre” £ 5 10s., etc. He is named in the will of his father, William Brinsmead, of Dorchester, who died in 1648; also by Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, as among the seventeen who, “upon a Dissatisfaction, about an Hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a *Year* of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their *Degree* (about the Year 1655) . . . went away from the Colledge without any *Degree* at all.” He preached several months at Plymouth, after which he went to Marlborough, where he was ordained 3 October, 1666, and died, a bachelor, 3 July, 1701. — C. Hudson, *History of Marlborough*. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, iv. 47; ix. 179; xxvii. 297. C. Mather, *Magnalia*, iv. 135. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 254.

JOHN GORE? — S. 123, 124.

“Goore.” His first charge is 12-7-51 “by his Entrance Into the Colledge” 1s. Probably John Gore, born 23 May, 1634, son of John Gore of Roxbury. Payments were made “to Christopher grante a Chest of glasse for the Psident” £ 6 10s., “by Robert browne for m^r Alcooke to m^r Angeir,” “by Thomas Sweattman,” “by beniemaine Child In rye,” “by goodwife Pattine,” etc. He was “Punished by m^r Dunster” 10s. on his quarter-bill of 10-1-53-4; later than which there are no charges, except for “detrementes and half Tuitiones.” John Gore, of Roxbury, probably the same person, married Sarah Gardner 31 May, 1683, had several children, and died 26 June, 1705. — J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, ii. 280.

REV. ICHABOD WISWALL. — S. 125, 126.

“Wiswall.” Debitor from 12-7-51 “by his Entrance Into the Colledg” 1s., “by Tuition” 6s. 3d., “Lente towards the gallery” 15s., “Puneshed by the Psident” 2s., etc., to 6-4-56. He was

second son of Elder Thomas and Elizabeth Wiswall, born at Dorchester about 1637, and one of the seventeen students who, Mather says, left college without a degree; a statement confirmed by the facts that there are no Commencement charges against him, that several of his last quarter-bills contain "detrementes" and "half-tuition," and that he is credited 24-4-55 by "returne of study and gallery roome" £3 12s. He taught school in Dorchester three or four years, perhaps spent some time at Pemaquid, where, according to Savage, he took the oath of fidelity in 1674, was ordained at Duxbury in 1676, married Priscilla, daughter of William Pabodie, had Peleg Wiswall, H. U. 1702, and other children, and died 23 July, 1700, aged sixty-two. He was sent in 1689 as agent to England to procure a new charter for the Colony of Plymouth. Increase Mather, "another son of Dorchester, also a clergyman, about two years his junior, was at the same time acting as an agent for the Massachusetts colony, and endeavoring to obtain a charter to unite Massachusetts, Maine, and Plymouth in one colony. Mr. Wiswall did the best in his power to obtain a distinct charter for Plymouth, while both parties were laboring to subvert the contemplated union with New York. Exerting themselves each to carry out the express objects and wishes of their constituents—those objects being in some respects at variance—it was natural to suppose there might have been a collision between them. This appears to have been the case. The animosity manifested, however, was of a temporary nature. Eventually, matters were amicably settled. Plymouth was joined to Massachusetts, a component part of which it has ever since remained. Those who were 'wont to trot after the Bay horse,' as Wiswall expressed it, were satisfied, having fully accomplished their purposes, and the diplomatists returned to their homes, Mather having punningly uttered a hope that the 'weasel' would 'be content in his den.'"—History of the Town of Dorchester, 483. F. Jackson, History of Newton, 453. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxv, xxxviii. J. Winsor, History of Duxbury, 180. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 615.

MORDECAI MATTHEWS, H. U. 1655, p. 403. — S. 127, 128.

"Mr mathewes." Debitor from 12-7-51 to 8-4-55.

REV. ELEAZAR MATHER, H. U. 1656, p. 405. } — S. 129, 130.
 REV. INCREASE MATHER, H. U. 1656, p. 410. }

“The mathers.”

ROBERT PAINE, H. U. 1656, p. 470. — S. 131, 132.

“Paine.” Debitor from 11-4-52 to 5-1-57-8, including 5-7-56 “Commencement Charges” £2, with numerous “detrementes” both before and after taking his degree.

REV. SHUBAEL DUMMER, H. U. 1656, p. 471. — S. 133, 134.

“Dummer.” Quarter-bills from 8-4-52 to 7-7-56, under the latter date containing “Commencement Chardges” £3 12s. and “Tablinge at the stewards a cake and Tuition” £2 18s.

REV. JOHN HAYNES, H. U. 1656, p. 475. }

ROGER HAYNES. }

REV. JOSEPH HAYNES, H. U. 1658, p. 533. } — S. 135, 136.

“haines.” Debitor from 10-7-52 to 5-7-56.

On the page of credits are the entries, —

| | |
|---|---------------|
| “Att 8-4-55 wholl sume | £ 11 18s. 2d. |
| “See folio 187 Roger haines wholl Credite is | 14 3 4 |
| “See folio 191 Joseph haines wholl Credite is | 14 3 4 |
| “Att 7-1-55-6 wholl Credit is | 40 4 10 |

On the debit page is entered, —

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| “wholl debte att the 7-1-55-6 is | £ 18 os. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. |
| “Roger haines debt att 7-1-55-6 is | 16 18 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| “Joseph haines wholl debt is att 7-1-55-6 | 16 10 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| “The wholl of all is | 51 8 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| “wholl Credites | 40 4 10 |
| “Restes debtors by all three at 7-1-55-6 | 11 4 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

REV. JOHN ELIOT, H. U. 1656, p. 476. — S. 137, 138.

“m^r Eliatt.” Debitor from 10-7-52 to 9-6-59.

THOMAS GRAVES, H. U. 1656, p. 480. — S. 139, 140.

“graues.” Debitor from 10-7-52 to 5-7-56, including Commencement charges at the latter date. His credits extend from 11-9-52 to 20-3-56, after which they are continued on page 323 of the Steward’s Book, where they cover the period from 30-4-56 to 15-4-57, the last item being “paper” 8d. See page 577.

BRIGHAM. — S. 141, 142.

“Brigham.” Debitor from 10-7-52 “by entrance,” etc., to 11-1-52-3. Perhaps from Rowley, his only payments being made by Joseph Jewett, who after a short residence at Dorchester removed to Rowley.

JOHN GLOVER, H. U. 1650, p. 208. — S. 142.

“M^r glouer is Debitor sence.” Continuation of S. 46, from 15-1-49-50 “P ballance of accountes” £2 10s. 7¼d. to 9-7-53, with Commencement charges 12-7-51 and 9-7-53, and 6-12-50 “by goodman Ademes then Constipell of boston resigned m^r glouers ratte to be payd to the Colledge which was 002-07-02.” No credits. See page 551.

WALTER HOOKE. — S. 143, 144.

“walter hooke.” Debitor from 10-7-52 to 7-9-54. Son of the Reverend William Hooke, of Taunton and New Haven; 8-3-53 “payd by goodman pecke of new hauen vnto John Steadman and puit vpon the Psidents accounts with him” £4, 4-6-53 “payd by John parker of boston,” etc. He probably went to England with his mother, whose departure is noticed in the New Haven Town Records 27 November, 1654. His father, who went over in 1656, wrote to William Goffe, 4 April, 1674: “My son Walter dyed about 3 yeers since, whose life was godly, & his death comfortable.”

SEYMOUR? — S. 145, 146.

“Sarremorre” or “Searrmorre.” Debitor from 10-7-52 to 9-10-53. Perhaps son of Richard Seymour, of Hartford and Farmington, Connecticut, and Representative from Norwalk. Payments by “m^r Rutherford of new hauen,” “by Joseph Jeuet,” “by goodman pecke of new hauen.”

HUNT. — S. 147, 148.

“Hunte.” Debitor from 10-7-52 to 9-10-53, the last charge being “by dammage Done vnto his study” 10s. Payments by “Captaine” or “m^r Edward tinge.”

REV. SAMUEL MEGAPOLENSIS. — S. 149, 150.

“Magaplences” or “Magapalences.” Debitor from 10-10-52

to 8-4-55. He was born about 1634, being the youngest son of the Reverend John Megapolensis, first minister of Rensselaerwyck, now Albany, and from 1649 to 1669, the year of his death, pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam, now New York. His father "instructed him first in the Latin and Greek languages," and maintained him near three years "at the Academy at Cambridge, New England," after which he "pursued the regular and full course of Theological studies in the University of Utrecht, and then went to the University of Leyden, . . . where he pursued a regular course of medical studies, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine." "He returned to New York in 1662, when he became a Colleague Pastor with his Father, and the Rev. Mr Drisius. He was One of the Commissioners Appointed by Gov^r Stuyvesant at the time of the surrender of the Colony to the British." In 1668 he obtained a dismissal from his society and went to Holland; returning, he "settled at Wernigerode, where he remained from 1670 to 1677; then he was in the English Church at Flushing, . . . from 1677 to 1685; and in the English Church at Dordrecht, from 1685 to 1700, when he was declared *emeritus*. The date of his death is not ascertained. His being well skilled in the English as well as the Dutch language led to his being called to the English (or Scotch) Churches of Flushing and Dordrecht." — E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, i. 448. T. De Witt, Letter, 1845, January 16, and another in W. B. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, ix. (ii.) 2.

REV. SAMUEL TORREY. — S. 151, 152.

"Toory." Debitor from 11-1-52-3 to 8-4-55, with "Commones and sizinges befor quarter day att march" 1655, and "detréments" till 7-1-56. He was the eldest son of William Torrey, of Weymouth, by whom he was brought to New England in 1640, and became, says the Reverend Thomas Prince, H. U. 1707, "*among the Ministers, one of the most eminent for Piety, Ability, Wisdom and Esteem, in the Land.*" He was one of the seventeen scholars who, "*the Corporation making a Law that the Scholars should study at College four Years before they commenced Batchelors in Arts . . . went off, and never took any Degree at all.*" He made "returne of his study" 6-9-54. After preaching some years at

Hull, and at Weymouth in the absence of Thomas Thacher, he was ordained at the latter place 14 February, 1665-6, and died on Monday, 21 April, 1707, aged seventy-five, "*having Preach'd on the Publick Fast the Wednesday before.*"

January 5, 1681-2, after the death of Oakes, he was unanimously chosen President of the College, but declined. He also had the honor of preaching the Election sermon in the several years 1674, 1683, and 1695.

Prince says: "*I can write of Him from my personal Acquaintance with him.*"

"*Being of a tall and proper Stature, excellent intellectual Powers and Accomplishments, and of great and steady Sanctity, Solidity and Majesty in his Countenance and Conversation, He struck all about Him with singular Reverence: tho' at seasonable Intervals, as at the Table, and when his Friends came to visit Him, He would be innocently witty and chearful; but ever mixed agreeable Instruction with other Entertainment and Diversion. He seem'd superior to all the Ministers who came to see Him, who behav'd towards Him with distinguishing Deference. And he was a Person of such deep and extensive Views, that in Publick Affairs of great Difficulty, the Governor, Dep. Governor and Council of the Colony us'd to send to him, tho' 15 Miles off, (with some other elderly and judicious Ministers in and near Boston) to help them with his wise Observations and Advices.*"

"*His Prayers both in the Family and Publick, and his Sermons were very scriptural, experimental, pathetic, sensibly flowing from a warm and pious Heart, and with wondrous Freedom and Variety. When He treated on awful Subjects, it was with most awakening Solemnity: but otherwise He usually express'd Himself with the most tender and moving Affection. When He saw any Fault in any of his Family; He would first only look with a holy and awful Displeasure, neither exposing nor rebuking—I believe He never struck any Person in his Life—a Look was Terror and Reproof enough—but then take us alone into his Study, and speak with such Tenderness and Tears as to melt us down in a Moment.*"

"*In his Family Worship, He would often Pray affectionately for every Person by Name, or by such Description as we all knew, extremely suitable to our various Cases, which wonderfully bound us to Him; as also for others occasionally there, and in a very striking Manner. And I shall never forget the moving Exhortations, Prayers*"

and Tears He us'd to pour out among the Children, at their Catechizing a Monday-Mornings at Sun-rise in the Meeting-House. Nor had he any affected Tone; but all his Pronunciation was perfectly agreeable to the Nature of the Things delivered, and so as to engage the most lively Attention.

“*In Conversation with the late Honourable and learned Lawyer JOHN READ, Esq; [H. U. 1697]—as I happened to speak of my living with the Rev. Mr. Torrey of Weymouth; He immediately said—‘Mr. TORREY! That was the most wonderful Man in Prayer I ever heard: When I was Senior Sophister at College in 1696, there being a Day of Prayer kept by the Association at Newtown, upon some extraordinary Occasion, in the House of Publick Worship; I and several Others went from College to attend the Exercise: where were two Prayers made by two Ministers, besides a Sermon by a third in the Forenoon; and the like in the Afternoon: and then Mr. Torrey stood up and pray'd near Two Hours: But all his Prayer so intirely new and various without Tautologies, so exceeding pertinent, so regular, so natural, so free, lively and affecting; that towards the End of his Prayer, hinting at still new and agreeable Scenes of Tho't, we cou'd not help wishing Him to enlarge upon them: but the Time obliged Him to close, to our Regret, and we could have gladly heard Him an Hour longer: His Prayers so wonderfully enlivened and mov'd the Congregation, that we seem'd not to be sensible of the Time's elapsing till he had finished.' And such extraordinary Talents were the Reason, why as I have heard, the Association us'd to appoint Him to bring up the Rear of their Religious Exercises both in Publick and Private.”*

“*There was as I remember, a singular Esteem and Intimacy between Him and Lieut. Governor Stoughton, the Honourable chief Justice Samuel Sewall, Esq; the Rev. Mr. Joshua Moody, the Rev. Mr. Vice President Willard, the Rev. Mr. Hobart of Newtown, and the Rev. Mr. Thacher of Milton. . . . Mr. Pemberton had a great Veneration of Him, whom I have seen at his House and Preaching his Publick Lecture. And in his Funeral Sermon on the Rev. Mr. Willard in September following, could not forbear mentioning the Tears scarcely dried up for the loss of Mr. Torrey.”*

While at Hull he married, 15 May, 1657, Mary, daughter of Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Colony of Massachusetts; and 30 July, 1695, Mary, widow of William Symmes, of Charlestown. He had no children. — J. Eliot, *Biographical Dictionary*, 456.

T. Prince, Preface to W. Torrey's Brief Discourse concerning Futurities. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, iv. 243, 314.

REV. JOHN EMERSON, H. U. 1656, p. 485. — S. 153, 154.

"Emmerson." No item of credit; the only charges being "9-10-53 by Sizing 1s., 8-7-54 by sizing 7s. 5d." Re-entered S. 181, 182. See page 571.

REV. ZECHARIAH OF ZACHARY SYMMES, H. U. 1657, p. 489. — S. 155, 156.

"Simes." Debitor from 10-4-53 to 5-10-56. The credits contain the names of "goodman haill," "old goodman goobell," "James Cuttler of Charlstowne," "Randell necolles," "goodm. Edmonds," "m^r bunker," "John gibson," "will baker," "Robart Steadman," "Richard robines," "Richard harrington," "John founell," "goodman switzer," "goodman gold," "goodman lech."

REV. ZACHARY OF ZECHARIAH WALKER. — S. 157, 158.

"Walker." Debitor from 10-4-53 to 9-1-54-5. Born 15 September, 1637, son of Robert Walker, of Boston, weaver, and one of the seventeen students who left college about 1655 without a degree. He began his ministry at Jamaica, Long Island, in 1662, on a salary of £60, payable in wheat and Indian corn at current prices. March 12, 1666 [1666-7?] the town agreed to add five pounds, "provided he should continue with them from year to year, and should likewise procure an *ordination*, answerable to the law, thereby to capacitate him not only for the *preaching* of the word, but for the *baptizing* of infants." He removed to Stratford, Connecticut, in 1668, where he was ordained 5 May, 1670, Israel Chauncy, H. U. 1661, then being there. There were two parties, and the result was the settlement of the town of Woodbury, to which Walker ministered, though he did not go there to reside till 27 June, 1678. He died at Woodbury 20 January, 1699-1700, leaving a widow, Susanna, by whom he had Elizabeth 1 March, 1675, and other children. He is represented as having been very able and learned. — B. F. Thompson, History of Long Island, ii. 101. J. H. Trumbull, Public Records of Connecticut, ii. 111, 124. W. Cothren, History of Ancient Woodbury, i, ii.

ZECHARIAH or ZACHARY BRIGDEN, H. U. 1657, p. 494. — S. 159, 160.

“Brigden.” Debitor from 10-4-53 by his “entrance,” etc., to 5-10-56.

REV. JOHN HALE, H. U. 1657, p. 509. — S. 161, 162.

“haill.” Debitor from 10-4-53 “by his entrance” 1s., etc., to 6-1-56-7. The Steward writes: “Accounted with his father the 21-2-57. Rested debitor” £1 15s. 8¼d. “Accounted with Sir haill 19-8-59 rested debitor” £3 19s. 6½d., etc.

SAMUEL SYMONDS? — S. 163, 164.

“Symons.” Debitor from 10-4-53 to 9-10-53, when there was “payd by the returne of his gallery rome” 15s. and “payd to goodman Johnes of Charlstown by beaff” £3 12s. 7¼d. Could he have been son of Deputy-Governor Samuel Symonds, of Ipswich? On his last quarter-bill commons are charged but for part of the quarter, he perhaps being absent on account of sickness, soon after which, 22 November, 1653, Samuel, son of the Deputy-Governor, according to Savage, makes his will, being evidently unmarried, as he names neither wife nor children, but four brothers, three unmarried sisters, and a nephew, Samuel Epes. An objection to his being this student is, that to make his will he must have been older than the average of college students.

ELISHA COOKE, H. U. 1657, p. 520. — S. 165, 166.

“Couke.” Quarter-bills from 10-4-53 to 5-7-57.

REV. JOHN COTTON, H. U. 1657, p. 496. — S. 167, 168.

“Cotton.” Debitor from 10-4-53 to 6-4-56.

REV. JOHN WHITING, H. U. 1657, p. 525. — S. 169, 170.

“whittinge Jewner.” Debitor from 10-4-53 to 6-4-56.

JONATHAN AYER, AYERS, EAYERS, EIRE, EYERS, or EYRE? — S. 171, 172.

“Eayers.” Debitor from 10-4-53 to 7-1-55-6, the last two quarters containing detriments and half-tuition. Payments for him were made by “george basto,” “hugh Clarke,” “Thomas

Danforth,' "goodman gleasinge of watter towne," and by "m^r Corlett for John hodgson." Possibly Jonathan Eire, of Watertown, born 27 March, 1637, most of the payments being by Watertown people. In one place the Steward spells the name *Ayers*.

REV. JEREMIAH PECK. — S. 173, 174.

"Pecke." S. page 174, containing debits, is cut out; the credits extend from 9-53 to 22-2-56. "H. C." appears against his name in Mather's Hecatompolis. He was born in London, England, probably in 1623, and with his father, William Peck, arrived in Boston, 26 June, 1637. November 12, 1656, he married Joanna, or Hannah, daughter of Robert Kitchell, of Guilford, Connecticut, where he taught school from 1656 to 1660. June 28, 1660, "at a meeting of the Committee for the Schoole," as stated in the Colonial Records of New Haven, "It was agreed that M^r Pecke, now at Guilford, should be schoolemaster, & that it should begin in October next, when his half yeare expires there; he is to keepe y^e schoole, to teach the schollers Lattine, Greek and Hebrew, & fitt them for the colledge; & for the salary, he knowes the allowance frō the colony is 40^{li} a yeare; and for further treaties they must leave it to Newhaven, where the schoole is; and for farther orders concerning the schoole & well carrying it on, the elders will consider of some against the court of magistrates in October next, when things as there is cause may be further considered." He accepted the appointment, "a house and a plot of land being also allowed him."

May 29, 1661, fifteen conditions and rules were proposed by Peck, "the want of which . . . especially some of them, doth hold the master vnder discouragement and vnsettlement; yet these things being sutably considered & confirmed, if it please the honoured court further to improue him who at present is schoole master, although vnworthy of any such respect, and weake for such a worke, yet his reall intention is to giue vp himselfe to the worke of a graīer schoole, as it shall please God to giue opportunity & assistance." His propositions, with considerable modifications, were accepted, and he "seemed to be very well satisfied."

September 25, 1661, he made an agreement with the people of Saybrook to become their minister for five years. February 2, 1663-4, he writes: "Respected and loving ffriends the Inhabitants

and planters of Seabroke I understand and that from divers that there is much Dissatisfaction with Reference to my selfe in respect to my proceeding in the Ministry at least to a settlement and that there are desires in many to provide themselves with a more able Help: I do freely leave myself to the providence of God and the Thots of his people: and so far as I am any wayes concerned herein I doe leave the Towne wholly to their own Liberty to provide for themselves as God shall direct: and with regard to laying aside the future Term of years expressed in the Covenant as also of laying me aside from an Employment of so great a concernment I do desire that these things may be duly considered and dealt tenderly in that I may not be rendered useless in future service for God: altho I am unworthy to be improved so I am yours in what I may as God shall please to direct and enable." He terminated his engagement 30 January, 1665-6, the town "giving him full possession of his accommodation," and purchasing it for his successor. Returning to Guilford, he, with his father-in-law, joined Pierson and the Branford and Guilford people who settled at Newark, New Jersey, in 1666-7, where he probably preached until the arrival of Pierson, 1 October, 1667. Removing soon afterward to Elizabethtown, to preach and teach, he is to be regarded as the first pastor of the church in that place. In March, 1675-6, he was invited to preach at Jamaica, Long Island. In 1678 he accepted a second invitation to settle at Greenwich, Connecticut, where he continued till 1690, when, having made himself obnoxious to the people by his opposition to the Half-Way Covenant, he accepted a unanimous call to Waterbury, where he continued pastor till his death, 7 June, 1699, having been assisted in the last years of his life, on account of feeble health, by John Jones, H. U. 1690, and John Read, H. U. 1697. — Connecticut Colony Records, iii. 245; iv. 96. E. F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth*, 201. D. M. Mead, *History of Greenwich*, 68, 72, 295, 300. New Haven Colony Records, ii. 377, 407.

GOOCH? — S. 175, 176.

"Gouge." His quarter-bills extend from 9-7-53 "by his Entrance" to 8-4-55, and on all but the first he is charged with discontinuances. His credits, S. 175, being cut out, no clew to his identity can be obtained from names of persons making payments for him.

CONSTABLE? — S. 177, 178.

“Constipelle.” Page 178, containing the charges, is cut out. He probably was at the College but a short time, as the dates of his payments are only from 10-3-54 to 25-6-55; one of which is “by m^r Thomas lake” and another “by Ed gooff for Sam Shipheard.”

S. 179, 180 cut out.

REV. JOHN EMERSON, H. U. 1656, p. 485. — S. 181, 182.

“Emmerson.” Continued from S. 153, 154. Debitor from 9-10-53 “by sizinges 1s., by discontinuance 5s.,” with “Commenment Chardges” 5-7-56 and 5-4-59, all but two of his quarter-bills containing “discontinuance” or “detrements,” and none of them rent, bed-making, or wood, with commons only 8-4-56, 8-7-56, 5-10-56, and 5-4-59, and sometimes for only a fraction of a quarter. S. 181, probably containing credits, is cut out. See page 567.

JONATHAN GATLIFFE? — S. 183, 184.

“Gatlife,” or “Gattlife.” Debitor from 9-4-54 to 8-10-54, one payment being made “by m^r Jones of dorchester In siluer.” Perhaps Jonathan Gatcliffe, only son of Thomas Gatcliffe, a miller, of Braintree and Dorchester.

REV. JOSEPH ELIOT, H. U. 1658, p. 530. — S. 185, 186.

“Eliatt Jeu.” “The 28-11-59 payd by returne of his study and gallery.” S. 186, containing charges, is cut out.

ROGER HAYNES. — S. 187, 188.

“haines.” S. 187, containing credits, is cut out. Debitor from 9-4-54 to 8-4-55, with “detrementes” afterward. He sailed for England, and died early, perhaps on the voyage. See page 562.

MOODY? — S. 189, 190, both pages mutilated.

“Mutie.” Charges from 9-4-54, the last probably being 6-4-56. Payments made “by Amos richeson by goodman wise,” “by tobaccke from goodman squier,” “by Canwesse,” “by bockerham,” “by beaffe,” “by 5 yeard on half quarter of broad Cloth att 19s. 6^d p yeard” £5, “payd by Tho gold in mutten and lambes,” “by

m^{rs} glouer by Andrew steunson for the deackens," "by Amos Richardson by m^r Rawson," "by m^r petter oliuer to m^r Angeir," etc.

REV. JOSEPH HAYNES, H. U. 1658, p. 533. — S. 191, 192, and 135, 136. See page 562.

"Joseph haines." "Commencment Charges" 3-7-58.

JOHN DENISON? — S. 193, 194.

"Denison." Debitor from 7-7-54 to 5-1-58, with "detruments" on all his quarter-bills but two, the only payment being 4-9-57 "by Richard parke on side of beaff wight 160 pound at 3^d." Perhaps John Denison, father of John Denison, H. U. 1684, and son of Daniel Denison, of Cambridge, and afterward of Ipswich.

ELIEZER BULKLEY? — S. 195, 196.

"Bulck Jeu" or "bulckley." Debitor from 9-4-54 to 6-4-56. Payments made with "appelles," "wheatte," "Indian Corne," "a Caske of butter," "4 Cheesses," etc. Perhaps Eliezer Bulkley, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, born probably in 1638, son of the Reverend Peter Bulkley, of Concord, Massachusetts, who, still living in 1659, when, says Savage, "the will of his father provides well for him, died probably in no long time after, as he is never mentioned as freeman or otherwise." See also New England Historical and Genealogical Register, x. 167.

REV. BENJAMIN BUNKER, H. U. 1658, p. 535. — S. 197, 198.

"Buncker." The credits on S. 197, containing the names of "goodman Jones of Charlstown," "nath tredawa," "John Kendell," "Thomas welsh," "winship and russell," etc., extend from 1-6-54 to 16-1-57-8, and possibly later; the bottom of the leaf, besides all of S. 198, containing the charges, being cut out.

S. 199, 200 cut out.

JOHN BARSHAM, H. U. 1658, p. 538. — S. 201, 202.

"Barsham." Debitor from 9-4-54 to 10-6-58. S. 201, containing credits, is cut out.

REV. SAMUEL SHEPARD, H. U. 1658, p. 542. — S. 203, 204.

"Shipheard." Debitor from 9-6-54 to 5-7-58.

SAMUEL TALCOTT, H. U. 1658, p. 539. — S. 205, 206.

“Tallcott” or “Talcott.” Debitor from 9-4-54 to 5-7-58.

S. 207-256 dropped in numbering the pages.

SAMUEL EATON, H. U. 1649, p. 171. — S. 257, 258.

“Mr Eaton.” Creditor “by returne of his gallery rome” 15s., there being no other credit and no date. Probably a continuation of S. 9, 10. See page 548. S. 258, probably containing debits, is cut out.

S. 259, 260 cut out.

DAVID BENNET? — S. 261, 262.

“Mr Bennete fellow Commoner entred 17-5-55.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 7-1-55-6. S. 261, probably containing credits, is cut out. Though called “Mr.” from respect to his social position, he appears to have attended exercises and paid tuition as an undergraduate, remaining but a short time, there being “detrementes” on the last two of his three quarter-bills. Was he Doctor David Bennett, of Rowley, whose second wife, Rebecca, daughter of Roger Spencer, was sister of Mary, wife of Sir William Phips?

NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, H. U. 1659. — S. 263, 264.

“Mr Saltingestall” or “Saltingstall fellow Commoner.” “Entred 17-6-55.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 5-7-59, with 2-10-59 “by detrements.”

SAMUEL ALCOCK, H. U. 1659. — S. 265, 266.

“Alcoocke” or “Alcock . . . Entred 7-5-55.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 2-10-59.

ABIJAH SAVAGE, H. U. 1659. — S. 267, 268.

“Sauag . . . Entred the 17-5-55.” Quarter-bills from 7-7-55 to 4-4-59.

REV. SAMUEL WILLARD, H. U. 1659. — S. 269, 270.

“Willard . . . Entred 17-5-55.” Quarter-bills from 7-7-55 to 4-7-59.

THOMAS. — S. 271, 272.

“Thomas . . . Entred 7-6-55.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 7-1-55-6. Remained about two quarters, being charged for “detrements” 7-1-55-6. Was he a relative of Evan Thomas, of Boston, vintner? Payments were made with raisins, currants, sack, wine, etc.

THOMAS PARISH, H. U. 1659. — S. 273, 274.

“Parish . . . Entred 17-5-55.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 7-1-55-6.

JOHN HAGBORNE. — S. 275, 276.

“John Hackbone,” Hackborne, or Hagborne, born 26 May, 1640, was son of Samuel Hagborne, of Roxbury, by Catharine, whose family name is said to have been Dighton. The credits extend from 1-11-55 to 7-8-58. S. 275, containing debits, is cut out

S. 277, 278 cut out.

EZEKIEL ROGERS, H. U. 1659. — S. 279, 280.

“Ezekiell Rogers.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 4-7-59, with “detrements” 2-10-59. S. 279, containing credits, is cut out.

REV. SAMUEL BELCHER, H. U. 1659. — S. 281, 282.

“Samuell belsher.” Debitor from 7-7-55 to 2-10-59.

SAMUEL SEABURY? — S. 283, 284.

“Samuell Sebree” or “Seebree.” Debitor from 7-10-55 to 5-10-56. Probably Samuel Seabury, born 10 December, 1640, son of John and Grace Seabury, of Boston. He settled in Duxbury, as a physician, before 1660. November 9, 1660, he married, at Weymouth, Patience Kemp, of Duxbury, who died 29 October, 1676, and, 4 April, 1677, Martha, born 24 February, 1650, daughter of William Pabodie, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of the John Alden who married Priscilla Mullins. He died 5 August, 1681. — J. Winsor, History of Duxbury, 65, 286, 305.

JOHN ALLINE? — S. 285, 286, 298.

“John Alline.” “Entred 23-6-56.” Possibly son of John and

Sarah Alline, of Charlestown, born 16 October, 1640. He appears to have remained at college but three quarters, his bills extending only from 5-7-56 to 6-1-56-7. Among his credits are "payd by 4 bush of wheatt Jo funell" 16s., "3 bush of wheatt malte" 13s. 6d., "siluer," "suger," "a quarter of beast wight 82^{li} at 3^d" £1 os. 6d., "Canwosse," "veall," "3 pound of Candell," etc. In the summer of 1657 there is a record of a payment "by Captaine alline in Commodityes 31^s 11^d."

REV. NATHANIEL COLLINS, H. U. 1660. — S. 287, 288.

"Collens" or "Collines." "Entred 23-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 "entrance 1s." to 4-7-58-9.

REV. SIMON BRADSTREET, H. U. 1660. — S. 289, 290.

"Simon brodstreete" or "Broadstreet Jeunior." "Entred 25-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 to 6-1-57-8.

SAMUEL ELIOT, H. U. 1660. — S. 291, 292.

"Samuell Eliott" or "Eliote terses." "Entred 23-6-56." Debitor till 2-10-59.

JONATHAN CURWIN OF CORWIN. — S. 293, 294.

"Jonathan Corwine." "Entred 23-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 to 5-1-57-8, with "detrements" till 4-10-59. Born 14 November, 1640, son of George Corwin, or Curwin, of Salem, he married, 20 March, 1676, Elizabeth, born 1 October, 1644, daughter of Jacob and Margaret Sheaffe, of Boston, and widow of Robert, son of Sir Henry Gibbs; was Deputy to the General Court in 1684 and 1689; member of the Provincial Council from 1689 to 1714, and named as Councillor in the charter of William and Mary in 1691; as successor of Saltonstall, sat on the bench in most of the trials for witchcraft; from 1692 to 1708 Justice of the Inferior Court for Essex County; Judge of the Superior Court, as successor of President Leverett, from 1708 to his resignation in 1715; holding also the office of Judge of Probate from 1698 to 1702; and died 9 July, 1718. George Curwin, H. U. 1701, was his son. — Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen. J. Savage, Genealogical Dictionary. E. Washburn, Judicial History. W. H. Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, 45-50, 75.

S. 295 - 304.

"The Steward." Creditor and debtor from 7-1-55-6 to 2-10-59.

MANASSEH ARMITAGE, H. U. 1660. — S. 305, 306.

"Armitage" or "Armatages." Debitor from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59.

JOSEPH COOKE, H. U. 1660. — S. 307, 308.

"Joseph Couke." "Entred 23-6-56 . . . is Debitor Jeunior" from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59.

WYETH. — S. 309, 310.

"wythe." "Entred 23-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 "entrance is." etc., to 5-10-57, with "detrements" on his last three quarter-bills. The only credit is "payd 5-10-56 by waytinge in the hall" 12s. 6d.

SAMUEL CARTER, H. U. 1659. — S. 311, 312.

"Samuell Carter. Entred 23-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59.

JOHN WENBOURNE. — S. 313, 314.

"John wenborne." "Entred 23-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59, with "detrements" on seven quarter-bills, including the last two. Perhaps the John Wenbourne who preached at Manchester before 1686, and left there in 1689; probably born 21 September, 1638, son of William and Elizabeth Wenbourne, of Boston, and married Elizabeth Hart, of Malden, 11 April, 1667. — J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 482, 590.

PETER BULKLEY, H. U. 1660. — S. 315, 316.

"Petter bulckley." "Entred 23-6-56." Debitor from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59.

REV. JAMES NOYES, H. U. 1659. } — S. 317, 318.
REV. MOSES NOYES, H. U. 1659. }

"The noyces." "Entred 9-4-56." Debtors from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59.

RICHARD WHITTINGHAM.
 WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, H. U. 1660. } — S. 319, 320.

“The whittinghames.” “Entred 23-6-56.” Debtors from 5-7-56 to 2-10-59, with “detrements” after 5-1-58-9.

JOHN CHENEY. — S. 321, 322.

“John cheeney.” Without any items.

THOMAS GRAVES, H. U. 1656, p. 480. — S. 323.

“Sir graues.” Creditor from 30-4-56 to 5-4-57. Continued from p. 562 and S. 139, 140. S. 324, containing debits, is cut out.

JOHN CROWNE. — S. 323.

“Crowne is creditor,” the only item being 2-7-57 “payd to Thomas chesholme,” college steward, £2 2s., the opposite page, containing debits, being cut out. In the Steward’s account with the College I find payments made “by Collonell Crowne” in the quarters ending 5-10-57 and 5-4-59. The Harvard student, son of William Crowne, went to England, where he gave under oath, as recorded in George Chalmers’s *Political Annals*, page 263, an account of the reception of the regicides Whalley and Goffe in Boston and Cambridge, and of their visit to the Reverend John Norton, at which he was present. He became a favorite at the Court of Charles the Second, and a writer of plays and poetry. After experiencing many vicissitudes, he died in England in 1703. Interesting accounts of the father and son may be found in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vi. 46, and *J. G. Palfrey’s History of New England*, ii. 268, 498; iii. 431.

S. 324-327 cut out.

JOHN MEARS? — S. 328.

“Meares.” Debitor from 4-7-59 to 2-10-59, with “detrements” on both bills. There was perhaps an earlier entry on one of the leaves cut out, as in the Steward’s accounts with the College he credits “mearres” with 15s. 8d. in the quarter ending 5-10-57. Possibly John Meares, of Boston, who died 12 November, 1663, leaving a father, mother Elizabeth, brothers Samuel and James, and widow Mary, a posthumous son being born 28 December, and

his uncle, James Johnson, being executor of his will. — *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xii. 153.

REV. SIMON BRADSTREET, H. U. 1660. — S. 329, 330.

“Symond brodstreatt.” Creditor from 5-4-57 to 17-9-59. S. 330, containing debits, is cut out.

DANIEL WELD, H. U. 1661. — S. 331, 332.

“Weld.” Debitor from 7-7-57 to 2-10-59. S. 331, containing credits, is cut out.

REV. SOLOMON STODDARD, H. U. 1662. — S. 331, 332.

“Salomon stoder.” Debitor from 5-7-58 to 2-10-59. S. 331, containing credits, is cut out.

JOSEPH COOKE, H. U. 1661. — S. 333, 334.

“Joseph cooke of boston.” Debitor from 5-7-57 to 2-10-59.

REV. JOSEPH WHITING, H. U. 1661. — S. 335, 336.

“Joseph whittinge.” Debitor from 5-7-57 to 2-10-59.

CALEB WATSON, H. U. 1661. — S. 337, 338.

“watson.” Debitor from 5-7-57 to 2-10-59.

JOHN PARKER, H. U. 1661. — S. 339, 340.

“John parker.” Debitor from 5-7-57 to 2-10-59.

THOMAS JOHNSON, H. U. 1661. — S. 341, 342.

“Thomas Johnson.” Without any items.

BEZALEEL SHERMAN, H. U. 1661. — S. 343, 344.

“Bezaliell Sherman.” Debitor from 5-7-57 to 2-10-59.

JOHN WYBORNE or WEYBORNE. — S. 345, 346.

“John wyborn” or “wyborne.” Debitor from 5-7-57 to 2-10-59. Son of Thomas Weybourne, who came to New England in 1638 from Tenterden in the County of Kent, England, and removed from Scituate to Boston before 1653, where he died 2 October, 1656, giving “vnto son Jno Weyborne, forty pounds, to bee paid at y^e age of twenty and one years.” “Aprill 6” [1660?] President Chauncy writes in the Steward’s book:

“Memorandū that I paid for John wiborne to brothar Cheeseholme [College Steward] the sume of five pound & ten shillings I say receiued & payd for him by me Charles Chauncy. Item. Thomas wiborne hath satisfyed of his debt for his brother to the Colledge, and to the new Stuart Ensigne Sherman the sume of foure pounds ten shillings by me Charles Chauncy.” The Harvard student returned to Scituate. — S. Deane, *History of Scituate*, 383. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii. 183; vi. 289. J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, iv. 662.

ELEAZER KIMBERLEY? — S. 347, 348.

“Kemberley.” Debitor from 5-4-58 to 2-10-59. Eleazer Kimberley, of Glastenbury, Connecticut, said to have been the first male child born in New Haven, schoolmaster at Wethersfield in 1661 and at intervals till 1689, freeman in 1667, Deputy to the General Court, and successor of Colonel John Allyn as Secretary of the Colony in 1696, holding the office till his death in February, 1709, was son of Thomas Kimberley, who removed from Dorchester to New Haven in 1639. He is credited, “by waytinge in the hall by 5 quarters” £3 2s. 6d., and “by on quarter And two weekes seruic in the buttery” £3 10s.

WAITSTILL WINTHROP? — S. 349, 350.

“Mr winthrope.” Debitor from 3-7-58 to 2-10-59. Can this be Waitstill Winthrop, born 27 February, 1642? Among the credits are 22-8-58 “payd by goodman gold 5 bush of rye” £1, “six bush of barly malte” £1 4s., 25-1-59 “payd by John fessenden in peasse” 9s., “payd by summeringe and winteringe of 8 sheepe” £3 11s.

SAMUEL STONE? — S. 351, 352.

“Samuell Stone.” Creditor from 3-4-59 to 24-9-59. S. 352, containing debits, is cut out. Perhaps son of the Reverend Samuel Stone, of Hartford, Connecticut. If so, “he preached some yeares . . . with a generall acceptation” at Wethersfield, Middletown, and other places, became “an habituall drunkard . . . yet still professing and defending himselfe to be as faultles therein as the child unborne.” He was excommunicated from the church, and “wasted his whole estate,” consisting of a house, land, “and a good Library, left him by his worthy ffather. . . . Upon the 8th of

8^{ber}, 1683," he went to different taverns, and "the night being very dark, was found the next morning dead in the little Riuer that runs through the town of Hartford; having missed the bridge. He fell down upon the Rocks, and thence rowled, or some way gott into the water at a litle distance, and there lay dead at breake of day." — Mass. Historical Society, Collections, xxxviii. 470, 471.

J. H. Trumbull writes, 12 February, 1873: "Your '*perhaps* son' &c. is hardly strong enough. The paternity is nearly certain. I can explain his appearance and disappearance in 1659. His father was in trouble with his Church in Hartford,—about which you may read *ad nauseam* in Coll. Conn. Hist. Society, Vol. ii. He resigned his charge in 1657, and went to Boston. The breach was plastered by a council,—but not repaired till 1659,—Mr. Stone passing much of the time 'in the Bay.' He was probably in Boston nearly all the summer of 1659. The difficulties in the Church at Hartford were finally adjusted by 'the Sentence of the Council held at Boston, *Sept.* 26, 1659' (Coll. C. H. S., ii. 112),—and Mr. Stone resumed his teachership in Hartford, and probably took his son Sam back with him.

"His death is noticed in Noad. Russell's Diary, Geneal. Register, vii. 59, and by Goodwin, *Geneal. Notes*, &c., p. 213, where the record of inquest is given, but the year is wrong—1693 for 1683,—by printer's error, or pen-slip."

S. 352–354 cut out.

BENJAMIN TOMPSON, H. U. 1662. — S. 355, 356.

"Bingmain tomson." Debitor from 3–7–58 to 2–10–59.

EPHRAIM FLINT. — S. 357, 358.

"Ephraim Flinte." Debitor from 3–7–58 to 2–10–59. Son of Thomas Flint, of Concord, born 14 January, 1642, married 20 March, 1684, Jane, daughter of the Reverend Edward Bulkley, of Concord, and died 3 August, 1722.

JOHN FLEMING. — S. 359, 360.

"John femine." Debitor from 3–7–58 to 2–10–59. Probably born 25 March, 1642, son of John and Ann Fleming, of Watertown.

JOHN OLIVER. — S. 361, 362.

“John oliuer.” Creditor from 1-8-59 to 26-9-59. S. 362, containing debits, cut out. Payments by “Captaine Johnson,” “Captaine oliuer,” “m^r Angeir,” and by “fouersshots . . . from the farme” £3 3s. 3¹/₄d.

JOSIAH HARVEY. — S. 363, 364.

“Josiah haruey.” S. 363, containing credits, if any, is cut out. S. 364 contains date 3-7-58 without any charges. Perhaps Josiah Harvey, of Fairfield, son of Edmund and Martha Harvey, of Milford, who was baptized 27 December, 1640, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Staples, and died in 1698.

JOHN HOLMES? — S. 365, 366.

“John holmes.” Debitor from 3-7-58 to 3-7-59, with detriments on the last four of his five quarter-bills. Perhaps son of Robert and Jane Holmes, of Cambridge, born June, 1639, married, 13 September, 1664, Hannah, born 9 October, 1645, daughter of Samuel and Hannah Thatcher, of Watertown, and was at Salem in 1673.

ISAAC ADDINGTON. — S. 367, 368.

“Isack Adington.” Debitor from 3-7-58 to 2-10-59, with detriments on all his quarter-bills except the first. Only son of Isaac Addington, of Boston, by his wife Ann, daughter of Elder Thomas Leverett, born 22 and baptized 26 January, 1645. In 1669 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Griffith and Margaret Bowen, of Roxbury, and afterward of London, England. He was educated to be a surgeon, chosen Representative in 1685, and thereupon Speaker of the House, and in 1686 an Assistant. He was Secretary of the Colony both before and after the arrival of the charter in 1692; and in 1693 was made Judge of Probate and Councillor, holding the three offices till he died, 19 March, 1714-15, or till a few months previous to his death. He was also a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 3 March, 1693, until 1702, when he was appointed Chief Justice of the Superior Court, but resigned 23 July, 1703. His wife died 2 May, 1713, and 19 November he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Norton, and widow of John Wainwright, she dying 22 November, 1742, aged

eighty-seven. — J. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 170. E. Washburn, *Judicial History*, 242, 270, 319. W. H. Whitmore, *Massachusetts Civil List*, 26, 27, 31, 44, 46-50, 77, 88.

REV. MOSES FISKE, H. U. 1662. — S. 369, 370.

“m^r Fiske.” Debitor from 3-7-58 to 2-10-59, with detriments on the last four of his five quarter-bills.

NATHANIEL WILLIAMS. — S. 371, 372.

“Nathaniell willyames.” Without date, debit, or credit.

THOMAS OAKES, H. U. 1662. — S. 373, 374.

“Thomas okes.” Debitor from 3-7-58 to 2-10-59, with detriments on the last five of his six quarter-bills.

PETER BULKLEY, H. U. 1660. — S. 375, 376.

“Littell petter bulckley.” Debitor “at 2-10-59 Pr ballance of accounts” £4 11s. 7d. Continued from S. 315, 316.

S. 377 blank; 378, 379 cut out.

SAMUEL COBBET, H. U. 1663. — S. 380.

“by cobbett 7s.” Debitor 2-10-59.

REV. JOHN RAYNER, H. U. 1663. — S. 381, 382.

“Mr Rayner” or “Rayner.” Debitor from 3-4-59 to 2-10-59.

REV. BENJAMIN BLAKEMAN, H. U. 1663. — S. 383.

“Blackman is creditor.” 17-9-59.

S. 384-387 cut out.

REV. THOMAS MIGHILL, H. U. 1663. — S. 388.

“Mighell.” Debitor 2-10-59.

NATHANIEL CUTLER, H. U. 1663. — S. 389, 390.

“Cuttler.” Debitor from 3-7-59 to 2-10-59.

The remaining leaves are mutilated.

The book from which the foregoing extracts were made was kept by Thomas Chesholme; several of the later students' accounts being continued in another book by Chesholme's successor.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

GEORGE DOWNING, H. U. 1642, pp. 28-51.

The date of Downing's birth was fixed at 1625 in consequence of a statement in John Winthrop's History of New England, ii. 240, that he was about "twenty years of age" in the winter of 1645-6, when he embarked for England, and his age at different epochs of his life has been given accordingly. In the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xxxvi. 136, it is stated that he "was born, probably in Dublin, about 1624-5," and in the Life and Letters of John Winthrop, i. 186, in "August, 1623," the adoption of either of which statements requires his age, whenever mentioned, to be made to correspond. F. Muller, noticing Downing and his works in his Catalogue of Books, etc., on America, Part I., 1872, pp. 57, 117, says he was born "in 1624 or 25 near Dublin, probably on Mont Wealy."

Page 29, line 7, for "his aunt" read "the mother of the wife of John Winthrop, Junior," as mentioned in Winthrop's History, i. vi.

Page 37, line 20, for "xxxix." read "xli.," the number of the volume being changed after the sheets were consulted.

Page 48, line 27, for "1676" read "1675."

Page 51, line 10, for "xxxix." read "xli.,"; and, line 21, for "T." read "S."

REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD, H. U. 1642, pp. 53-62.

Page 59, after line 19, add, "Eliot also wrote to William Bentley: 'I believe that the Clergy of the neighbourhood, & all the wise men of the Province did think and speak *highly* of him. But a generation in the town of Ipswich rose up, who only were witnesses of his infirmities. I believe in every instance where a young minister grows old, and people are put to expense to maintain him, they will treat him with neglect.'" — New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 20.

SAMUEL BELLINGHAM, H. U. 1642, pp. 63, 64.

He was at Rowley as late as 28 October, 1650, before which he had a wife, Lucy. — New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register, xix. 107.

JOHN JONES, H. U. 1643, pp. 77, 78.

Franklin Bowditch Dexter writes, 12 December, 1871: "The last paragraph, so far as it builds upon the date of will of his widow, is very doubtful. You copied, I suppose, from Savage, ii. 563. The facts are, that a 'Johannah Joens, widdow,' died in New Haven, 5 November, 1675, leaving her property (£408), by will dated 27 December, 1673, to various persons, chiefly to John and Mercy Austin and *their* sons John and David. This widow Joanna was, very probably, the widow of a John Jones of New Haven, who died here in 1657, and is mentioned by Savage, ii. 562, and in New Haven Colonial Records, ii. 257; but you will readily see that, whoever else she was, she could not have been the *Mary*, widow of your graduate, who came to New England. Neither could the John Jones who died here in 1657 have been your graduate, who was named in his father's will of 1665. I am entirely at a loss to identify the 'Mrs. Osborn' (mentioned in your extract from the Connecticut Colonial Records, as claiming part of John Jones's estate). There is no person in the New Haven Records whom I can point out for this purpose: there is no death of a 'Widow Osborn' on record, within twenty years of that entry which Savage has erroneously quoted, and which, as I have above shown, belongs to a Widow Joanna Jones."

REV. SAMUEL DANFORTH, H. U. 1643, pp. 88-92.

The following are the titles of the works mentioned on page 91:—

1. MDCXLVII. | An | Almanack | for the year of our | Lord | 1647 | ——— | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | degr. and Elevation of the Pole Ar- | ctick 42 degr. & 30 min. & may ge- | nerally serve for the most part of | New-England. | ——— | By Samuel Danforth of Harvard Colledge | Philomathemat. | ——— | Cambridge | Printed by Matthew Day. | Are to be solde by Hez. Usher at Boston. | 1647. || 16mo. pp. 16. B.

2. MDCXLVIII. | An | Almanack | for the Year of our | Lord | 1648 | ——— | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | degr. and Elevation of the Pole Ar- | ctick 42 degr. & 30 min. & may ge- | nerally serve for the most part of | New-England. | ——— | By Samuel Danforth of Harvard Colledge | Philomathemat. | ——— | Printed at Cambridge. | 1648. || 16mo. pp. 16. B.

3. MDCXLIX. | An | Almanack | for the year of | our Lord | 1649 | ——— | Calculated for the Longitude of 315 | degr. and Elevation of the Pole Ar- | ctick 42 degr. & 30 min. & may ge- | nerally serve for the most part of | New-England. | ——— | By Samuel Danforth of Harvard Colledge | Philomathemat: | ——— | Printed at Cambridge. | 1649. || 16mo. pp. 16. B.

JOHN OLIVER, H. U. 1645, pp. 102–106.

Increase Mather, in the Dedication of Eleazar Mather's Sermons, writes, that John Cotton, "in his Sermon on *Psa.* 116. 15. preached upon occasion of" Oliver's death, "*was much moved when but one Minister, being young in years, was taken away by death, Because (said he) it portends evil to the Rising Generation.*"

REV. SAMUEL STOW, H. U. 1645, pp. 118–121.

Samuel Stow, whose mother's maiden name was Biggs, is said to have come with his parents from Kent, England. He, with his brothers John and Thomas, was among the fifty-two householders and proprietors of Middletown, 22 March, 1670, when the amount of property assessed was £ 4,322 10s., his tax, £ 194, being the largest except two.

The Church Records of Middletown say, "1678 8th 13th Mr. Samuel Stow admitted to membership with his yokefellow Mrs. Hope Stow with their children such as were of age." — E. Brainerd, Letter, 1872, December 22. J. C. Wetmore, Wetmore Family, 12, 18, 20, 21, 29, 32–34.

REV. JOHN BROCK, H. U. 1646, pp. 127–131.

See BROOKES, page 549, with whom he has been confounded.

GEORGE STIRK, H. U. 1646, pp. 136, 137.

Page 137, line 16, for "xxxix." read "xli."

GEORGE HADDEN, H. U. 1647, p. 164.

William Cutter wrote to President Dunster, 19 May, 1654, from Newcastle: "I am sorry to heare lately y^t M^r hadden is to mary one off the daughters off a very great mallignant: and y^t he keeps so much socyety with them: he comes seldom hither." — Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, xxxii. 196.

SAMUEL EATON, H. U. 1649, pp. 171, 172.

In the account of the appropriation of the "Cuntry Stock," entered in the end of the Steward's Account-Book, I find 17-7-50 allowed "to m^r Eatton for his fellowship deudente" £2; 13-10-50 "Alowed Sir Eatton for his fellowshipe" £3; 13-1-51 to "Sir Eaton" £4; 11-4-51 "Alowed to Sir Eaton Senior fellow" £5; 12-7-51 to "Sir Eatton" £5; and 12-10-51 to "Sir Eatton" £3. After taking his second degree, 10-7-52 "Alowed m^r Eaton for on quarter and half" £6, and 10-1-52-3 to "m^r Eaton" £5.

J. L. Kingsley, in his *Historical Discourse*, page 76, says: "In April, 1654, the people of New Haven were thrown into great agitation on hearing 'that Mr. Samuel Eaton, son of our governor, is now sent for into the Bay, which if attended to, they feared they may be deprived, not only for the present, but for the future, of the helpfulness which they have hoped for from him; and considering the small number of first able helps here for the work of magistracy for the present, who also by age are wearing away,' they offered him the place of magistrate; and to this station he was elected in May of the same year."

WILLIAM STOUGHTON, H. U. 1650, pp. 194-208.

Page 197, line 23, for "this" read "the."

JOHN GLOVER, H. U. 1650, pp. 208-211, 551, 552.

The obscurity and mutilation of the accounts in the Steward's book leave it doubtful whether the items put to the credit of John Glover, H. U. 1651, on page 296, should not be credited to John Glover, H. U. 1650, page 208.

REV. JOSHUA HOBART, H. U. 1650, pp. 211-213.

Page 222, omit line 11.

REV. JEREMIAH HOBART, H. U. 1650, pp. 214-219.

Page 216, after line 18, insert the following paragraph:—

"In accordance with the law, the constables, 15 March, 1687, distrained 'from Henry Willis, on a demand of 34*s.* for building the priest's dwelling house, a cow worth £4 10.' December 30th, 'on a demand of £2 17*s.* for priest's wages, eight sheep sold for

£4 14.' January 15th, 1687-8 (?), 'Edmund Titus on a demand of £1 15 for building the priest's house, a cow, £4 10,' also 'on a demand of £1 8 for priest's wages, four young cattle.'

"November 29, 1687, Henry Willis and Edmond Titus petition the Governor for relief, saying: 'They have already suffered in the spoil of their goods for the setting up and upholding a worship in the town of Hempstead, which in their conscience they believe to be not the true worship of God; and are again threatened to have part of their effects taken from them towards the maintenance of Jeremiah Hobart whom in conscience they cannot maintain, knowing him to be no minister of Christ; and so are no way concerned with any agreement made with him. The taking of our goods is contrary to the laws which give liberty of conscience to all persuasions.'" — B. J. Lossing, *American Historical Record*, i. 290.

Page 219, line 6, for "Dorothy" read "Elizabeth."

REV. LEONARD HOAR, H. U. 1650, pp. 228-252.

From extensive researches in England, the results of which have been freely placed at my disposal by George Frisbie Hoar, H. U. 1846, with explanatory letters, 1871, October 7, and 1872, October 28, it appears that Leonard Hoar was grandson of Charles Hoar, of Gloucester, England, who probably died in 1636, and son of sheriff "Charles Hoare of the Cittie of Gloucester," on whose will, found at Doctor's Commons, dated 25 September, 1638, administration was granted to his widow, Joane, 21 December, 1638. The children were Thomas, baptized 15 June, 1612, in the Church of St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester; John, who settled at Concord, Massachusetts, ancestor of the Concord family of that name, including Samuel Hoar, H. U. 1802, and his sons, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, H. U. 1835, late Attorney-General of the United States, and George Frisbie Hoar, H. U. 1846, of Worcester, Representative in Congress; Daniel, who was at Boston in 1650, and died in London; Margery, who first married in England a Mathewe, by whom she had a son Charles, and afterward became wife of the Reverend Henry Flint, of Braintree; Joane, baptized January, 1622-3, who married Edmund Quincy, of Braintree; and Leonard, the President. The wife, Joane, whose maiden name was Hincksman; all the children above named; a

grandchild, Charles Mathewe; a brother, Thomas Hoare; a sister, Elinor Bailies; brothers-in-law, William, Walter, Edward, and Thomas Hincksman; and a sister, probably sister-in-law, frounes, — are mentioned in the will. He had a “large estate, both in lands and money, as he bequeathes very considerable sums and disposes of lands at several places as a provision for the wife and younger children, Thomas, the eldest being probably provided for in his father’s lifetime. The will directs that his ‘sonne Leonard shalbe carefullie kept at Schoole and when hee is fitt for itt to be carefullie placed at Oxford, and if y^e Lord shall see fitt, to make him a Minister vnto his people and that all y^e charge thereof shalbe discharged out of the proffitt which it shall please god to send out of the stocke.’”

In the original record of the Herald’s Visitation of Gloucestershire in 1623 (Harleian MSS. No. 643, fo. 154^b), are the arms of Hore of Gloucestershire, Sa. an eagle double-headed displayed within a bordure engrailed, which may be seen in the old burying-ground at Concord, carved on the gravestone of John Hoar, born 1680, died 1773, grandson of John Hoar, brother of President Hoar.

The following letter from “*Mr. Leonard Hoar to Mr. Robert Boyle,*” written at “*Cambridge, New-England, December the 13th, 1672,*” a few weeks after Hoar’s inauguration as President, and contained in Boyle’s *Works*, v. 642, ed. 1744, shows the zeal with which he entered into the interests of the Colony, of the College, and of science, and the comprehensiveness of his views of what should be included in a collegiate education. His solicitation of books for the Library, and project of connecting a garden and workshop with the College, are particularly noticeable, the latter as coming so early, and from an American college.

“Right honourable,

“**Y**OUR freedom and courteous treating me, when hither coming, giveth me the hardiness to present you with my acknowledgments, although it be but your interpellation; judging it better, that I were censured for troublesomness, than for ingratitude. Yea the chieftest of this colony, a poor, but yet pious and industrious people, know and acknowledge your kindness often and on considerable occasions expressed towards them, in their

just defences, &c. although they know not where or how to publish their tabula votiva, or memorials of it unto your acceptation, but still do gratefully recommend you and your well-devoted labours in their prayers to God; and any publick affair them concerning, that shall unexpectedly emerge unto your prudence, love and candor, hoping, that nothing shall ever be believed or concluded against them before that they be heard.

“NOBLE Sir, I am not unmindful of your desires to see what rarities the country might yield; and have taken course, that now be presented to you, first, a sort of berries, that grow closely conglomerated unto the stalk of a shrub, in its leaf, smell and taste, like the broadest leaved myrtle, or to a dwarf-bay; which, by plain distillation, yields an almost unctuous matter; and by decoction, not a resina, nor oil, but a kind of serum, such as I have not known ordinarily for any vegetables. I believe it excels for the wind-colick.

“THOUGH I thought myself an indifferent botanist for anything could grow in *England*, yet here in our wild plants I am presently [at a loss] but I hope I shall in season search out their pedigrees; and would be free to gratify any person valuing them with their seeds, or bodies dried. Mr. *Alexander Balaam* [*Balcam?*], my master in those studies, and a person well known to Mr. *Charles Howard* and Dr. *Morrison*, are now in your land.

“ALSO (pardon, I beseech you, the confidence) I make bold to present your honour with a model of our natives ships. With one of them twenty foot long they will carry six or eight persons, their house and furniture and provisions, by one padling her forwards in the stern, swifter than any sculler. And when they come to falls, or would go over the land, . . . load themselves away with the ship and her freight too.

“I DOUBT they are not for the wars; for if you but stamp hard, you may strike out the bottom; and if you lay your tongue on one side of your mouth, it may over-set.

“ALSO Sir, a piece of their plate, a fish I call the sea-spider, and some stones, I doubt more ponderous than precious; but that your honour will prove.

“IT hath pleased even all to assign the college for my Sparta. I desire I may adorn it; and thereby encourage the country in its utmost throws for its resuscitation from its ruins. And we still

hope some helpers from our native land; of which your honoured self, Mr. *A.* and some others have given a pledge.

“A LARGE well-sheltered garden and orchard for students addicted to planting; an ergasterium for mechanick fancies; and a laboratory chemical for those philosophers, that by their senses would culture their understandings, are in our design, for the students to spend their times of recreation in them; for readings or notions only are but husky provender.

“AND, Sir, if you will please of your mature judgment and great experience to deign us any other advice or device, by which we may become not only nominal, but real scholars, it shall, I hope, be as precious seed, of which both you and me and many by us shall have uberous provent at the great day of reckoning, which I know you do respect above all.

“IF I durst, I would beg one of a sort of all your printed monuments, to enrich our library and encourage our attempts this way.

“I KNOW nothing so stunting our hopes and labours in this way, as that we want one of a sort of the books of the learned, that come forth daily in *Europe*, of whose very names we are therefore ignorant.

“TO Mr. *Ashurst* I have written more. Let not, I beseech you, my prolixity tire or deter your acception of things hinted, or your honour's condonation of

“Your devoted humble servant,

“LEONARD HOAR.”

ISAAC ALLERTON, H. U. 1650, pp. 253–256.

Page 255, line 22, add “Elizabeth Eyre died 17 November, 1740.”

REV. MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH, H. U. 1650, pp. 259–286.

Page 284, for lines 5 and 6 from bottom, read “in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 11.”

REV. SEABORN COTTON, H. U. 1651, pp. 286–293.

Page 289, after line 18, add:—

““Another time the said *Eliakim* being rated to the said Priest, *Seaborn Cotton* the said *Seaborn* having a mind to a pied Heifer *Eliakim* had, as *Ahab* had to *Naboth's* Vineyard, sent his Servant

nigh two Miles to fetch her; who having robb'd *Eliakim* of her, brought her to his Master. . . . The Priests and Rulers, . . . from time to time, . . . plucked from him most of that he had.' ”

“‘His Wife *Lydia* . . . withdrew, and separated' from the 'Church at *Newbury*, of which she was sometimes a Member; and being given up to the Leading of the Lord, after she had been often sent for, to come thither, to give a reason of such her Separation; it being at length upon her, in the consideration of their miserable Condition, who were thus blinded with Ignorance and Persecution, to go to them; and as a Sign to them, she went in (tho' it was exceeding hard to her modest and shamefac'd Disposition) naked amongst them, which put them into such a Rage, instead of Consideration, that they soon laid Hands on her, and to the next Court at *Ipswich* had her; where, without Law, they condemned her to be tyed to the *fence-Post* of the Tavern, where they sat, which is usually their Court-places, where they may serve their Ears with Musick, and their Bellies with Wine and Gluttony; whereunto she was tyed, stripp'd from the Waste upwards, with her naked Breasts to the splinters of the Posts, and there sorely lashed, with twenty or thirty cruel Stripes.' ”

“Wardel, 'taxing *Simon Broadstreet* [*Cotton's* father-in-law] at the Court at *Hampton* . . . for upbraiding his Wife, and reproaching her who was an honest Woman, for coming, as she did, into their Church at *Newbury*, where he sat Judge,' with others, upon him and his wife and '*John Hussy* and his Wife; to fine them for not coming to their Worship, and telling *Simon* of his malicious reproaching of his Wife, . . . and of that Report that went abroad, of the known dishonesty of *Simon's* Daughter, *Seaborn Cotton's* Wife; *Simon*, in a fierce Rage, told the Court, *That if such fellows should be suffered to speak so in the Court, he would sit there no more*: So, to please *Simon*, *Eliakim* was sentenc'd to be stripp'd from his Waste upward, and to be bound to an Oak-Tree that stood by their Worship-House, and to be whipped fifteen Lashes; which, to execute upon him, as they were having him out of the Court, he called to *Seaborn Cotton*, the Priest aforesaid, *Simon's* Son-in-Law, to come and see the work done (so far was he from being daunted by their Cruelty) . . . which the Executioner cruelly performed, with *Cords* near as big as a Man's little Finger, which made him very sore; so they loosed him, having satiated their blood-thirsty

Cruelty upon him at that time: Priest *Cotton* standing near him, which *Eliakim* presently perceiving, when he was loosed from the Tree, said to him, amongst the People, *Seaborn*, *Hath my py'd Heifer calv'd yet?* Which *Seaborn*, the Priest, hearing, stole away like a Thief."—J. Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 236. G. Bishop, *New England Judged*, 375–379.

JOHN GLOVER, H. U. 1651, pp. 296, 297. See page 586.

NATHANIEL PELHAM, H. U. 1651, p. 300.

Page 300, lines 7, 8, for "His name is not" read "No account with him is."

JOHN DAVIS, H. U. 1651, pp. 300, 301.

The New Haven Records, 7 June, 1652, state that "Brother Davis his sonn was propounded to supply the scoole masters place, and y^e Magistrats, Elders and deacons wth y^e deputies for the Court were chosen as a Co^mittee to treat wth him aboute it."—F. B. Dexter, Letter, 1871, December 6.

He probably accepted "the scoole masters place," as on the Steward's book, 10-10-53, he is charged "by discontinuance by 3 quarters" £15. Subsequently there are no charges for college expenses, except what are incidental to taking his second degree "att 8-6-54," until 5-7-57, already noticed on page 552.

JONATHAN BURR, H. U. 1651, pp. 309, 310.

Page 309, line 20, for "1691" read "before 1700."

Page 310, for lines 5 and 6 read "His subsequent history is unknown, but he is starred in Mather's *Magnalia*, and in the Triennial Catalogue of 1700."

SAMUEL NOWELL, H. U. 1653, pp. 335–342.

Page 339, line 5, for "Edmund" read "Edward."

JOHN STONE, H. U. 1653, pp. 352, 353.

Page 352, line 23, for "identified" read "identical."

REV. JOSHUA MOODEY, H. U. 1653, pp. 367–380.

Page 375, line 3, for "1650" read "1653."

GERSHOM BULKELEY, H. U. 1654, pp. 389-402.

Page 388, lines 14-17, the statement that "he is the earliest graduate of whose college accounts . . . the Steward's books contain a full record" admits of doubt.

CLASS OF 1656, pp. 405-487.

Page 405, before "Eleazar Mather" insert

"QUÆSTIONES IN PHILOSOPHIA
DISCUTIENDÆ, SUB CAROLO CHAUNCÆO,
S.S. THEOL: BAC: PRÆSIDE COL: HARVARD:
CANTABRIGIÆ, NOV-ANGL: IN COMITIIS,
PER INCEPTORES IN ARTIBUS,
DIE NONO SEXTILIS:
M. DC. LIX.

- "I **A**N *Privatio fit causa rerum naturalium?*
Negat Respondens Robertus Payneus.
- "II **U** *Trùm anima fit subiectum capax cognitionis infinitæ?*
Affirmat Respondens Johannes Eliotus.
- "III **A**N *quicquid movetur, ab alio moveatur?*
Affirmat Respondens Thomas Gravefius.
- "IIII **U** *Trùm forma ducatur de potentiâ materiæ?*
Negat Respondens Johannes Emersonus."

REV. INCREASE MATHER, H. U. 1656, pp. 410-470.

Page 433, after "aversion" in line 25, insert, "In an Epistle dated 4 November, 1681, prefixed to Samuel Willard's *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*, he says:—

"As for those of the *Antipædobaptistical persuasion*, which differ from us only in that particular, I would speak to them as unto Brethren, whom (their Error (for so I believe it is) notwithstanding) I love, and would bear with, and exercise the same indulgence and compassion towards them, as I would have others do to me, who feel my self compassed with infirmities.

"I have been a poor labourer in the Lords Vineyard in this

place upwards of twenty years: and it is more than I know, if in all that time, any of those that scruple Infant-Baptisme, have met with molestation from the Magistrate meerly on the account of their Opinion. I would therefore intreat the *Brethren*, (and others of their perswasion, who may be of a Christian and moderate spirit) that have subscribed the Epistle, seriously to consider;

““1. That the place may sometimes make a great alteration, as to indulgence to be expected. It is evident, that that Toleration is in one place, not only lawful, but a necessary duty, which in another place would be destructive; and the expectation of it irrational. That which is needful to ballast a great ship, will sink a small boat. If a considerable number of *Antipædobaptists* should (as our Fathers here did) obtain Liberty from the State, to transport themselves and families, into a wast *American wilderness*, that so they might be a peculiar People by themselves; practising all, and only the institutions of Christ; if now *Pædo-Baptists* should come after them, and intrude themselves upon them, and when they cast men out of their society for moral Scandals, entertain them: Surely they would desire such persons; either to walk orderly with them, or to return to the place from whence they came. And if they would do neither, they would think that such *Pædo-Baptists* were blame-worthy: let them then do as they would be done by; and deal by us, as they would have us to deal by them; were they in our case, and we in theirs.

““2. Let them please to consider; that those of their perswasion in this place, have acted with so much irregularity and prophanness, that should men of any other perswasion whatsoever, have done the like, the same severity would have been used towards them. I truly profess unto them, that if any men, either of the Presbyterian, or Congregational (or never so much of my) perswasion in matters referring to Church-Discipline, should behave themselves as the Anabaptists in *Boston*, in *New-England*, have done, I think they would have deserved far greater punishment than any thing that to this day, hath been inflicted upon them. . . .

““Let me intreat the Brethren to believe, that some of us would shew as much indulgence unto truly tender Consciences, as themselves. It is not so long since our own Necks bled under an intolerable yoke of Imposition upon Conscience; as that we should forget what it is to be so dealt with; or exercise that se-

verity towards any, that we have ourselves complained of, in others. But the Brethren will readily own that some men have pretended Conscience, when pride, & perverseness in the will, have been at the bottom: They will also confess, that a meer pretence of Conscience, is not enough to bear men out in an evil practice. All the difficulty is, in discerning the one of these from the other.'”

Increase Mather, while in London, furnished information for the *Athenæ Oxonienses* of Anthony Wood, who acknowledged his courtesy by sending him a presentation copy, in which, when sold at auction in Boston in 1869, were two letters, now in possession of James Bradley Thayer, of Milton, H. U. 1852, which are here printed from the author's autographs, having already appeared in the *Springfield Republican* of 1873, January 14, and of 1872, October 10.

FIRST LETTER.

“Sr

“Yr kind (— civil letter I have rēcd for w^{ch} I doe by these retorne yo thanks — As for y^e age of Sam. Newman (65) it agrees with my man, but the country y^o say wherein he was borne (Yorkshire) doth not. For my sam Newman whō I take to be him of Rehoboth (— author of the Concordance, was borne in Oxfordshire —

“Now I have full satisfaction of yr brother Sam. I shall god willing mention him in his place, (— wⁿ I see mr Danson, wch is twice or more in an yeare (for I am well acquainted with him) I shall enquire of him —

“The method y^t I use of speaking of writers is this (1) The towne or parish, or at least the county where they were borne (2) The coll. or hall wherein educated, (— sometimes the school. (3) The names of the benefices or employments in church (— state yt they have successively enjoyed (4) The titles of books, pamphlets, sermons with their texts, yt they have written (— published, the time wⁿ (— where printed (— in wt vol. (5) The day, or month, or at least yeare of their death (— y^e place of buriall —

“Now if y^o can tell me as much as yo can according to this method concerning will. Bartlet (— his son John, — mr. Joh. Row — mr Tim Taylor, mr will. Ben — mr. Thom vincent if he be dead (— m^r Thankfull owen, youl doe me (— the publick good ser-

vice — As for Phil Nye (— Theoph. Gale, I think I have enough already of them.

“I have been pusing the matriculation books for will. (— John, Bartlet, (— for Will. Ben, (— cannot find them in Exeter coll (— Queens coll. Therefore *quaere* whether yo have not mistaken their colleges.

“Yo mention not mr Sam. Lee, sometimes of Wadhā Coll — If he be dead, I would willingly know the time wⁿ he died, (— where buried — Of the same Coll. was also mr Tho Lye a learned Nonconformist, who hath also been dead several yeares; (— how to find him out I cannot tell — If y^o know of any active (— understanding person who will undertake to solve such queries yt I shall send to him, I will recompense him for his paines.

I thank y^o for yr kind proffer of N. E. books, because there is no doubt but yt I may find something to my purpose among them — If the authors names be not put to them, yo would do well to write them at y^e bottome of their respectives titles — So with many thanks for yr civilities, I remaine

“Yr most obliged servant

“Anth. Wood.

“From my lodging neare merton Coll. in Oxford 12 June 1690.

“Why do yo not give me an account of yor self, yt I may bring yt in wⁿ I speake of yr father? In y^e last terme Catalogue I saw y^e title of a book by yo published.”

SECOND LETTER.

“Worthy s^r

“I am very sensible of the paines y^o have took in carrying on my public work, (— the more because y^o are stranger to Old England — Pray s^r be pleased to let me know wt charge y^o have been at, (— I shall take order yt my friend in London shall make y^o satisfaction.

“I have sent y^o inclosed divers queries, yet not half y^t I have laying by me; (— unless, (as I have told y^o before) some generous Nonconformist will relieve me, I must for ever dispaire of remitting into my book such nonconforming writers yt have been in this Universitie.

“Several there be also yt are, as I presume, yet living, as mr Hen. Hickman, mr Sam Annesley, mr Joh. How, mr Joh.

Humphry, mr Sam. Lee, mr Rich. Adams &c who also must hereafter be remembred, but whether by my pen I doubt—

“I must collect all, whether conformists or nonconformists, papists or of any other religion, yt have reċd any education among us, (— if I do not remember them, I shall be esteemed a partial writer—I am not to look upon them, or esteem them, as to their opinions or writings, but only as they are writers; (— so I hope all people yt are knowing will think so. So with many thanks for wt y^o have done already I remaine

“Y^r obliged servant

“Anth. Wood.

“Feb 23, 1690—1

“For Mr Increase Mather at Mr. Whitings house in Copt hall court in Throcmorton street London.”

Mather’s visits to the College were made on horseback by the way of Charlestown Ferry. On the Treasurer’s books I find, —

Dec. 31, 1686. “Paid to L^t Cutler [of Charlestown], for shoeing Mr. Mathers horse, mending sadle, & new Saddle cloth,” 9s. March 14, 1686—7. “Paid Deacon Cutler 25^s money for wintering mr. Mathers horse, & 12^d Shoeing,” £1 6s. May 23. “Paid ditto for a p^r of fetters & shoeing, money,” 6s. August 15, 1692. “P^d to m^r Incr. Mather 3^l 12^s for a bridle & saddle he bought Cost him” £3 12s. Sept. 21. 1694. “Cash pd Henry Emms for keeping the Presid^{ts} horse from 26th May last to the 19th instant that he w^s remoov’d to Charlstown, being 16½ weeks, & for shoeing him 6s. 8d., in all bating 2^w he w^s at Lyn,” £4 13s. Aug. 28, 1695, more than was due was paid Mr. Austin “at his desire beforehand to buy hay the better withall.” A later memorandum says: “s^d horse went to m^r Austins y^e 20. 7^{br} 1694 & died the 12 April, 1696”; and he is paid for the keeping and for “other disbursments on him till he died.” June 8, 1696. The Corporation instructed the Treasurer to pay the President “such money as he should need to purchase a horse with, for the better capacitating him to make his visits, &c., at the College”; and July 10, 1696, Treasurer Brattle pays him £12 “according to y^e order of the Corporation.”

After the beginning of the year 1697, payments were often sent to Mather by “his negro.” This negro was probably the Spanish Indian servant whom his son, Cotton Mather, in speaking of “the

retaliating dispensations of Heaven towards" himself, says he bought and bestowed upon his father; adding, "some years after this, a knight, whom I had laid under many obligations," — without doubt meaning Sir William Phips, — "bestowed a Spanish Indian servant upon *me*."

REV. JOHN EMERSON, H. U. 1656, pp. 485-487.
Page 487, line 14, for "Joseph" read "John."

REV. JOHN COTTON, H. U. 1657, pp. 491-508.

The interesting letter from the Apostle John Eliot, dated "*Roxburg*, July 7, 1688," to the "Right honourable, deep learned, abundantly charitable, and constant nursing father," Robert Boyle, from which an extract respecting Cotton is made on page 508, may be found in Boyle's Works, ed. 1744, i. 136. The following is the entire passage relating to Cotton:—

"I am drawing home, and am glad of an opportunity to take my leave of your honour with all thankfulness. Sir, many years since you pleased to commit 30*l.* into my hand, upon a design for the promoting Christ his kingdom among the Indians; which gift of yours I have religiously kept, waiting for an opportunity to improve it; but God hath not pleased yet to open such a door. I am old, and desire to finish that matter, and take the boldness to request your honour, that it may be thus disposed of. It being in the hand of major *Gookins*'s relict widow, and he died poor, though full of good works, and greatly beneficent to the Indians, and bewailed by them to this day; therefore let his widow have 10*l.* his eldest son, who holds up a lecture among the Indians and English 10*l.* and the third 10*l.* give it to Mr. *John Cotton*, who helped me much in the second edition of the bible. And also I must commit to him the care and labour of two other small treatises, viz. Mr. *Shegheard*'s *Sincere Convert* and *Sound Believer*, which I translated into the Indian language many years since; and now I hope, that the honourable corporation will be at the charge to print them, by your honours favour and countenance. But I cannot commit them to the press without a careful revisal, which none but Mr. *Cotton* is able to help me to perform."

REV. SAMUEL SHEPARD, H. U. 1658, pp. 542-544.

Page 543, after line 14 insert, "He was brought up in the family of his grandfather Hooker, who writes to Shepard's father, in a letter without date: 'My little Sam: is very well, & exceeding cheerful & hath beene so all this tyme, grows a good scholler. The little creature hath such a pleasing, wyinning dysposition that it makes me think of his mother almost every tyme I play wth him.' September 17, 1646, he writes with a grandfather's tenderness of his 'Little Sam': 'My little bedfellow is well I blesse the Lord & I fynd that you related to be true: the coulder y^e weather growes. Y^e more quiet he lyes: I shall hardly trust any body with him but myne owne eye. Young ones are heavy headed, & if once they fall to sleepe, they are hard to wake, & therefore vnfit to help. . . . My wife & freinds salute you. Sam remembers his duty: is very very thankfull for his things you sent wh are receaved.'

"Shepard's father bequeathed 'To my son Samuel a single portion, together with one of my long silver bowls.'" — J. A. Albro, *Life of Thomas Shepard*, 256-258, 299. T. Hutchinson, *MS. Papers*, i. 99-101.

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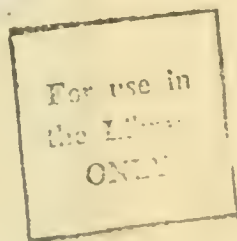






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